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A HISTORY OF INDIAN LITERATURE

BY

M. WINTERNITZ, PH.D.

PROFESSOR OF INDOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY AT THE GERMAN UNIVERSITY OF PRAGUE (CZECHOSLOVAKIA)

VOL. I

INTRODUCTION, VEDA, NATIONAL EPICS, PURĀṆAS, AND TANTRAS

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL GERMAN BY MRS. S. KETKAR

AND REVISED BY THE AUTHOR

Only Authorised Translation into English

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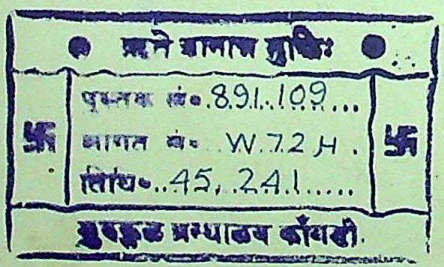

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To

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

The Great Poet, Educator, and Lover of Man

This English Version of the "History of Indian Literature"

is dedicated

as a token of loving admiration and sincere gratitude

by the Author.

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PREFACE TO THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

Both in Santiniketan, where I held the visiting professorship at Viśvabhāratī University in 1922-23, and elsewhere in India, I often heard expressions of regret that my 'History of Indian Literature,' written in German, was not accessible to the majority of Indian students. I talked about this to some of my Indian friends, and one day Professor Taraporewala suggested that an English translation might be published by the University of Calcutta. He spoke about it to the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the great champion and inspirer of Oriental Studies in Calcutta University, who at once showed great interest in the work, and at his suggestion the Syndicate of the University agreed to undertake the publication. It was not difficult to find a translator. When I came to Poona in November 1922, to visit the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, I was introduced to Dr. S. V. Ketkar, the learned Editor of the Marathi Encyclopædia, and to my great surprise he showed me two big volumes, containing a typewritten English translation of the first two volumes of my "History of Indian Literature." The translation, I understood, was the work of Mrs. Ketkar, who had made it for the use of her husband, not for publication. Mrs. Ketkar, being German by her mother tongue, English by education, and Indian by marriage, seemed to me as if predestined for the work, and she agreed to revise and rewrite her translation for the purpose of publication.

But not only the translator had to revise her work, I myself had to revise mine. The first part of the German original, dealing with Vedic literature, had been published in 1905, the second part, treating the Epic and Puranic literature,

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in 1908. It was, therefore, necessary to revise the whole work for the English translation, in order to bring it up to date. Many chapters had to be rewritten entirely, smaller changes, corrections and additions, had to be made almost on every page, and the more important publications of the last twenty years had to be added to the references in the Notes. Thus this English translation is at the same time a second, revised and, I hope, improved edition of the original work.

It is not for me to say how far the translator has succeeded in her task. But I know that she has spared no pains to make her translation as accurate and as readable as possible. And for this it is my pleasant duty to thank her. I have also to thank my pupil Wilhelm Gampert for preparing the Index.

Prague, Sept. 5th, 1926. M. WINTERNITZ.

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PREFACE TO THE GERMAN EDITION.

The publishers of this work have announced in a notice that the series in which the present volume, dedicated to the oldest period of Indian literature, appears, is intended, "not for learned circles, but for the educated people of the nation." With this idea in mind, the class of reader which I have kept constantly in view in the course of my work is the reader who as yet knows nothing of Indian literature, and possesses no special Indological knowledge of any kind:—and yet not that reader who merely desires a desultory acquaintance with Indian literature in a leisure hour, but him who wants to make himself as thoroughly acquainted with it as it is at all possible without a knowledge of the Indian languages. An English, German or French literary history need only be a bare presentation of the course of development of a literature which presumably is already familiar. A history of Indian literature, however, in all cases in which there are no German translations—and this is unfortunately so in the majority of cases—must also instruct the German reader as far as possible in the contents of the literary productions, by means of quotations and summaries of the contents. In other words: A history of the literature must be at the same time a description of the literature. Thus of the national epics and the Purāṇas, with which the second half of the present volume deals, only few portions have so far become known in German translations. Without extensive descriptive summaries and quotations it is impossible for the reader to gain any conception at all of the works treated.

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In this way, indeed, the volume assumed larger proportions than it was originally anticipated. A second consideration also accounts for this increase in the size of the work. It is precisely the oldest Indian literature, treated in this volume, which, with reference to chronology, is to a certain extent "hovering in the air." Not a single one of the numerous and extensive works which belong to the Vedas, to the national Epics, or to the Purāṇas, can be ascribed with certainty even to this or that century. It is simply impossible, in one sentence or in a few lines, to give information on the age of the Vedas, of the Mahābhārata, of the Rāmāyaṇa and even of the Purāṇas. Even for the general reader it is not sufficient to tell him that we do not know anything definite about the date of these works. It is necessary to mark off the boundaries within which our ignorance moves, and to state the grounds on which an approximate, even though only conjectural, date of these works is supported. Therefore considerable sections had to be devoted to the enquiry concerning the age of the Vedas, the Epics and the Purāṇas. I emphasize expressly that these chapters, too, are not indeed written only for the specialist, but in the first place for the layman as characterised above, whom I had in view as my reader. If, notwithstanding, they contain something new for the specialist also,—and probably also some points which might challenge contradiction,—then it is because questions are here dealt with, which, just in recent years, have been the subject of new investigations, new discoveries, and manifold controversies.

The references given in the Notes are partly intended for the specialist, in whose eyes they are to justify the editor's standpoint in the most important debatable questions. For it is a matter of course, that a book which is addressed to the "educated people of the nation," must also stand before the judgment of the specialist, and submit entirely to the same. On the other hand, in the Notes intended for the non-specialist,

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I have also made a point of referring to all German translations which are accessible by any means—and where these are wanting, to the English and French ones. I have utilised these translations only in a few cases, in which they appeared to me to reproduce the original in a particularly admirable manner. Where no translator is mentioned, the translations are my own.

After what has been said, it will not be surprising that the originally intended size of *one* volume proved to be too narrow for this Indian Literary History. I am sincerely thankful to the Publisher for raising no opposition to the reasons which were given for the widening of the originally planned size, and for giving his consent for a second volume. This widening also thoroughly corresponds with the extent and the significance of Indian literature,—for which I refer to the Introduction (p. 1 ff.). As the present volume deals in a certain sense with the "prehistoric" period of Indian literature,—at least in their beginnings, both the Vedas and the national epics reach back to far-off epochs which cannot be fixed by means of any dates—so the second volume shall begin with the Buddhist literature, and introduce the reader to the literature of the actually historical period of India.

Regarding the works upon which I have drawn and to which I am indebted, the Notes to the separate sections give information. What I owe to the "Akademische Vorlesungen über Indische Literaturgeschichte" by Albrecht Weber (2nd edition, Berlin 1876) which paved the way for Indian literary historiography, and to those stimulating and valuable lectures on "Indiens Literatur und Cultur in historischer Entwicklung" by Leopold v. Schroeder (Leipzig 1887) could naturally not be recorded in every single case. I also owe much, without always having specially mentioned it, to the valuable "Bulletins des Religions de l'Inde" by A. Barth in the Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, Tomes I, III, V, XI, XIV, XXVIIIf, XLIf, and XLV (1880-1902). The ingenious

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essays of H. Oldenberg, "Die Literatur des alten Indien" (Stuttgart and Berlin 1903) deal more with an aesthetic view and appreciation of Indian literature, which was somewhat outside the scope of my plans. The works of A. Baumgartner (Geschichte der Weltliteratur II. Die Literaturen Indiens und Ostasiens, 3. und 4. Aufl., Freiburg i. B. 1902), A. A. Macdonell (A History of Sanskrit Literature, London 1900) and V. Henry (Les Littératures de l'Inde, Paris 1904), though quite useful for their own purposes, hardly offered me anything new. The outlines of Indian literature by Richard Pischel in Part I, Section VII ("Die Orientalischen Literaturen"), of the series "Die Kultur der Gegenwart" (Berlin and Leipzig 1906), exceedingly short, but a masterpiece in their brevity, appeared only when my MS. was already finished and partly printed. I would not wish to leave unmentioned the services rendered to me by the "Orientalische Bibliographie" by Lucian Scherman, which is so indispensable to every Orientalist. Finally, I express my sincere gratitude to all those who have written friendly reviews or offered expert criticism on the first half volume which appeared two years ago.

Prag, Kgl. Weinberge,
15th October, 1907.

M. Winternitz.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE NOTES.

ABA = Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philol.-histor. Klasse.

ABayA = Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil. Klasse.

AGGW = Abhandlungen der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philol.-histor. Klasse.

AKM = Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, herausg. von der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

Album Kern = Album-Kern : Opstellen geschreven ter eere von Dr. H. Kern ... op zijn zeventigsten verjaardag. Leiden 1903.

AMG = Annales du Musée Guimet (Paris).

Ann. Bh. Inst. = Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona.

ĀnSS = Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series (Poona).

AR = Archiv für Religionsgeschichte.

ASGW = Abhandlungen der philol.-histor. Klasse der Königl. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.

Aufrecht, Bodl. Cat. = Th. Aufrecht, Catalogus Codicum MSS. Sanscriticorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae, Oxonii 1859-64.

Aufrecht CC = Th. Aufrecht: Catalogus Catalogorum. Leipzig 1891 ; II, 1896 ; III, 1903.

Aufrecht, Leipzig = Katalog der Sanskrit-Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek zu Leipzig, 1901.

BEFEO = Bulletin de l'école française d'Extrême Orient.

BenSS = Benares Sanskrit Series.

Bezz. Beitr. = Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen, herausg. von A. Bezzenberger.

Bhandarkar, Report 1882-83 = R. G. Bhandarkar, Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1882-83, Bombay 1884.

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Bhandarkar, Report 1883-84 = R. G. Bhandarkar, Report etc. during the year 1883-84, Bombay 1887.

Bhandarkar Comm. Vol. = Commemorative Essays presented to Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, Poona 1917.

Bhandarkar, Vaiṣṇavism etc. = R. G. Bhandarkar, Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems (Grundriss III, 6, 1913).

Bibl. Ind. = Bibliotheca Indica.

BSGW = Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Königl. Sächischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philol.-histor. Klasse.

BSOS = Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution.

BSS = Bombay Sanskrit Series.

Bühler, Report = G. Bühler, Detailed Report of a Tour in Search of Sanskrit MSS. made in Kaśmir, Rajputana, and Central India. (Extra Number of the JBRAS 1877).

Burnell, Tanjore = A. C. Burnell, A Classified Index to the Sanskrit MSS. in the Palace at Tanjore, London 1880.

Cambridge History = The Cambridge History of India, Vol. I. Ancient India. Ed. by E. J. Rapson, Cambridge 1922.

Deussen, AGPh = P. Deussen, Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie, I, 1—3, Leipzig 1894 (2nd ed. 1906)-1908.

DLZ = Deutsche Literaturzeitung.

Ep. Ind. = Epigraphia Indica.

ERE = Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, edited by James Hastings.

Farquhar, Outline = J. N. Farquhar: An Outline of the Religious Literature of India, London 1920.

Festschrift Kuhn = Aufsätze zur Kultur-und Sprachgeschichte vornehmlich des Orients Ernst Kuhn...gewidmet... München 1916.

Festschrift Wackernagel = Antidoron, Festschrift Jacob Wackernagel zur Vollendung des 70. Lebensjahres, Göttingen 1924.

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Festschrift Windisch = Festschrift Ernst Windisch zum 70. Geburtstag ..dargebracht...Leipzig 1914.

GGA = Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen.

GOS = Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda.

Grundriss = Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde.

GSAI = Giornale della societa Asiatica Italiana.

Gurupūjākaumudī = Gurupūjākaumudī, Festgabe zum fünfzigjährigen Doctorjubiläum Albrecht Weber dargebracht von seinen Freunden und Schülern, Leipzig 1896.

Haraprasād, Report I, II. = Haraprasād Śāstrī, Report on the Search of Sanskrit MSS. (1895-1900), Calcutta 1901 and (1901-02 to 1905-06), Calcutta 1905.

HOS = Harvard Oriental Series, ed. by Ch. R. Lanman.

Ind. Hist. Qu. = The Indian Historical Quarterly, edited by Narendra Nath Law.

Ind. Ant. = Indian Antiquary.

Ind. Off. Cat. = Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office, London 1887 ff.

Ind. Stud. = Indische Studien, herausgegeben von A. Weber.

JA = Journal Asiatique.

JAOS = Journal of the American Oriental Society.

JASB = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

JBRAS = Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

LZB = Literarisches Zentralblatt.

Mélanges Lévi = Mélanges d'Indianisme offerts par ses élèves à M. Sylvain Lévi...Paris 1911.

NGGW = Nachrichten von der Kgl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften Göttingen, Philolog.-histor. Klasse.

NSP = Nirṇaya Sāgara Press (Bombay).

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OC=Transactions (Verhandlungen, Actes) of Congresses of Orientalists.

OTF=Oriental Translation Fund.

Pischel, KG=R. Pischel, Die indische Literatur, in Kultur der Gegenwart I, 7, 1906.

Proc. I (II, III) OC=Proceedings and Transactions of the First (Second, Third) Oriental Conference.

RHR=Revue de l'histoire des Religions, Paris.

RSO=Rivista degli studi orientali, Rome.

SBA=Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften.

SBayA=Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wiss., Phil.-histor. Kl.

SBE=Sacred Books of the East (Oxford).

SBH=Sacred Books of the Hindus, published by the Panini Office, Allahabad.

Schroeder, ILC=L. von Schroeder, Indiens Literatur und Cultur, Leipzig 1887.

SIFI=Studi Italiani di Filologia Indo-Iranica.

Smith, Early History=Vincent A. Smith, The Early History of India. Fourth Edition, revised by S. M. Edwardes, Oxford 1924.

SWA=Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften.

TSS=Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.

Weber, HSS. Verz.=A. Weber, Verzeichnis der Sanskrit und Prakrit-Handschriften der K. Bibliothek zu Berlin.

Weber, HIL=A. Weber, History of Indian Literature, Fourth Edition, 1904, Popular Re-issue, 1914.

Winternitz-Keith, Bodl. Cat.=Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, vol. II begun by M. Winternitz, continued and completed by A. B. Keith, Oxford, 1905.

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WZKM = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.

ZB = Zeitschrift für Buddhismus (Oskar Schloss, München).

ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

ZII = Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik, herausg. von der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

ZVV = Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde in Berlin.

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Directions for Pronunciation of Indian (Sanskrit, Prākrit, Pāli) names and words, written in Roman characters.

Pronounce:

Vowels.
- *a* अ as a "neutral vowel" like English "short **u**" in **but**.
- *ṛ* ऋ as a vowel, like **er** in Scots English bak**er**.
- *e* ए, *o* ओ as long *ē* (in English th**ey**) and *ō* (in English st**one**), without diphthongal character.

Palatals.
- *c* च like **ch** in English **ch**ild.
- *j* ज like **j** in English **j**ust.

Cerebrals.
- *ṭ* ट, *ṭh* ठ, *ḍ* ड, *ḍh* ढ, *ṇ* ण like English "dentals", while the Sanskrit dentals (*t* त, *th* थ, *d* द, *dh* ध, *n* न) are pronounced like dentals in Italian and French.

Sibilants.
- *ś* (or *s̆*, *s̆*) श (palatal)
- *ṣ* ष (cerebral)

} like *sh* in English **sh**ip.

Nasals.
- *ṅ* ङ (guttural) like **ng** in English sing
- *ñ* ञ (palatal) „ **gn** in French montag**ne**
- *ṃ* (Anusvāra) „ **n** in French Jea**n**.

ḥ (Visarga) "a surd breathing, a final *h*-sound (in the European sense of *h*) uttered in the articulating position of the preceding vowel" (Whitney).

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INTRODUCTION.

Extent and Significance of Indian Literature.

The history of Indian literature is the history of the mental activity of at least 3,000 years, as expressed in speech and writing. The home of this mental activity which has been almost uninterruptedly continuous through thousands of years, is a land which reaches from the Hindu-kush to Cape Comorin and covers an area of one and a half millions of square miles, equalling in extent the whole of Europe with the exception of Russia,—a land which stretches from 8° to 35° N. Lat., that is, from the hottest regions of the Equator to well within the temperate zone. But the influence which this literature, already in ancient times, exerted over the mental life of other nations, reaches far beyond the boundaries of India to Further India, to Tibet, as far as China, Japan and Korea, and in the South over Ceylon and the Malay Peninsula far away over the islands of the Indian and the Pacific Oceans, while to the West the tracks of Indian mental life may be traced far into Central Asia to Eastern Turkestan, where, buried in the sands of the desert, Indian manuscripts have been found.

As regards its contents, Indian literature embraces everything which the word "literature" comprises in its widest sense: religious and secular, epic, lyric, dramatic and didactic poetry, as well as narrative and scientific prose.

In the foreground stands the religious literature. Not only the Brahmans in their Vedas and the Buddhists in their Tipiṭaka, but also many others of the numerous religious sects, which have sprung up in India, can produce an

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enormous number of literary works—hymns, sacrificial songs, incantations, myths and legends, sermons, theological treatises, polemical writings, manuals of instruction on ritual and religious discipline. In this literature there is an accumulation of absolutely priceless material, which no investigator of religion can afford to pass by. Besides this activity in the sphere of religious literature, which reaches back through thousands of years, and is still being continued at the present day, there have been in India since the oldest times also heroic songs, which in the course of centuries have become condensed into two great national epics—the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa. The poets of the Indian Middle Ages during centuries drew upon the legends of these two epics, and epic poems arose, which in contradistinction to these popular epics, are designated as—ornate epics. But, while these poems, on account of their exaggerated artificiality, which often exceeds all bounds, do not by any means always suit our Western taste, Indian poets have bequeathed to us lyrical and dramatic works, which bear comparison for delicacy and intensity of feeling, and partly also for dramatic creative power, with the most beautiful productions of modern European literature. In one department of literature, that of the aphorism (gnomic poetry), the Indians have attained a mastery which has never been gained by any other nation. India is also the land of the fairy-tale and fable. The Indian collections of fairy-tales, fables and prose narratives have played no insignificant part in the history of world-literature. Indeed, fairy-tale research—that most attractive study of fairy-tales and fairy-tale motives and of their wanderings from people to people—has only become an independent branch of knowledge through Benfey's fundamental work on the famous Indian book of fables, the Pañcatantra.

But one of the peculiarities of the Indian mind is that it has never drawn a distinct line between purely artistic production and scientific work, so that a division between

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"belles lettres" and didactic literature is not really possible in India. What appears to us a collection of fairy tales and fables is regarded by the Indians as a manual of political and moral instruction. On the other hand, history and biography have in India never been treated other than by poets and as a branch of epic poetry. Neither does a division between the forms of poetry and prose really exist in India. Every subject can be treated equally well in verses as in the prose form. We find novels which differ from the ornate epics in hardly anything except that the metrical form is wanting. Since the oldest times we find a special predilection for the mixture of prose and verse. For that which we call scientific literature, the prose form has been employed in India only for a small part, whereas verse has been used to a far greater extent. This is the case in works on philosophy and law, as also in those on medicine, astronomy, architecture, etc. Indeed, even grammars and dictionaries have been written by the Indians in metrical form. There is perhaps nothing more characteristic than that there exists a great classical epic in 22 Cantos, which pursues the definitely stated aim of illustrating and impressing the rules of grammar. Philosophy was very early a subject of literary activity in India, first in connection with the religious literature, but later also independently of the latter. Similarly, already in very early times, law and custom were,—also first in connection with religion,—made into subjects of a special law literature, written partly in verse and partly in prose. The importance of this law literature for the comparative study of law and social science is to-day appreciated to the full by prominent jurists and sociologists. Centuries before the birth of Christ, grammar was already studied in India, a science in which the Indians excel all the nations of antiquity. Lexicography, too, attains to a high age. The Indian court poets (Kavi) of later periods did not give utterance to that which a god revealed to them, but they

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studied the rules of grammar, and searched in dictionaries for rare and poetic expressions; they versified according to the teachings and rules which were laid down in scientific works on prosody and poetics. Since the earliest times the Indian mind had a particular predilection for detailed analysis and for the pedantic scientific treatment of all possible subjects. Therefore we find in India not only an abundant, and partly ancient, literature on politics and economics, medicine, astrology and astronomy, arithmetic and geometry; but also music, singing, dancing and dramatic art, magic and divination, and even erotics, are arranged in scientific systems and treated in special manuals of instruction.

But in each single one of the above enumerated branches of literature there has accumulated, during the course of the centuries, a mass of literary productions which it is almost impossible to survey, largely through the fact that in nearly all departments of religious literature, as well as of poetry and science, the commentators developed a very eager activity. Thus especially some of the most important and most extensive works on grammar, philosophy and law are only commentaries on older works. Very frequently other commentaries were again written on these commentaries. Indeed, it is not a rare thing for an author in India to have added a commentary to his own work. Thus, it is no matter for wonder, that the sum total of Indian literature is almost overwhelming. And in spite of the fact that the catalogues of Indian MSS. which can be found in Indian and European libraries contain many thousands of book-titles and names of authors, innumerable works of Indian literature have been lost, and many names of older writers are known only through quotations by later writers, or have even completely disappeared.

All these facts—the high age, the wide geographical distribution, the extent, and the wealth, the aesthetic value

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and still more the value from the point of view of the history of culture, of Indian literature—would fully suffice to justify our interest in this great, original, and ancient literature. But here is something else in addition to this, which gives, just to Indian literature, a quite particular interest. The Indo-Aryan languages, together with the Iranian, form the most easterly branch of that great family of languages, to which also our language and indeed most of the languages of Europe belong, and which is called Indo-European. It was indeed this very literature of India, the investigation of which led to the discovery of this affinity of languages, a discovery which was so truly epoch-making, because it threw such an astonishing new light upon the pre-historic relations between the peoples. For, from the affinity of languages, one was forced to conclude that there was a former unity of languages, and this again presupposed a closer tie between the peoples speaking these Indo-European languages. There certainly are widespread and considerable errors concerning this relationship of the Indo-European peoples prevailing even to-day. People speak of an Indo-European "race," which does not exist at all, and never has existed. One also hears at times that Indians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Germanic peoples and Slavs are of the same blood, descendants of one and the same Indo-European "primitive stock." These were far too hasty conclusions. But though it is even more than doubtful whether the peoples which speak Indo-European languages are all descended from a common origin, still it must not be doubted that a common language, this most important instrument of all mental activity, implies a relationship of mind and a common culture. Though the Indians are not flesh of our flesh, or bone of our bone, we may yet discover mind of our mind in the world of Indian thought. In order, however, to attain to a knowledge of the "Indo-European mind," *i.e.* of that which may be called the Indo-European peculiarity in thought, reflection and poetry of these peoples, it is absolutely

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essential for the one-sided knowledge of the Indo-European character, which we have acquired by the study of European literatures, to be completed by an acquaintance with the Indo-European mind as evidenced in the distant East. It is for this reason that Indian literature, more especially, forms a necessary complement to the classical literature of Ancient Greece and Rome for all who would guard themselves against a one-sided view of the Indo-European character. Indian literature cannot, indeed, be compared with Greek literature in regard to artistic merit. The world of Indian thought has not, it is true, exercised by any means such an influence over modern European ideas as did Greek and Roman culture. But if we wish to learn to understand the beginnings of our own culture, if we wish to understand the oldest Indo-European culture, we must go to India, where the oldest literature of an Indo-European people is preserved. For whatever view we may adopt on the problem of the antiquity of Indian literature, we can safely say that the oldest monument of the literature of the Indians is at the same time the oldest monument of Indo-European literature which we possess.

Moreover, the immediate influence which the literature of India has exercised over our own literature, too, should not be under-estimated. We shall see that the narrative literature of Europe is dependent on the Indian fable literature in no small degree. It is more especially German literature and German philosophy which, since the beginning of the 19th century, have been greatly influenced by Indian ideas, and it is quite probable that this influence is still on the increase, and that it will be augmented still further in the course of the present century.

For that affinity of mind which is revealed to us in the unity of the Indo-European languages, is still clearly recognisable to-day, and nowhere so markedly as between Indians and Germans. The striking points of agreement between the

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German and Indian mind have often been pointed out.[1] "The Indians," says Leopold von Schroeder, "are the nation of romanticists of antiquity: the Germans are the romanticists of modern times." G. Brandes has already referred to the tendency towards contemplation and abstract speculation as well as to the inclination towards pantheism in the case of both Germans and Indians. Moreover, the German and the Indian character meet in many other respects, in a striking manner. It is not only German poets who have sung of "Weltschmerz" (world-sorrow). "Weltschmerz" is also the basic idea upon which the doctrine of Buddha is built up; and more than one Indian poet has lamented the suffering and woe of the world, the transitoriness and the vanity of all earthly things in words which remind us forcibly of our great poet of "Weltschmerz," Nikolaus Lenau. And when Heine says:

"Sweet is sleep, but death is better,
Best of all is it never to be born,"

he expresses the same idea as those Indian philosophers, who aspire to nothing more ardently than to that death after which there is no further re-birth. Again, sentimentality and feeling for Nature are the common property of German and Indian poetry, whilst they are foreign, say, to Hebrew or Greek poetry. Germans and Indians love descriptions of Nature; and both Indian and German poets delight in connecting the joys and sorrows of man with the Nature which surrounds him. There is yet another, quite different province, in which we encounter the similarity between Germans and Indians. Mention has already been made of the tendency of the Indians to work out scientific systems; and we are justified in saying that the Indians were the

[1]) Thus especially by G. *Brandes*, "Hauptströmungen der Literatur des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts," Berlin 1872, I, p. 270, and by *Leopold von Schroeder*, "Indiens Literatur und Cultur," Leipzig 1887, p. 6 f.

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nation of scholars of antiquity, just as the Germans are the nation of scholars of to-day. In the earliest ages the Indians already analysed their ancient sacred writings with a view to philology, classified the linguistic phenomena as a scientific system, and developed their grammar so highly that even to-day modern philology can use their attainments as a foundation ; likewise Germans of to-day are the undisputed leaders in all fields of philology and linguistic science.

In the field of Indian philology and in the research of Indian literature, too, the Germans have been the leaders and pioneers. Much as we are indebted to the English, who, as the rulers of India, took up the study of Indian language and literature as a result of practical needs, much as some prominent French, Italian, Dutch, Danish, American, Russian, and,—which should not be forgotten—native Indian scholars, have done for the investigation of Indian literature and culture,—the Germans have undoubtedly taken the lion's share in publishing critical editions of texts, explaining and investigating them, and in compiling dictionaries and grammars. A brief survey of the history of Indological studies will show us this.

The Beginnings of the Study of Indian Literature in Europe.[1]

The enormous mass of Indian literary works, which to-day can hardly be surveyed by *one* investigator, has been made accessible for research only in the course of little more than a century.

Certainly already in the seventeenth, and still more in the eighteenth century, isolated travellers and missionaries acquired a certain knowledge of Indian languages, and made

[1]) For this chapter see *E. Windisch*, "Geschichte der Sanskrit-Philologie und indischen Altertumskunds," I, II (Grundriss I, 1, 1917 and 1920).

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themselves acquainted with one or another of the works of Indian literature. But their efforts did not fall on fruitful soil. Thus in the year 1651 the Dutchman Abraham Roger who had lived as a preacher in Paliacatta (Puliat) to the north of Madras, reported in his work "Open Door to the Hidden Heathendom"[1] on the ancient Brahmanical literature of the Indians, and published some of the Proverbs of Bhartṛhari, which had been translated into Portuguese for him by a Brahman, and which were drawn upon by Herder in later years for his "Stimmen der Völker in Liedern." In the year 1699 the Jesuit Father Johann Ernst Hanxleden went to India and worked there for over thirty years in the Malabar Mission. He was himself conversant with Indian languages, and his "Grammatica Granthamia seu Samscrdumica" was the first Sanskrit Grammar written by a European. It was never printed, but was used by Fra Paolino de St. Bartholomeo. This Fra Paolino—an Austrian Carmelite, whose real name was J. Ph. Wessdin—is undeniably the most important of the missionaries who worked at the earliest opening-up of Indian literature. He was a missionary on the coast of Malabar from 1776 till 1789 and died in Rome in the year 1805. He wrote two Sanskrit Grammars and several learned treatises and books. His "Systema Brahmanicum" (Rome, 1792) and his "Reise nach Ostindien" (German by J. R. Forster, Berlin, 1798) show a great knowledge of India and the Brahmanical literature, as well as a deep study of Indian languages and especially of Indian religious thought. But yet his work too has left only faint traces behind.

At the same time, however, the English too had begun to concern themselves about the language and literature of the Indians. It was no less a person than Warren Hastings, the actual founder of British rule in India, from whom

[1]) The book appeared in Dutch in 1651 ("Open-Deure tot het verborgen Heydendom," in 1915 newly edited by W. *Caland*), and in a German translation in Nürnberg in 1663.

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emanated the first fruitful stimulus for the study of Indian literature, which has never since been interrupted. He had recognised, what the English since then have never forgotten, that the sovereignty of England in India would be secure only if the rulers understood how to treat the social and religious prejudices of the natives with all possible consideration. At his instigation therefore a resolution was incorporated in the law which was to regulate the Government of India, to the effect that native scholars should attend the legal proceedings in order to make it possible for the English judges in India to consider the statutes of Indian law-books at the formulation of the verdicts. And when, in the year 1773, Warren Hastings was nominated as the Governor-General of Bengal and entrusted with the highest powers over the whole of the English possessions in India, he had a work compiled by a number of Brahmans, versed in the law, out of the ancient Indian law books, under the title of "Vivādārṇavasetu" ("Bridge over the Ocean of Disputes") containing everything important about the Indian law of inheritance, family law, and such like. When the work was finished, no one could be found who was capable of translating it directly from Sanskrit into English. It therefore had to be translated from Sanskrit into Persian, from which it was translated into English by Nathaniel Brassey Halhed. This translation was printed at the expense of the East India Company in the year 1776 under the title "A Code of Gentoo [1] Law."

The first Englishman who acquired a knowledge of Sanskrit was Charles Wilkins, who had been urged by Warren Hastings to take instruction from the Pandits in Benares, the chief seat of Indian learning. As the first-fruits of his Sanskrit studies he published in the year 1785 an English

[1]) A German translation appeared in Hamburg in 1778. "Gentoo" is the Anglo-Indian form of the Portuguese "gentio," "heathen," and is used to designate the Indian "heathens," *i.e.* the Hindus, in contradistinction to the Mohammedans.

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translation of the philosophical poem "Bhagavadgītā," which was the first time a Sanskrit book had been translated directly into a European language. Two years later there followed a translation of the book of fables, "Hitopadeśa," and in 1795 a translation of the Śakuntalā episode from the Mahābhārata. For his Sanskrit Grammar, which appeared in 1808, Sanskrit type was used for the first time in Europe, a type which he himself had carved and cast. He was also the first who occupied himself with Indian inscriptions and translated some of them into English.

However, still more important for the opening-up of large departments of Indian literature was the work of the famous English orientalist William Jones [1] (born 1746, died 1794), who went to India in the year 1783 in order to take up the post of Chief Justice at Fort William. Jones had already in his youth occupied himself with oriental poetry, and translated Arabic and Persian poems into English. No wonder that, when he arrived in India, he transferred his enthusiasm to the study of Sanskrit and Indian literature. Already a year after his arrival in India he became the founder of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, which soon displayed an extraordinarily useful activity in the publication of periodicals, and especially in the printing of numerous editions of Indian texts. In the year 1789 he published his English translation of the celebrated drama "Śakuntalā" by Kālidāsa. This English translation was translated into German in the year 1791 by Georg Forster, and awakened in the highest degree the enthusiasm of men like Herder and Goethe. Another work of the same poet Kālidāsa, the lyric poem "Ṛtusaṃhāra," was published in the original text by Jones in Calcutta in the year 1792, and this was the first Sanskrit text which appeared

[1] William *Jones* was not only a learned and enthusiastic Orientalist, but also the first Anglo-Indian poet. He composed suggestive hymns to Brahman, Nārāyaṇa, Lakṣmī. etc.; s. E. F. *Oaten*, "A Sketch of Anglo-Indian Literature," London 1908, p. 19 ff.

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in print. Of still greater importance was the fact that Jones translated into English the most famous and most reputed work of Indian legal literature, the law book of Manu. This translation appeared in Calcutta in 1794 under the title "Institutes of Hindu Law, or the Ordinance of Manu." A German translation of this book appeared in 1797 in Weimar. Finally Jones was also the first who affirmed the certain genealogical connection of Sanskrit with Greek and Latin and its hypothetical connection with German, Celtic and Persian. He had already also pointed out the similarities between the ancient Indian and the Graeco-Roman mythology.

While the enthusiastic W. Jones, through the enthusiasm with which he brought to light Indian literary treasures, was primarily stimulating, the sober Henry Thomas Colebrooke, who continued the work of W. Jones, became the real founder of Indian philology and archaeology. Colebrooke had entered on his official career in Calcutta in 1782 as a youth of seventeen years, without troubling himself during the first eleven years of his sojourn in India about Sanskrit and Sanskrit literature. But when W. Jones died in 1794 Colebrooke had just learnt Sanskrit and had undertaken to translate from the Sanskrit into English, under Jones' guidance, a composition, prepared by native scholars, on the law of succession and contract, from the Indian law books. This translation appeared in 1797 and 1798 under the title "A Digest of Hindu Law on Contracts and Successions" in four folio volumes. From that time he devoted himself with untiring zeal to the investigation of Indian literature. His interest, contrary to that of Jones, lay not so much in the poetic as in the scientific literature. Therefore we are indebted to him not only for further works on Indian law, but also for pioneer essays on philosophy and religious life, on grammar, astronomy and the arithmetic of the Indians. Moreover it was he who, in the year 1805, in the now famous essay "On the Vedas," was the first to give definite and

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reliable information about the ancient sacred books of the Indians.[1] He was also the editor of the Amarakośa and other Indian dictionaries, of the famous grammar of Pāṇini, of the "Hitopadeśa," and of the epic poem "Kirātārjunīya." Further he is the author of a Sanskrit grammar, and edited and translated a number of inscriptions. Finally he amassed an exceedingly diversified collection of Indian manuscripts, which are supposed to have cost him about £10,000, and which, after his return to England, he presented to the East India Company. This collection of manuscripts is to-day one of the most valuable treasures of the library of the India Office in London.

Among the Englishmen who, like Jones and Colebrooke, learned Sanskrit at about the close of the eighteenth century, was Alexander Hamilton. The latter returned to Europe in 1802, travelling through France, and stayed for a short time in Paris. An event then happened, which, though unpleasant for himself, was extraordinarily favourable for Sanskrit learning. Just at that time the hostilities between France and England, which had been interrupted only for a short time by the Peace of Amiens, broke out anew and Napoleon issued a command that all English people who were in France when war broke out should be prevented from returning to their homes, and be detained in Paris. Alexander Hamilton was among these Englishmen. But, in the year 1802 the German poet Friedrich Schlegel[2] had also just come to Paris to

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[1]) The alleged translation of the Yajurveda which appeared in the year 1778 in French under the title "Ezour-vedam" and in 1779 also in German, is a falsification, a pious fraud, which used to be ascribed to the missionary *Roberto de 'Nobili.'* But W. *Caland*, Th. *Zachariæ* (GGA 1921, p. 157), and others deny, that he was the author of the fraud. *Voltaire* received this alleged translation from the hands of an official returning from Pondicherry and presented it to the Royal Library in Paris, in 1761. *Voltaire* regarded the book as an old commentary on the Veda, which had been translated by a venerable centenarian Brahman into French, and he frequently refers to the "Ezour-Veda" as an authority for Indian antiquities. Already in the year 1782 *Sonnerat* declared the book to be a falsification. (A. W. *Schlegel*, Indische Bibliothek, II, p. 50 ff.)

[2]) *Cf.* A. F. J. *Remy*, "The Influence of India and Persia on the Poetry of Germany,"

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stay there, except for a few intervals, till the year 1807, just during the time of A. Hamilton's involuntary sojourn. In Germany attention had for a long time already been drawn to the efforts of English scholars. Especially the above-mentioned translation of "Śakuntalā" by W. Jones had attracted much attention, and had been immediately (1791) translated into German. In the years 1795-97 W. Jones's treatises had already appeared in a German translation. Also Jones's translation of Manu's Law Book had been rendered into German already in the year 1797. The books of Fra Paolino de St. Bartholomeo too did certainly not remain unnoticed in Germany. Above all, however, it was the Romantic School, headed by the brothers Schlegel, for which Indian literature had a special attraction. It was indeed the time when people began to become enthusiastic about foreign literatures. Herder had already frequently directed the attention of the Germans to the Orient by means of his "Stimmen der Völker in Liedern" (1778) and his "Ideen zur Geschichte der Menschheit" (1784-91). It was the Romanticists, however, who threw themselves with the greatest enthusiasm into everything strange and distant, and who felt themselves most especially attracted by India. From India one expected, as Friedrich Schlegel said, nothing less than "the unfolding of the history of the primeval world which up till now is shrouded in darkness; and lovers of poetry hoped, especially since the appearance of the Sokuntola to glean thence many similar beautiful creations of the Asiatic spirit, animated, as in this case, by grace and love." No wonder, therefore, that, when he made the acquaintance of Alexander Hamilton in Paris, Friedrich Schlegel at once seized the opportunity of learning Sanskrit from him. In the years 1803 and 1804 he had the advantage of his instruction and the

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New York, 1901, and P. Th. *Hoffmann*, "Der indische und der deutsche Geist von Herder bis zur Romantik" Diss., Tübingen, 1915.

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remaining years of his stay in Paris he employed in study in the Paris Library, which already at that time contained about two hundred Indian manuscripts.[1] As the result of these studies there appeared in the year 1808 that book through which Friedrich Schlegel became the founder of Indian philology in Germany, namely, "Ueber die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier. Ein Beitrag zur Begründung der Altertumskunde." This book was written with enthusiasm and was suitable for awakening enthusiasm. It contained also translations of some passages from the Rāmāyaṇa, from Manu's Law Book, from the Bhagavadgītā, and from the Śakuntalā-episode of the Mahābhārata. These were the first direct translations from Sanskrit into German; for what had previously been known of Indian literature in Germany, had been translated from the English.

While Friedrich Schlegel's work was chiefly stimulating, it was his brother August Wilhelm von Schlegel who was the first in Germany to develop an extensive activity as a Sanskrit scholar by means of editions of texts, translations, and other philological works. He was also the first Professor of Sanskrit in Germany, in which capacity he was called to the newly-founded University of Bonn in the year 1818. Like his brother, he too had begun his Sanskrit studies in Paris, namely, in the year 1814. His teacher was a Frenchman, A. L. Chézy, the first French scholar to learn and teach Sanskrit; he was also the first Sanskrit Professor at the Collège de France, and has rendered valuable services as an editor and translator of Indian works. In the year 1823 appeared the first volume of the periodical "Indische Bibliothek," founded and almost entirely written by August Wilhelm von Schlegel, containing numerous essays on Indian philology. In the same year he published also a

[1]) A catalogue of these was published by *Alexander Hamilton* in Paris, 1807 (in conjunction with L. *Langlès*, who translated *Hamilton's* notes into French).

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good edition of the Bhagavadgītā with a Latin translation, while in the year 1829 appeared the first part of Schlegel's most important work, his unfinished edition of the Rāmāyaṇa.

A contemporary of August Wilhelm von Schlegel was Franz Bopp, who was born in 1791, went to Paris in 1812, in order to devote himself to the study of Oriental languages, and there learned Sanskrit from Chézy, together with Schlegel. But while the brothers Schlegel, as romantic poets, were enthusiastic over India, and took up their work in Indian literature as a kind of adventure,[1] Bopp joined these studies as a thoroughly sober investigator, and it was he who became the founder of a new science, Comparative Philology, which was destined to so great a future,—and this by means of his book, published in 1816, "Ueber das Conjugations-system der Sanskritsprache in Vergleichung mit jenem der griechischen, lateinischen, persischen und germanischen Sprache." In the investigation of Indian literature, too, Bopp has rendered invaluable services. Already in his "Conjugations-system" he gave as an appendix some episodes from the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata in metrical translations from the original text, besides some extracts from the Vedas after Colebrooke's English translation. With rare skill he then singled out of the great epic Mahābhārata the wonderful story of King Nala and his faithful wife Damayantī, and made it universally accessible by means of a good critical edition with a Latin translation.[2] It is just this one, out of the countless episodes of the

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[1]) Thus *Friedrich Schlegel* writes in a letter to *Goethe* that he has set himself the task "of bringing to light that which has been forgotten and unappreciated," and therefore had turned from Dante to Shakespeare, to Petrarch and Calderon, to the old German heroic songs, "In this manner I had to a certain extent exhausted the European literature, and turned to Asia in order to seek a new adventure." (A. *Hillebrandt*, "Alt-Indien" Breslau, 1899, p. 37.) *Aug. Wilh. von Schlegel* also writes (Indische Bibliothek, p. 8) that he desires, by means of his essays, to point the way to a certain extent for those of his compatriots "who wish to taste the adventure (for an adventure it remains after all)."

[2]) Nalus, Carmen Sanskritum e Mahabharato, edidit, latine vertit et adnotationibus illustravit *Franciscus Bopp*. London, 1819.

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Mahābhārata, which most completely forms a separate whole, and not only is one of the most beautiful portions of the great epic, but also, as one of the most charming creations of Indian poetic art, is most peculiarly suitable for awakening enthusiasm for Indian literature, and love for the study of Sanskrit. It has, in fact, become almost traditional at all Western Universities where Sanskrit is taught, to select the Nala-episode as the first reading for the students, for which purpose it is especially suitable also on account of the simplicity of the language. A number of other episodes from the Mahābhārata, too, were published for the first time and translated into German by Bopp. His Sanskrit Grammars (1827, 1832 and 1834) and his "Glossarium Sanscritum" (Berlin 1830) have done very much to further the study of Sanskrit in Germany.

It was fortunate for the young science of comparative philology and for the study of Sanskrit, which was then still for a long time connected with it, that the ingenious, versatile and influential Wilhelm von Humboldt showed enthusiasm for these studies. In the year 1821 he began to learn Sanskrit because, as he once wrote in a letter to Aug. Wilh. von Schlegel,[1] he had perceived "that without as thorough as possible a study of Sanskrit, very little can be accomplished either in philology or in that kind of history which is connected with it." And when Schlegel, in the year 1828, took a retrospect of Indian studies, he emphasized as particularly fortunate for the new science the fact that it "had found a warm friend and patron in Herrn Wilhelm von Humboldt." Schlegel's edition of the Bhagavadgītā had directed Humboldt's attention to this theosophical poem. He devoted special treatises to it, and at the time he wrote to Fr. von Gentz (1827): "It is perhaps the deepest and loftiest thing the world has to show." Later, in 1828, when he sent to his friend his work on the Bhagavadgītā, which had in the meantime been

[1]) Indische Bibliothek, 1, p. 433.

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criticized by Hegel, he wrote that, however indifferent he might be to Hegel's judgment, he greatly valued the Indian philosophical poem. "I read the Indian poem," he writes, "for the first time in the country in Silesia, and my constant feeling while doing so was gratitude to Fate for having permitted me to live long enough to become acquainted with this book." [1]

Yet another great hero of German literature remains to be mentioned, who fortunately for our science, had enthusiasm for Indian poetry. This is the German poet Friedrich Rückert, the incomparable master of the art of translation. Of the loveliest gems of Indian epics and lyrics there is indeed much which

> "Rustled thousands of years ago
> In the tops of Indian palms,"

and which, through him, has become the common property of the German people.[2]

Till the year 1830 it was almost entirely the so-called classical Sanskrit literature which occupied the attention of European students. The drama "Śakuntalā," the philosophic poem "Bhagavadgītā," the Law-Book of Manu, the proverbs of Bhartṛhari, the fable-book "Hitopadeśa," and selected portions of the great epics: these were practically the chief works with which research was occupied, and which were regarded as the original stock of Indian literature. The great and all-important province of Indian literature, the Veda, was almost entirely unknown, and of the whole of the great Buddhist literature nothing at all was known as yet. The little that was known of the Vedas up till the year 1830 was limited to meagre and incomplete information

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[1]) Schriften von Friedrich *von Gentz*. Herausgegeben von Gustav Schlesier, Mannheim, 1840, Vol. V, pp. 291 and 300.

[2]) *Rückert's* translations from Indian classical poetry have been re-edited by H. *von Glasenapp*, Indische Liebeslyrik, München, 1921.

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from the older writers on India. The first reliable information was given by Colebrooke in his abovementioned treatise on the Vedas in 1805.[1] Comparatively more was known about the Upaniṣads, the philosophic treatises belonging to the Vedas. These Upaniṣads had been translated in the 17th century into Persian by the brother of Aurangzeb, the unfortunate Prince Mohammed-Dara Shakoh,[2] the son of the Great Mogul Shah Jehan. From the Persian they were translated into Latin at the beginning of the 19th century by the French scholar Anquetil du Perron[3] under the title "Oupnek'hat."[4] Imperfect and full of misinterpretations as the Latin translation was, it has become of importance for the history of learning, through the fact that the German philosophers Schelling, and especially Schopenhauer, became enthusiastic for Indian philosophy by means of this book. It was not the Upaniṣads as we know and explain them now with all the material of Indian philology now accessible to us and our more definite knowledge of the whole philosophy of the Indians, but the "Oupnek'hat," that

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[1]) Miscellaneous Essays, Madras, 1872, pp. 9 ff. A German translation was published in 1847. For the beginnings of Vedic research, see *W. Caland*, "De Ontdekkingsgeschiedenis van den Veda," Amsterdam 1918, and *Th. Zachariae*, GGA., 1921, 148 ff. (English in the Journal of Indian History, May, 1923.)

[2]) The fate of this prince forms the subject of a beautiful, unfortunately too little known tragedy by L. *von Schroeder*, "Dara oder Schah Dschehan und seine Söhne" (Mitau 1891).

[3]) *Anquetil du Perron*, too, was among those who were inspired by the Upaniṣads, and was himself a kind of Indian ascetic. See *E. Windisch*, "Die altindischen Religionsurkunden und die christliche Mission," Leipzig, 1897, p. 15, and "Geschichte der Sanskrit-Philologie," pp. 48 ff.

[4]) The complete title is: "Oupnek'hat *i.e.* secretum tegendum, opus ipsa in India rarissimum, continens antiquam et arcanam s. theologicam, et philosophicam doctrinam e quatuor sacris Indorum libris, Rak Beid, Djedir Beid, Sam Beid, Athrban Beid excerptam: ad verbum e persico idiomate, Sanscreticis vocabulis intermixto in latinum conversum... studio et opera *Anquetil du Perron*...Parisiis 1801-1802, 4, 2 Vol."

Partly translated into German, Nürnberg, 1808. "Oupnek'hat" is a corruption of "Upaniṣad" and "Rak Beid" etc. are corruptions of "Ṛg-veda," "Yajur-veda," "Sāma-veda" and "Atharva-veda."

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absolutely imperfect Perso-Latin translation of Anquetil du Perron, which Schopenhauer declared to be "the production of the highest human wisdom." At the same time as Schopenhauer in Germany was putting more of his own philosophical ideas into the Upaniṣads of the Indians than he gleaned from them, there lived in India one of the wisest and noblest men that this land has produced, Rāmmohun Roy, the founder of the "Brahmo Samāj" (a new religious community which sought to unite the best of the European religions with the faith of the Hindus), an Indian who, out of the same Upaniṣads, gleaned the purest faith in God, and out of them tried to prove to his countrymen that, although the idolatry of the present Indian religions is objectionable, yet the Indians therefore need not embrace Christianity, but could find a pure religion in their own sacred writings, in the old Vedas, if they only understood them. With the object of revealing this new teaching, new though already contained in the ancient scriptures, and causing it to be propagated by means of the religious community founded by him, the Brahmo Samāj, or the "Church of God," and also with the purpose of proving to the Christian theologians and missionaries whom he esteemed highly, that the best of that which they taught was already contained in the Upaniṣads,—he translated in the years 1816-1819, a considerable number of Upaniṣads into English, and published a few of these in the original.[1]

The actual philological investigation of the Vedas, however, began only in the year 1838, with the edition, published in London, of the first eighth of the Ṛgveda, by Friedrich Rosen, who was only prevented by his premature death from completing his edition. But above all it was the great French orientalist Eugène Burnouf, who taught at the

[1]) Smaller fragments of the Upaniṣads appeared also in *Othmar Frank's* "Chrestomathia Sanscrita" (1820-1821) and in his "Vyāsa, über Philosophie, Mythologie, Literatur und Sprache der Hindu. (1826-1830).

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Collège de France in the early forties of the nineteenth century, and who, by gathering around him a circle of pupils who afterwards became prominent Vedic scholars, laid the foundation of the study of the Vedas in Europe. One of these pupils was Rudolph Roth, who originated the study of the Vedas in Germany by his book "Zur Litteratur und Geschichte des Weda" (On the literature and history of the Veda) published in 1846. Roth himself and a goodly number of his pupils devoted themselves in the following years and decades with a burning zeal to the investigation of the various branches of this, India's oldest literature. Another celebrated pupil of Burnouf was F. Max Müller, who had been initiated into the study of the Vedas by Burnouf at the same time as Roth. Stimulated by Burnouf, Max Müller formed the project of publishing the hymns of the Ṛgveda with the great commentary of Sāyaṇa. This edition, essential for all further research, appeared in the years 1849-1875.[1] Before this was yet completed, Th. Aufrecht had rendered invaluable services to these investigations, by his handy edition of the complete text of the hymns of the Ṛgveda (1861-1863).[2]

The same Eugène Burnouf who had stood by the cradle of Veda study, had also, by the "Essai sur le Pali" published in 1826 in conjunction with Lassen, and by his "Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme Indien" laid the foundation of the study of Pali, and the investigation of Buddhist literature.

With the conquest of this great department of Veda literature, and with the opening-up of the literature of Buddhism, the history of the infancy of Indology has reached its end. It has grown into a great department of learning, in which the number of collaborators increases year by year. Now rapidly, one after the other, appear critical editions of

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[1]) A second improved edition was published in 1890-1892.

[2]) A second edition of *Aufrecht's* text of the hymns of the Ṛg-veda was published in Bonn, 1877.

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the most important texts, and scholars of all countries strive in noble emulation to interpret them.[1] What has been done in the last decades in the different provinces of Indian literature, will have to be mentioned for the most part in the separate chapters of this history of literature. Here only the principal stages on the path of Indology, the most important events in its history can be briefly mentioned.

Above all, mention must be made of a pupil of A. Wilh. v. Schlegel, Christian Lassen, who tried to gather together the whole of the contemporary knowledge about India, in his "Indische Alterthumskunde" which, planned on a large scale, began to appear in the year 1843 and comprised four thick volumes, the last of which appeared in 1862. The fact that this book is obsolete already to-day is not the fault of the author, but a brilliant proof of the colossal progress which our science has made in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The most powerful lever, however, for this progress, and perhaps the chief event in the history of Sanskrit research was the appearance of the "Sanskrit-Wörterbuch" (Sanskrit Dictionary) compiled by Otto Böhtlingk and Rudolph Roth, published by the Academy of Arts and Sciences in St. Petersburg. The first part of this appeared in the year 1852, and in the year 1875 the work was complete in seven folio volumes —a brilliant monument to German industry.

In the same year 1852, in which the great St. Petersburg Dictionary began to appear, Albrecht Weber made an attempt for the first time to write a complete history of Indian literature. The work appeared under the title "Akademische Vorlesungen über indische Literaturgeschichte." A second

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[1]) As early as 1823 A. W. *v. Schlegel* said very pertinently: "Will the English perhaps claim a monopoly of Indian literature? It would be too late. Cinnamon and cloves they may keep; but these mental treasures are the common property of the educated world." (Ind. Bibl. I, 15.)

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edition appeared in 1876,[1] and it indicates not only a milestone in the history of Indology, but it has remained, in spite of its defects in style, which make it unpalatable for the general reader, for decades the most reliable and most complete handbook of Indian Literature.

However, if one desires to get an idea of the truly astonishing progress which the investigation of Indian literature has made in the comparatively short duration of its existence, then one should read A. Wilh. v. Schlegel's essay, written in the year 1819, "Ueber den gegenwärtigen Zustand der Indischen Philologie" (On the present condition of Indian philology), in which not many more than a dozen Sanskrit books are enumerated as having been made known through editions or translations. Next one should glance at Friedrich Adelung's book, which appeared in the year 1830 in St. Petersburg, "Versuch einer Literatur der Sanskrit-Sprache" (A Study on the literature of the Sanskrit language[2]) in which already the titles of over 350 Sanskrit books are mentioned. One should then compare with it Weber's "Indische Literaturgeschichte" which in the year 1852 (according to an approximate estimate), discusses close on 500 works of Indian literature. Then one should look at the "Catalogus Catalogorum" published by Theodor Aufrecht in the years 1891, 1896 and 1903, which contains an alphabetical list of all Sanskrit works and authors, based on the investigation of all the available catalogues of manuscripts. In this monumental work, at which Aufrecht worked for over forty years, all the catalogues of Sanskrit manuscripts of all the important libraries of India and Europe are incorporated,

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[1]) An English translation of *Weber's* "History of Indian Literature" appeared in Trübner's Oriental Series.

[2]) This is rather a bibliography than a history of literature. About 230 edited texts are mentioned by J. *Gildemeister*, Bibliothecae Sanskritae sive recensus librorum Sanskritorum.....Specimen Bonnae ad Rh. 1847.

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and the number of available Sanskrit books in this "Catalogus Catalogorum" runs into many thousands. Yet this catalogue does not include the whole of the Buddhist literature, and all the literary works which were written in other Indian languages and not in Sanskrit. And how many new works have been discovered since 1903!

The investigation of Buddhist literature has been greatly furthered by the "Pali Text Society" founded in the year 1882 by T. W. Rhys Davids. Albrecht Weber, again, with his great treatise "Ueber die heiligen Schriften der Jaina"[1] (1883-1885) (on the sacred writings of the Jains) has opened up for science another great branch of literature, the writings of the Jains, a sect equal in antiquity to Buddhism.

So much indeed has the amount of Indian Literature, which has become known, gradually increased, that now-a-days it is hardly possible any more for *one* scholar to master all the provinces of the same, and that the necessity arose for giving in one work an encyclopaedic view of everything which has, up till now, been done in the separate branches of Indology. For this work which has been appearing since the year 1897[2] under the title "Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde" (Encyclopaedia of Indo-aryan Philology and Archaeology) the plan was drawn up by Georg Bühler, the greatest and most versatile Sanskrit scholar of the last decades. Thirty scholars from Germany, Austria, England, Holland, India and America banded themselves together, in order to compile the separate parts of this work, first under the editorship of Bühler—afterwards under that of Franz Kielhorn and now under that of H. Lüders and J. Wackernagel. The publication of this, "Grundriss" is at one and the same time the latest and

[1]) "Indische Studien," Vols. 16 and 17.

[2]) Published by Karl J. Trübner in Strassburg, now Vereinigung wissenschaftlicher Verleger Walter de Gruyter & Co., Berlin and Leipzig.

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most welcome, as well as most important, event in the history of the development of Indology. If we wish to compare the knowledge of India and its literature as laid down in the volumes of this "Grundriss" which have appeared up till now, with that which Lassen was able to record in his "Indische Altertumskunde" only a few decades before, then we can look with just pride at the progress which science has made in a comparatively short period of time.

The Chronology of Indian Literature.

Much as has been done with regard to the opening-up of Indian literature, yet its actual history is still to a great extent wrapped in darkness and unexplored. Above all, the chronology of the history of Indian literature is shrouded in truly terrifying darkness, and most of the riddles still remain to be solved by research. It would be so pleasant, so convenient, and, especially for a handbook, so desirable if one could divide Indian literature into three or four periods, separated by definite dates, and place the different literary productions in one or the other of these periods. But every attempt of such a kind is bound to fail in the present state of knowledge, and the use of hypothetical dates would only be a delusion, which would do more harm than good. It is much better to recognise clearly the fact that for the oldest period of Indian literary history we can give no certain dates, and for the later periods only a few. Years ago the celebrated American Sanskrit scholar W. D. Whitney [1] gave utterance to these words which since then have often been repeated: "All dates given in Indian literary history are pins set up to be bowled down again." For the most part this is still the case to-day. Even to-day the views of the most important investigators with

[1] In the Introduction to his "Sanskrit Grammar," Leipzig, 1879 (second edition, 1889).

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regard to the age of the most important Indian literary works, differ, not indeed by years and decades, but by whole centuries, if not even by one or two thousands of years. What can be determined with some certainty, is at most only a kind of relative chronology. We can often say : this or that book, this or that class of literature is older than a certain other; however, with regard to its real age it is only possible to offer hypotheses. The surest mark of differentiation for this relative chronology still lies in the language. Less reliable are peculiarities of style; for it has often happened in India that later works have imitated the style of an older class of literature, in order to assume an appearance of antiquity. Often, indeed, also the relative chronology is spoiled, because many works of Indian literature, and just those which were the most popular, and therefore are the most important for us, have suffered manifold revisions, and have come to us in various modifications. If we find, for example, the Rāmāyaṇa or the Mahābhārata quoted in a book, the date of which can even only approximately be fixed, then the question always arises first, whether this quotation refers to the epics as we have them at present, or to the older versions of the same. Still greater does the uncertainty become through the fact that, of the majority of the works of the older literature, the authors' names are as good as unknown to us. They are handed down to us as the works of families, of schools, or monastic communities, or a mythical seer of primitive times is named as the author. When at last, we come to a time where we have to deal with the works of quite definite individual writers, then these are, as a rule, only mentioned by their family names with which the literary historian of India knows as little what to do, as probably a German literary historian with the names Meier, Schultze or Müller, when these are given without a first name. If, for example, a book under the name of Kālidāsa, or the name of Kālidāsa is mentioned anywhere, then it is by no means certain that the great

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poet of this name is meant, it can equally well be another Kālidāsa.[1]

In this ocean of uncertainty there are only a few fixed points, which, in order not to frighten the reader too much, I would like to mention here.

There is above all the evidence of language, which proves that the hymns and songs, prayers and magic formulas of the Veda, are indisputably the oldest which we possess of Indian literature. Further, it is certain that Buddhism arose in India about 500 years before Christ, and that it presupposes the whole Vedic literature, as represented by its chief works, as practically finished, so that one can assert: The Vedic literature apart from its latest excrescences is on the whole pre-Buddhist, *i.e.* it was concluded before 500 B.C. Also, the chronology of the Buddhist and Jain literature is fortunately not quite so uncertain as that of the Brahmanical literature. The traditions of the Buddhists and the Jains with regard to the formation, or rather the collection, of their canonical works, have proved themselves fairly trustworthy, and inscriptions on the preserved ruins of temples and topes of these religious sects give us appreciable indications of the history of their literature.

However, the safest dates of Indian history are those which we do not get from the Indians themselves. Thus, the invasion of Alexander the Great in India, in the year 326 B.C., is a certain date, which is of importance for Indian literary history, also, especially when it is the question whether, in any literary work or class of literature, Greek influence should be assumed. From the Greeks we also know that,

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[1]) The history of Indian literature encounters an additional difficulty in the frequent occurrence of the same name in different forms, and in the circumstance that one and the same author often has two or several different names, as name synonyms and abbreviations of names are very general in India; s. R. O. *Franke*, "Indische Genuslehren," pp. 57 ff. and GGA, 1892, pp. 482 ff.

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about 315 B.C. Candragupta, the Sandrakottos of the Greek writers, conducted successfully the revolt against the prefects of Alexander, took possession of the throne, and became the founder of the Maurya dynasty in Pāṭaliputra (the Palibothra of the Greeks, the present Patna). It was at about the same time, or a few years later, that the Greek Megasthenes was sent by Seleukos as ambassador to the court of Candragupta. The fragments which have been preserved of the description of India, written by him, give us a picture of the state of Indian culture at that time, and enable us to draw conclusions as to the dates of several Indian literary works. A grandson of Candragupta is the celebrated King Aśoka, who was crowned about 264 B.C.,[1] and from whom originate the oldest dateable Indian inscriptions which have been found up to the present. These inscriptions, partly on rocks, partly on pillars, are the oldest evidences of Indian script which we possess. They show us this powerful king as a patron and a protector of Buddhism, who made use of his sovereignty, which extended from the extreme north to the extreme south of India, for the purpose of spreading abroad everywhere the teaching of Buddha, and who, unlike other rulers, in his rock and pillar edicts, did not narrate his own conquests and glorious deeds, but exhorted the people to virtuous conduct, warned them against sin, and preached love and tolerance. These singular edicts of the King Aśoka are themselves precious literary monuments hewn in stone, but they are also of importance for the history of literature on account of their script and their language, as well as for evidences of religious history. In the year 178 B.C., 137 years after the coronation of Candragupta, the last scion of the Maurya dynasty was hurled from the throne by a king Puṣyamitra. The mention of this King Puṣyamitra, for instance, in a drama of Kālidāsa, is an important evidence for the determination

[1]) See *Fleet*, JRAS 1912, 239.

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of the date of several works of Indian literature. The same is true of the Græco-Bactrian King Menander, who reigned about 144 B.C. He appears under the name Milinda in the famous Buddhist book "Milindapañha."

Next to the Greeks it is the Chinese to whom we are indebted for some of the most important date-determinations of Indian literary history. Since the first century after Christ we hear of Buddhist missionaries who go to China and translate Buddhist works into Chinese, of Indian embassies in China and of Chinese pilgrims, who make pilgrimages to India in order to visit the holy places of Buddhism. Works of Indian literature are translated into Chinese, and the Chinese give us exact dates at which these translations were made. There are especially three Chinese pilgrims Fa-hien, who went to India in the year 399, Hsüan-Tsang, who made great journeys in India from 630 to 645, and I-tsing, who sojourned in India from 671 to 695, whose descriptions of their travels are preserved. These accounts give us many a valuable datum on Indian antiquity and works of literature. The chronological data of the Chinese are, contrary to those of the Indians, wonderfully exact and reliable. It is only too true of the Indians, what the Arabian traveller Albērūni, who in the year 1030 wrote a book on India, which is very important for us, said of them: "Unfortunately the Hindus do not pay much attention to the historical order of things, they are very careless in relating the chronological succession of their kings, and when they are pressed for information and are at a loss, not knowing what to say, they invariably take to romancing." [1]

Nevertheless, one must not believe, as it has so often been asserted, that the historical sense is entirely lacking in the Indians. In India, too, there has been historical writing; and in any case we find in India numerous accurately dated inscriptions, which could hardly be the case if the Indians

[1]) See E. C. *Sachau*, Alberuni's India, English Ed., II, pp. 10

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had had no sense of history at all. It is only true that the Indians, in their writing of history, never knew how to keep fact and fiction strictly apart, that to them the facts themselves were always more important than their chronological order, and that they attached no importance at all, especially in literary matters, to the question of what was earlier or later. Whatever seems good, true and right, to the Indian, that he raises to the greatest possible age; and if he wants to impart a special sanctity to any doctrine, or if he wishes that his work shall be as widespread as possible, and gain respect, then he veils his name in a modest incognito, and mentions some ancient sage as the author of the book. This still happens at the present day, and in past centuries it was no different. It is for this reason that so many quite modern works pass under the time-honoured name of "Upaniṣads" or "Purāṇas," new, sour wine put into old bottles. The intention to deceive, however, is as a rule out of the question in these cases. It is only that extreme indifference reigns with regard to the right of literary ownership and the desire of asserting it. Only in the later centuries does it happen that authors give their own names with full details, together with the names of their parents, grandparents, teachers, patrons, and scanty biographical notes about themselves. The authors of astronomical books generally also give the exact date of the day on which they completed their work. Since the fifth century after Christ, inscriptions too begin to give us information about the dates of many writers. In the deciphering of inscriptions great progress has been made during the last decades. Witness thereof are the "Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum," and the periodical "Epigraphia Indica." And it is the inscriptions to which we are not only indebted for the surest dates of Indian literary history, settled up to now, but from which we also hope to get the greater number of solutions of the chronological problems still unsolved at present.

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The Art of Writing and the Transmission of Indian Literature.

The inscriptions are of such great significance for us because they also give us information on the question which is certainly not unimportant for Indian literary history, namely, the question regarding the age of the art of writing in India. As we shall soon see, the history of Indian literature does not by any means begin with the written literature, and it is not actual writings, but only orally transmitted texts which belong to the oldest periods of Indian literary history. Nevertheless it is clear that the question as to the time since when literary productions have been written down and thus transmitted, cannot by any means be an indifferent one for the history of the literature. Now the oldest dateable Indian inscriptions which have been found up till now, are the above-mentioned Edicts of King Aśoka of the third century before Christ. However, it would be quite wrong, if one were to form the conclusion—as Max Müller has done—that the use of writing in India does not date back to an earlier age. Palaeographic facts prove undeniably that writing cannot have been a new invention as late as the time of Aśoka, but must already have had a long history behind it. The oldest Indian script, from which the Nāgarī script, the best known in Europe, and all the numerous alphabets used in Indian manuscripts are derived, is called "Brāhma script," because it is supposed to have been invented, according to the Indian myth, by the Creator, the god Brahman himself. According to G. Bühler's comprehensive researches,[1] this script goes back to a Semitic origin, namely, to the oldest North Semitic characters, as they are found in Phœnician inscriptions, and on the stone

[1]) "Indische Palaeographie" in the "Grundriss" I, 2, and "On the Origin of the Indian Brahma Alphabet," 2nd ed., Strassburg, 1898.

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of Mesa about 890 B. C. Probably it was by merchants—perhaps already about 800 B. C.—that writing was introduced into India. For a long time, probably, it must have been used entirely for commercial purposes, records, correspondence, calculations, and so on. When afterwards writing began to be used also for the minutes of embassies, proclamations, records and so on in the Royal Chanceries, the kings must also have employed learned grammarians, Brahmans, who adapted the foreign alphabet more and more to the needs of Indian phonetics, and out of the 22 Semitic characters, elaborated a complete alphabet of 44 letters, as the oldest inscriptions already show it. However, since when writing has also been used in India for the recording of literary productions is a much debated question, which is hard to answer. Certain proofs of the existence of manuscripts, or even only authentic reports on the writing-down of texts do not exist from olden times. In the whole of Vedic literature it has not, up till now, been possible to find any proof of the knowledge of writing. In the Buddhist canon, which was probably completed about 240 B. C., there is no mention of manuscripts, although in it there are numerous proofs of an acquaintance with the art of writing, and its extensive use at that time. Writing is there spoken of as a distinguished branch of learning, it was expressly permitted to the Buddhist nuns to occupy themselves with the art of writing; we hear of monks, who through written praise of religious suicide, cause the death of others; it is said that "a registered thief" (*i.e.* a thief whose name is written down in the King's palace) may not be admitted into the order as a monk; a game of letters[1] is mentioned; and it is said that parents should have their children instructed in writing and arithmetic. Yet in the sacred books of Buddhism there is not to be found the least indication of the fact that the books themselves were copied

[1]) This consists of the guessing of letters drawn in the air or on a playmate's back.

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or read. This is all the more striking because in the sacred texts of Buddhism we are informed of all possible, even most insignificant, details in the lives of the monks. "From morning till evening we can follow the monks in their daily life, on their wanderings, during their rest, in their solitude, and in their intercourse with other monks or laymen; we know the furniture of the rooms inhabited by them, their utensils, the contents of their store-rooms; but nowhere do we hear that they read or copied their sacred texts, nowhere that such things as writing materials or manuscripts were owned by anybody in the monasteries. The memory of the brethren "rich in hearing"—what we now call well-read was at that time called rich in hearing—took the place of monastic libraries; and if, in a community, the knowledge of an indispensable text, for instance, the confession formula which had to be recited in the assembly of brethren at every full-moon or new-moon threatened to disappear, then they followed the instructions prescribed in an old Buddhist rule for the community: "From amongst those monks one monk shall without delay be sent off to the neighbouring community. To him shall be said: Go brother, and when you have memorized the confession formula, the full one or the abridged one, then return to us." [1] Wherever the preservation of the teachings of the Master and of the sacred texts is spoken of, there is nowhere a mention of writing and reading, but always only of hearing and memorizing.

From such facts one would conclude that at the time, that is, in the fifth century B. C. the idea of the possibility of writing books had not as yet occurred at all. Such a conclusion, however, would be too hasty, for it is a strange phenomenon that in India, from the oldest times, up till the present day, the spoken word, and not writing, has been the basis of the whole of the literary and scientific activity.

[1]) H. *Oldenberg*, "Aus Indien und Iran," Berlin, 1889, pp. 22. f.

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Even to-day, when the Indians have known the art of writing since centuries, when there are innumerable manuscripts, and when even a certain sanctity and reverence is accorded to these manuscripts, when the most important texts are accessible also in India in cheap printed editions, even to-day, the whole of the literary and scientific intercourse in India is based upon the spoken word. Not out of manuscripts or books does one learn the texts, but from the mouth of the teacher, to-day as thousands of years ago. The written text can at most be used as an aid to learning, as a support to the memory, but no authority is attributed to it. Authority is possessed, only by the spoken word of the teacher. If to-day all the manuscripts and prints were to be lost, that would by no means cause the disappearance of Indian literature from the face of the earth, for a great portion of it could be recalled out of the memory of the scholars and reciters. The works of the poets, too, were in India never intended for readers, but always for hearers. Even modern poets do not desire to be read, but their wish is that their poetry may become "an adornment for the throats of the experts." [1]

Therefore the fact, that in the older literary works there is no mention of manuscripts, is not absolutely a proof of the non-existence of the latter. Perhaps they are not mentioned only for the reason that the writing and reading of them was of no importance, all teaching and learning being done by word of mouth. Therefore it is yet possible that already in very ancient times also books were copied and used the same as now, as aids to instruction. That is the opinion of some scholars.[2] Yet it seems to me worthy of notice that in the later literature—in the later Purāṇas, in Buddhist Mahāyāna texts, and

[1]) G. *Bühler*, "Indische Palaeographie" (Grundriss I, 2), pp. 3 f.

[2]) On the age of the art of writing in India, s. also *Barth*, RHR 41, 1900, 184 ff. = Oeuvres II, 317 ff. The arguments brought forward by Shyamaji *Krishṇavarmâ*, OC VI, Leyden 1883, pp. 305 ff. for the knowledge and use of writing, even at the Vedic period, are well worthy of notice.

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in modern additions to the old epic—the copying of books and the presentation of the same is praised as a religious act, while in the whole of the older literature no trace of it is to be found. It is also significant that the old works on phonetics and grammar, even the "Mahābhāṣya" of Patañjali in the second century B.C., take no notice whatsoever of writing, that they always treat of spoken sounds and never of written characters, and that the whole grammatical terminology always has only the spoken word, and never the written text in view. From all this it is after all probable, that in ancient times there were no written books in India.

For this strange phenomenon, namely that the art of writing had been known for centuries, without having been used for literary purposes, there are several possible reasons. First of all there was probably a want of suitable writing material; but this would have been found, if there had been a strong need of it. Such a need however, was not only not present, but it was to the interest of the priests, who were the bearers of the oldest literature, that the sacred texts which they taught in their schools, should *not* be committed to writing. By this means they kept a very lucrative monopoly firmly in their hands. He who wished to learn something, had to come to them and reward them richly; and they had it in their power to withhold their texts from those circles whom they wished to exclude from sacred knowledge. How important was the latter to them we are taught by the Brahmanical law-books, which repeatedly emphasize the law that the members of the lowest castes (the Śūdras and the Cāṇḍālas) may not learn the sacred texts; for impure as a corpse, as a burial place, is the Śūdra, therefore the Veda may not be recited in his vicinity. In the old law-book of Gautama[1] it is said: "If a Śūdra hears the Veda, his ears shall be stopped with molten tin or lac, if he repeats the sacred texts, his

[1]) XII, 4-6.

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tongue shall be cut out, if he stores them in his memory his body shall be struck in two." Then how could they have written down their texts and thus exposed themselves to the danger that they might be read by the unauthorized? Moreover the transmission of the texts through the mouth of the teacher was an old-established method for their preservation,—why should they replace it by writing, this new-fashioned invention? And the chief reason [1] for the fact that writing was for so long not used for literary purposes, is probably to be found in the fact that the Indians only became acquainted with the art of writing at a period when they had already since a long time possessed a rich literature that was only orally transmitted.

Certain it is, that the whole of the most ancient literature of the Indians, Brahmanical as well as Buddhist, arose without the art of writing, and continued to be transmitted without it for centuries.[2] Whoever wished to become acquainted with a text had to go to a teacher in order to hear it from him. Therefore we repeatedly read in the older literature, that a warrior or a Brahman, who wished to acquire a certain knowledge, travels to a famous teacher, and undertakes unspeakable troubles and sacrifices in order to participate in the teaching, which cannot be attained in any other manner. Therefore to a teacher, as the bearer and preserver of the sacred knowledge, the highest veneration is due, according to ancient Indian law;—as the spiritual father he is venerated, now as an equal, now as a superior, of the physical father, he is looked upon as an image of the god Brahman, and to him who serves the teacher faithfully and humbly, Brahman's heaven is assured. Therefore also the introduction of the pupil to the teacher who is to teach him the sacred texts is

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[1]) Compare especially *T. W. Rhys Davids*, "Buddhist India," London, 1903. pp. 112 f.

[2]) I-tsing (Trnsl. *Takakusu*, pp. 182 f.) mentions that in his time (7th century A.D.) the Vedas were still only handed down orally.

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one of the most sacred ceremonies from which no Hindu could withdraw himself without risking to lose his caste. A book existed only when and only so long as there were teachers and pupils, who taught and learned it. What we call various branches of literature, different theological and philosophical systems, different editions or recensions of a work, were in ancient India in reality different schools, in which certain texts continued to be taught, heard and learned from generation to generation. Only if we keep this in view can we understand the whole development of the oldest Indian literature.

It also must be considered, that the method of handing-down was quite different in the case of the religious texts from that of the secular. The religious texts were held sacred, and accuracy in learning was in their case a strict requirement of religion. Word for word, with careful avoidance of every error in pronunciation, in accent, in the manner of recitation, the pupil had to repeat them after the teacher and impress them on his memory. There can be no doubt that this kind of oral transmission gives a greater guarantee for the preservation of the original text than the copying and re-copying of manuscripts. Indeed, we have—as we shall see later—direct proofs that, for example, the songs of the Ṛgveda, as we read them to-day in our printed editions, have remained almost unaltered, word for word, syllable for syllable, accent for accent, since the fifth century B.C. It was otherwise, no doubt, with secular works, especially with the epic poems. There the texts were certainly exposed to numerous disfigurements, there every teacher, every reciter, considered himself entitled to alter and to improve, to omit and to add, *ad libitum*—and criticism here faces a difficult, often impossible, task when it desires to restore such texts to their oldest and most original form. Nevertheless oral transmission, where it is still possible to resort to it—and this is so in the case of the oldest Veda text with the help of the old phonetic manuals of instruction (Prātiśākhyas) and in other

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cases often with the help of commentaries—is the most valuable aid to the reconstruction of our texts. For the manuscripts, from which we obtain most of our texts, reach but seldom to a great age. The oldest writing-materials on which the Indians wrote are palm-leaves and strips of birch bark; and it is significant of the conservative mind of the Indians that even to-day, in spite of their acquaintance with the much more convenient paper, and in spite of the general use of print, manuscripts are still written on palm-leaves. Both materials are very fragile, and in the Indian climate quickly perishable. Thus it happens that the vast majority of manuscripts which we possess, and from which practically all our text editions are made, only date from the last few centuries. Manuscripts from the fourteenth century already are amongst the greatest rarities. Only a few manuscripts found in India proper date back to the eleventh and twelfth century.[1] However, the oldest Indian manuscripts were found in Nepal, Japan and Eastern Turkestan. The manuscripts found in Nepal date back as far as the tenth century, and in Japan manuscripts on palm leaves have been discovered which date from the first half of the sixth century. Since the year 1889 there have been finds of manuscripts in Kashgar and its environs which take us back to the fifth century, and M. A. Stein, in the year 1900, dug up out of the sand in the desert of Taklamakān near Khotan, five hundred small tablets of wood covered with writing, which reach back to the fourth century and are perhaps older still. Also by means of the Prussian Turfan Expedition and the more recent discoveries of M. A. Stein, fragments of manuscripts from the earliest centuries after Christ have been brought to light.[2]

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[1]) *Kielhorn* discovered the oldest manuscripts of Western India, of the 11th century. (Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1880-81, Bombay, 1881.)

[2]) See *Lüders*, "Ueber die literarischen Funde von Ostturkestan," SBA, 1914, pp. 90 ff.

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Wood as a writing material is already mentioned in the Buddhist writings, and the use of it must be very old. The use of palm leaves also can be traced back to the first century after Christ. Rarely in India were cotton stuff, leather, metal and stones used as writing materials. The Buddhists mention here and there the writing, not only of documents, but also of verses and maxims, on gold plates. A gold plate with a votive inscription has also been preserved to us. Records and even small manuscripts, on silver plates, have often been found in India. Very frequently, however, copper plates were used for the writing of documents, especially deeds of gift, and such have been preserved in great numbers. The Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-Tsang reports that the King Kaniṣka had the sacred writings of the Buddhists engraved on copper tablets. Whether this is based on truth, we do not know, but it certainly is credible, for even literary works also have been found on copper tablets. It would hardly be credible that in India literary works were also hewn into stone, if, a few years ago, inscriptions on stone slabs had not been found in Ajmere, which contained entire dramatic writings, albeit, dramas of a king and his court poet.

The great majority, however, of the Indian manuscripts on which our texts rest, are written on paper. But paper was first introduced into India only by the Mohammedans, and the oldest paper manuscript is supposed to have been written in the year 1223-4 after Christ.

In spite of the above-mentioned predilection of the Indians for oral teaching and learning, yet already many centuries ago they began to collect manuscripts, and to preserve them in libraries. Such libraries—"treasure-houses of the Goddess of Speech" (sarasvatībhaṇḍāgāra) as the Indians call them—existed and even now exist in numbers in monasteries and temples, in the palaces of princes, and even in the private houses of the wealthy. It is reported of the poet

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Bāṇa (about 620 after Christ) that he kept his own reader, so he must have possessed a considerable private library. In the eleventh century King Bhoja of Dhār had a famous library. In the course of centuries these libraries became exceedingly well stocked. Thus Bühler found in two Jain libraries in Khambay over 30,000 manuscripts, and in the Palace library of Tanjore in Southern India over 12,000 manuscripts. The systematic investigation of these Indian libraries, and the thorough search for manuscripts, extending over the whole of India, began in the year 1868, though Colebrooke and other Englishmen had, already before that, brought fairly large collections of manuscripts to Europe. However, in the year 1868 Whitley Stokes, well-known as a Keltic scholar and at that time Secretary of the Indian Council at Simla, started a complete cataloguing of all Sanskrit manuscripts, and since then the Indian Government has for years, in the Indian annual budget granted a large sum (24,000 Rupees) for the purpose of the "Search of Sanskrit manuscripts." Thus it is through the munificence of the Anglo-Indian Government and through the untiring industry of English, German and Indian scholars, that we now possess, to a considerable degree, a survey of the whole, enormous mass of Indian literature, so far as it is accessible in manuscripts.

Indian Languages in their Relation to Literature.[1]

The whole of this vast literature which has thus been handed down to us, is for the most part composed in Sanskrit. Yet the terms "Indian literature" and "Sanskrit literature" are by no means identical. The history of Indian literature in the most comprehensive sense of the word is the history of

[1]) See *R. G. Bhandarkar*, JBRAS 16, 245 ff.; 17, 1 ff., and *G. Grierson*, BSOS I, 3, 1920 pp. 51 ff.

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a literature which not only stretches across great periods of time and an enormous area, but also one which is composed in many languages. Those languages of India which belong to the Indo-European family of languages, have passed through three great phases of development, partly consecutive in time, but partly also parallel.

These are:

I. Ancient Indian,
II. The Middle Indian languages and dialects,
III. The Modern Indian languages and dialects.

I. Ancient Indian.

The language of the oldest Indian literary monuments, of the songs, prayers and magic formulas of the Vedas, is sometimes called "Ancient Indian" in the narrower sense, sometimes also "Vedic" (inappropriately also "Vedic Sanskrit"). "Ancient High Indian" [1] is perhaps the best name for this language, which, while based on a spoken dialect, is yet no longer an actual popular language, but a literary language transmitted in the circle of priestly singers from generation to generation, and intentionally preserved in its archaic form. The dialect on which the Ancient High Indian is based, the dialect as it was spoken by the Aryan immigrants in the North-west of India, was closely related to the Ancient Persian and Avestic, and not very far removed from the primitive Indo-Iranian language.[2] Indeed, the difference between the language of the Vedas and this primitive Indo-Iranian language seems to be less, perhaps, than that between the Indian languages Sanskrit and Pāli. The Vedic language

[1] It is called thus by *Rhys Davids*, "Buddhist India," p. 153.

[2] This is the common original language to be inferred from a comparison of the language of the Veda with the Old Persian of the cuneiform inscriptions and the language of the Avesta.

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hardly differs at all from Sanskrit in its phonetics, but only through a much greater antiquity, and especially through a greater wealth of grammatical forms. Thus for instance, Ancient High Indian has a subjunctive which is missing in Sanskrit; it has a dozen different infinitive-endings, of which but one single one remains in Sanskrit. The aorists, very largely represented in the Vedic language, disappear in the Sanskrit more and more. Also the case and personal endings are still much more perfect in the oldest language than in the later Sanskrit.

A later phase of Ancient High Indian appears already in the hymns of the tenth book of the Ṛgveda and in some parts of the Atharvaveda, and the collections of the Yajurveda. On the other hand, the language of the Vedic prose writings, of the Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads, has preserved only a few relics of Ancient High Indian, on the whole the language of these works is already what is called "Sanskrit," while the language of the Sūtras belonging to the Vedāṅgas only in quite exceptional cases shows Vedic forms, but is essentially pure Sanskrit. Only the numerous Mantras, taken from the ancient Vedic hymns, *i.e.* verses, prayers, spells, and magic formulas, which we find quoted in the Vedic prose writings and the Sūtras, belong, as regards their language, to Ancient High Indian.

The Sanskrit of this most ancient prose-literature—of the Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas, Upaniṣads and of the Sūtras—differs little from the Sanskrit which is taught in the celebrated grammar of Pāṇini (probably about fifth century B. C.). The best designation is perhaps "Ancient Sanskrit." It is the language which was spoken in Pāṇini's time, and probably earlier too, by the educated, principally by the priests and scholars. It is the Sanskrit of which Patañjali, a grammarian of the second century B. C., still says that in order to learn it correctly one must hear it from the "Śiṣṭas," that is, from the learned Brahmans who were well versed in literature. But that the sphere

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of people speaking Sanskrit extended much further—to all "educated people"—we learn from the same Patañjali, who tells us an anecdote, in which a grammarian converses in Sanskrit with a charioteer and the two have a discussion on etymologies. When in Indian dramas, the languages are so distributed that the king, the Brahmans, and nobles speak Sanskrit, while the women and all the common people use the vulgar tongues, only with the noteworthy exception that a few educated women (nuns and courtesans) occasionally speak Sanskrit, whereas uneducated Brahmans are introduced speaking popular dialects, then most probably the use of the languages in real life is reflected therein—and not only of the period after Christ, when these dramas were composed, but also of much earlier centuries. Sanskrit was certainly not a popular language, but the language spoken in wide circles of educated people, and understood in still wider circles. For, as in the drama dialogues occur between Sanskrit-speaking and Prākrit-speaking persons, so too in real life Sanskrit must have been understood by those who did not speak it themselves.[1] Also the bards, who recited the popular epics in the palaces of kings and in the houses of the rich and nobles, must have been understood. The language of the epics is

[1]) The linguistic conditions of ancient India, of which the dramas give us such a good idea, have altered very little up to the present day. It still happens that in a rich house with a large staff of servants who come from different districts, a dozen different languages and dialects are spoken and generally understood. *G. A. Grierson* describes a case known to himself, where in *one* house in Bengal, no less than thirteen languages and dialects are spoken. The master of the house speaks to Europeans in the refined Bengali language, while in ordinary life he uses the Bengali of every-day intercourse, which differs widely from the literary language. His wife comes from a place at a distance of one hundred miles, and speaks the peculiar women's dialect of that district. His secondary wife, whose ordinary colloquial language is the Urdu of Lucknow, lapses into a jargon when she is angry. The manager of his business speaks Dhākī, while among the servants some speak Uriyā, others Bhojpurī, Awadhī, Maithilī, Ahīrī, and Chaṭgaiyā. They all understand each other perfectly, although each one speaks his own dialect. It very rarely happens that one of them uses the dialect of the person whom he is addressing. (Ind. Ant., 30, 1901, p. 556.)

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likewise Sanskrit. We call it "Epic Sanskrit," and it differs but little from the "Classical Sanskrit," partly in that it has preserved some archaisms, but more in that it keeps less strictly to the rules of grammar and approaches more nearly to the language of the people, so that one may call it a more popular form of Sanskrit. But there would never have been popular epics written in Sanskrit,[1] if Sanskrit had not once been a language that was widely understood—similarly as to-day in Germany Modern High German is universally understood, although it differs essentially from all spoken dialects.

That Sanskrit is a "high language" or "class language" or "literary language"—whatever we may call it in contrast to the actual language of the people—the Indians themselves express through the name "Sanskrit." For Sanskrit—Saṃskṛta, as much as "made ready, ordered, prepared, perfect, pure, sacred"—signifies the noble or sacred language, in contradistinction to "Prākrit"—prākṛta, as much as "original, natural, ordinary, common"—which signifies the "common language of the people."

Yet Sanskrit should never be spoken of as a "dead" language, rather as a "fettered" language, inasmuch as its natural development was checked, in that, through the rules of the grammarians, it was arrested at a certain stage. For through the Grammar of Pāṇini, in about the fifth century B. C., a fixed standard was created, which remained a criterion for the Sanskrit language for all future times. What we call "Classical Sanskrit" means Pāṇini's Sanskrit, that is, the Sanskrit which according to the rules of Pāṇini's Grammar, is alone correct.[2] In the "fetters" of this Grammar, however, the

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[1]) It has been suggested that the popular epics were originally composed in dialect and were later translated into Sanskrit. This supposition, however, lacks all evidence from facts, as H. *Jacobi* (ZDMG., 48, 407 ff.) has shown.

[2]) Only this literary language as determined by the Indian grammarians is called Sanskrit by the Indians. If, as it is often done, people speak of "Vedic Sanskrit" the term "Sanskrit" is extended to Ancient Indian.

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language still continued to live. The great mass of poetic and scientific literature, throughout a thousand years, was produced in this language, the "Classical Sanskrit." Moreover Sanskrit is not a "dead" language even to-day. There are still at the present day a number of Sanskrit periodicals in India, and topics of the day are discussed in Sanskrit pamphlets. Also the Mahābhārata is still to-day read aloud publicly, which pre-supposes at least a partial understanding. I have myself observed with pleasure and surprise, that scenes from such ornate Sanskrit dramas as Mudrārākṣasa and Uttararāmacarita, performed on a primitive stage at Santiniketan, were understood and greatly appreciated by a large audience of students, both men and women. To this very day poetry is still composed and works are still written in Sanskrit, and it is the language in which Indian scholars even now converse upon scientific questions. Sanskrit at the least plays the same part in India still as Latin in the Middle Ages in Europe, or as Hebrew with the Jews.[1)]

[1)] There are epigraphical grounds for assuming that Sanskrit is a modification of a Northern Indian dialect, which was developed by schools of grammar, and which in historical times spread slowly throughout India among the educated classes; see *Bühler*, Ep. Ind., I, p. 5. Sanskrit is called a sacred language (brāhmī vāc) in the Mahābhārata I. 78, 13, and it probably always was the language of a certain class of society. *Cf. Windisch*, Ueber den sprachlichen Charakter des Pali (OC., XIV, Paris, 1906), pp. 14 ff.; *Thomas* JRAS., 1904, 747 f.; W. *Petersen*, JAOS., 32, 1912, 414 ff.; T. *Michelson*, JAOS 33 1913, 145 ff. About the wide use of Sanskrit in the India of to-day Paul *Deussen* ("Erinnerungen an Indien," Kiel, 1904, pp. 2 f.) says: "Not only the professional scholars, as especially the native Sanskrit Professors of the Indian Universities, speak Sanskrit with great elegance, not only their hearers are able to handle it as well as our students of classical philology can handle Latin, but the numerous private scholars, saints, ascetics, and even wider circles can speak and write Sanskrit with facility: I have repeatedly conversed in it for hours with the Maharaja of Benares: manufacturers, industrials, merchants, partly speak it or understand what is spoken: in every little village my first enquiry was for one who speaks Sanskrit, whereupon immediately one or another came forward, who usually became my guide, indeed often my friend." When he gave lectures in English, he was often invited to repeat in Sanskrit what he had said. "After this had been done, a discussion followed in which some spoke English, others Sanskrit, yet others Hindi, which therefore was also understood, to a

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Summing up, I would, therefore, divide Ancient Indian in its relation to literature as follows:—

1. Ancient High Indian:

(*a*) Language of the oldest hymns and mantras, especially of those of the Ṛgveda.

(*b*) Language of the later hymns and mantras, especially those of the other Vedas, besides of the mantras occurring only in the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras.

2. Sanskrit.

(*a*) Ancient Sanskrit, the language of the Vedic prose works (with the exception of the Mantras) and of Pāṇini.

(*b*) Epic Sanskrit, the language of the popular epics.

(*c*) Classical Sanskrit, the language of the Classical Sanskrit literature after Pāṇini.

II. The Middle Indian Languages and Dialects.

Simultaneously and parallel with the development of Sanskrit proceeded the more natural further development of the popular dialects spoken by the Aryan Indians. The languages and dialects which we distinguish as "Middle Indian" are not indeed derived directly from the Sanskrit, but rather from the Indo-Aryan popular languages which underlie the Ancient High Indian and the Sanskrit, or are related to the two latter. Considering the size of India, it is not to be wondered at that, with the gradual spreading of the Aryan

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certain extent, because pure Hindi differs from Sanskrit in little more than by the loss of inflectional endings. Hence every Hindu understands as much of Sanskrit as an Italian of Latin, especially as, in the real Hindustan, the script has remained the same: and a smattering of Sanskrit can be traced down to the circles of servants and the lower classes wherefore a letter to Benares with only a Sanskrit address will without difficulty reach its destination, through every postal messenger." As to Sanskrit as a "living" language, see also S. *Kṛishṇavarmâ* in OC V, Berlin, 1881, II b, p. 222; R. G. *Bhandarkar*, JBRAS., 16, 1885, 268 ff., 327 ff.; *Windisch*, OC XIV, Paris, 1897, I. 257, 266; *Hertel*, Tantrākhyāyika, Transl. I., pp. 8 ff., and HOS., Vol. XII, pp. 80 ff.

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immigrants from the West to the East and the South, a large number of varying dialects were formed. Of the diversity of these dialects we get an idea from the oldest Indian inscriptions, which are all written in Middle Indian and *not* in Sanskrit. Quite a number of such popular languages, moreover, have been raised to the rank of literary languages. Only these shall be briefly enumerated here:

1. The most important of the Middle Indian literary languages is *Pāli*, the ecclesiastical language of the Buddhists of Ceylon, Burma and Siam, the language in which the oldest preserved collection of sacred writings of Buddhism is written. The Buddhists themselves tell us that the Buddha did not, like the Brahmans, preach in the learned Sanskrit, but talked to the people in the language of the people. As Buddha first preached in the land of Magadha (Southern Bihar), and there displayed his best activity, therefore the Buddhists tell us that Pāli is the same as Māgadhī, the language of the province of Magadha. However, that cannot be right, as the dialect of Magadha which is otherwise known to us does not agree with Pāli. It is, however, probable that Pāli is a mixed language the foundation of which was Māgadhī.[1] The word Pāli really signifies "row," then "order, regulation, rule," hence also "sacred text" and finally the language of the sacred texts, in contradistinction to the Ancient Sinhalese, the language in which the commentaries to these texts were composed.

2. Besides the Pāli literature there exists also a Buddhist Sanskrit literature. Now in these Buddhist works there is frequently only the prose in Sanskrit, while the interspersed metrical pieces, the so-called "Gāthās" (*i.e.* "songs" or "verses") are composed in a Middle Indian dialect, which

[1]) This is the view of E. *Windisch*, "Ueber den sprachlichen Charakter des Pali" (OC., XIV., Paris, 1906) and of G. A. *Grierson*, Bhandarkar Com. Vol., 117 ff. The latter agrees with *Sten Konow* (ZDMG 64, 1910, 114 ff.), that Pāli is similar to Paiśācī-Prākrit. The latter was probably the local dialect of Eastern Gāndhāra and the district of Taxila, a famous seat of learning at the time of Buddha.

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has therefore been called "Gāthā dialect." But this term is not quite appropriate, as the same dialect is found also in prose portions, and even whole prose works are written in it. It is an old Indian dialect, which through the insertion of Sanskrit terminations and other Sanskritisms in a rather crude manner, tries to approach the Sanskrit, wherefore Senart suggested for it the designation "mixed Sanskrit." [1]

3. Like the Buddhists, the Jains too did not use Sanskrit for their sacred writings, but Middle Indian dialects, indeed two different Prākrits: [2]

(*a*) The Jaina Prākrit (also called Ardhamāgadhī or Ārṣa), the language of the older works of the Jaina Canon.

(*b*) The Jaina-Māhārāṣṭrī, the language in which the commentaries to the Jaina Canon and the non-religious poetical works of the Jainas are written.[3] This dialect is closely related to that Prākrit, which has been used most frequently as a literary language for secular writing, namely—

4. The Māhārāṣṭrī, the language of Mahārāṣtra, the land of the Marathas. This is universally considered the best Prākrit, and when the Indians speak simply of Prākrit then they mean Māhārāṣṭrī. It was used principally for lyric poetry, especially also for the lyric parts in the dramas. However, there are also epic poems in Māhārāṣṭrī. Other important Prākrit dialects which are used in the drama are:

5. The Śaurasenī, which in the prose of the dramas is chiefly spoken by high-born women. Its foundation is the dialect of Śūrasena, the capital of which is Mathurā.

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[1]) See S. *Lefmann*. ZDMG, 212 ff.: and E. *Senart*, Ind. Ant., 21, 1892, 243 ff.

[2]) The Hindus do not designate popular languages generally by the term "Prākrit" but only those popular languages which are used in literature. For the whole of this chapter see R. *Pischel*, "Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen" (in Grundriss I, 8 Einleitung) and H. *Jacobi* in A Bay. AXXIX, 4, 1918, pp. 81 * ff.

[3]) See H. *Jacobi*, Ueber das Prākrit in der Erzählungs-litteratur der Jainas, in RSO, II, 1909, pp. 231 ff.

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6. Persons of the lower classes speak Māgadhī in the dramas, the dialect of Magadha, and

7. Paiśācī is spoken in the drama by the members of the lowest grades of society. The word probably originally designated the dialect of a branch of the Piśācas, although the Indians declared it to be the language of the demons called Piśācas. A famous book of narrative literature, Guṇādhya's Bṛhatkathā was also composed in this Paiśācī dialect.

8. Lastly the Apabhraṃśa which is used in popular poetry, in Jaina romances and occasionally in the drama, stands midway between the Prākrit and the modern Indian vernaculars: for "Apabhraṃśa" is a general term for literary idioms which, though based on the Prākrit, are more closely adapted to certain popular dialects.[1]

III. The Modern Indian Languages and Dialects.[2]

By about the year 1000 A.D. the modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars had developed out of the Middle Indian dialects, and from the 12th century onwards these languages can show literatures of their own, which are partly independent and partly dependent on the Sanskrit literature. The most important of these vernaculars is Hindī, the language of the ancient Madhyadeśa or midland, *i.e.* of the greater portion of the Gangetic Dōāb and of the adjacent plain to the Himalaya in the North, to the valley of the Nerbudda in the South, beyond Delhi in the West and nearly as far as Cawnpore in the East. Of the numerous Hindī dialects, Kanaujī and

[1]) On the Apabhraṃsas S. H. *Jacobi* in A Bay A XXIX, 4, 1918, pp. 53 * ff.; XXXI, 2, 1921, pp. xviii ff., 1 ff. and in Festschrift für Wackernagel, pp 124 ff. *Jacobi* is of opinion, that the Apabhraṃśa was first used by the poets of the Ābhīras and Gurjaras.

[2]) I follow the excellent survey of the Indo-Aryan Vernaculars given by Sir George *Grierson* in BSOS I., 1, 1918, pp. 47 ff. Compare also E. J. *Rapson*, Cambridge History I, 37 ff.

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Bundēlī, and especially Braj Bhākhā (the language of the district of Mathurā), have produced literature worthy of the name. Hindōstānī or Urdu, a dialect with a strong admixture of Perso-Arabic elements,[1] is a form of the Hindī language. It originated in the twelfth century in the neighbourhood of Delhi, then the centre of the Mohammedan rule, in the camps (urdu) of the soldiers, hence also called "Urdu," *i.e.* "camp language." In the 16th century it also began to produce literature. Now-a-days it is the *lingua franca* of the whole of Northern India. High Hindī is a return to the vernacular of the Upper Dōāb, which is not as yet influenced by Persian. The following languages, belonging to the adjacent regions, are closely related to the language of the midland: Pānjābī in the North-West, Rājasthānī and Gujarātī in the West, Eastern Pahārī or Naipālī (the language of Nepal), Central Pahārī and Western Pahārī in the East. Rājasthānī and Gujarātī are closely related. Mārwārī, a dialect of Rājasthānī, can scarcely be distinguished from Gujarātī. Eastern Hindī, the language in which Tulsī Dās wrote, is more closely related to the "Outer" languages. Among the latter are: Lahndā (the language of Western Panjāb) and Sindhī in the North-West, Marāthī in the South, Bihārī, Oriyā, Bengālī and Assamese in the East. Maithilī is a dialect of Bihārī. Since the beginning of the 19th century literary Bengālī has diverged considerably from the vernacular by reason of the absorption of so many Sanskrit words. The High Hindī of Benares shows a similar tendency. Now-a-days, however, good authors, both in Bengālī and in Hindī, are aiming at keeping their language free from borrowed Sanskrit words.

The "Dardic" or modern Piśāca languages, among which Kāśmīrī (the language of Kashmir) possesses a considerable literature, form a separate group.

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[1]) It is also written in Persian-Arabic characters.

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Finally, Singhalese, the language of Ceylon, is an Indo-Germanic dialect descended from the Middle Indian. Through the introduction of Buddhism and the Buddhistic literature into Ceylon, an early literary activity began here, which was at first limited to the elucidation of the religious texts. In the later centuries we find, in addition, a secular literature influenced by Sanskrit poetry.[1]

All the Indian languages mentioned up to now belong to the Indo-Germanic group of languages. Besides these there are in India a number of non-Indo-Germanic languages, namely the Munda languages (scattered dialects in the Mahadeo Hills of the Central Provinces, in the Santāl Parganās and Chotā Nāgpur), the Tibeto-Burmese languages (on the Northern and North-Eastern borders of India proper) and above all the Dravidian languages of Southern India. The latter must at one time have been common in the North as well,[2] for the Indo-Aryan languages show strong Dravidian influence.[3] The most important Dravidian languages are Malayalam (on the coast of Malabar), Kanarese, Telugu and Tamil. Although these languages are not Indo-Germanic, numerous Sanskritisms have penetrated into them: moreover, the not unimportant literature of these languages is greatly dependent on the Sanskrit literature.

In this book we shall have to limit ourselves mainly to the Sanskrit, Pāli and Prākrit literature. At most it will only be possible to touch on modern Indian literature in an Appendix.

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[1]) See Wilhelm *Geiger*, Literatur und Sprache der Singhalesen, in "Grundriss" I, 10

[2]) Sporadic Dravidian dialects are found also in the Ganges valley and even in Baluchistan (Brahūī).

[3]) See *Grierson*, BSOS., I, 3, 1920, pp. 71 f.

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SECTION I.

THE VEDA OR THE VEDIC LITERATURE.

What is the Veda?

As the oldest Indian, and, at the same time, the oldest Indo-European literary monument, a prominent place in the history of world literature is due to the Veda. This is the case too when we remember that throughout at least 3,000 years millions of Hindus have looked on the word of the Veda as the word of God, and that the Veda has given them their standard of thought and feeling. As the Veda, because of its antiquity, stands at the head of Indian literature, no one who has not gained an insight into the Vedic literature can understand the spiritual life and the culture of the Indians. Also Buddhism, whose birth-place is India, will remain for ever incomprehensible to him who does not know the Veda. For the teaching of Buddha is in the same relation to the Veda, as the New Testament is to the Old Testament. No one can understand the new belief without having become acquainted with the old one taught by the Veda.

What then, is the Veda?

The word "Veda" means "knowledge," then "the knowledge par excellence," *i.e.* "the sacred, the religious knowledge." It does not mean *one* single literary work, as for instance the word "Koran," nor a complete collection of a certain number of books, compiled at some particular time, as the word "Bible" (the "book par excellence"), or as the word "Tipiṭaka," the "Bible" of the Buddhists, but a whole

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Vedic Literature

great literature, which arose in the course of many centuries, and through centuries has been handed down from generation to generation by verbal transmission, till finally it was declared by a younger generation—but even then at some prehistoric period—to be "sacred knowledge," "divine revelation," as much on account of its great age, as on account of its contents. It is here not a matter of a "Canon" which might have been fixed at some council; the belief in the "sacredness" of this literature arose, as it were, spontaneously, and was seldom seriously disputed.

However, what is now called "Veda" or "Vedic literature" consists of three different classes of literary works; and to each of these three classes belongs a greater or a smaller number of separate works, of which some have been preserved, but also many lost.

I. Saṃhitās, *i.e.* "Collections," namely collections of hymns, prayers, incantations, benedictions, sacrificial formulas and litanies.

II. Brāhmaṇas, voluminous prose texts, which contain theological matter, especially observations on sacrifice and the practical or mystical significance of the separate sacrificial rites and ceremonies.

III. Āraṇyakas ("forest texts") and Upaniṣads ("secret doctrines") which are partly included in the Brāhmaṇas themselves, or attached to them, but partly are also reckoned as independent works. They contain the meditations of forest-hermits and ascetics on God, the world, and mankind, and there is contained in them a good deal of the oldest Indian philosophy.

There must once have existed a fairly large number of Saṃhitās, which originated in different schools of priests and singers, and which continued to be handed down in the same. However, many of these "collections" were nothing but slightly diverging recensions—Śākhās, "branches," as the Indians say—of one and the same Saṃhitā. Four Saṃhitās,

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however, are in existence, which differ clearly from each other, and which have been preserved in one or more recensions. These are :—

1. The Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā, the collection of the Ṛgveda. "Ṛgveda" is "the Veda or the knowledge of the songs of praise" (ṛc, plur. ṛcas).

2. The Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā, the collection of the Atharva-veda, *i.e.* "of the knowledge of the magic formulas" (atharvan).

3. The Sāmaveda-Saṃhitā, the collection of the Sāmaveda, *i.e.* "of the knowledge of the melodies" (sāman).

4. The Yajurveda-Saṃhitā, the collection of the Yajurveda, *i.e.* "of the knowledge of the sacrificial formulas" (yajus, plur. yajūṃṣi) of which there are two rather strongly diverging texts, namely :—

(*a*) The Saṃhitā of the Black Yajurveda, which has been preserved in several recensions, of which the most important are the Taittirīya-Saṃhitā and the Maitrāyaṇī-Saṃhitā; and

(*b*) the Saṃhitā of the White Yajur-veda, which has been preserved in the Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā.

On account of these four different Saṃhitās the Indians distinguish between four different Vedas—and therefore one often speaks of the "Vedas" in the plural—namely, Ṛgveda, Atharvaveda, Sāmaveda, and (Black and White) Yajurveda. Every work that belongs to the class of the Brāhmaṇas, of the Āraṇyakas, or of the Upaniṣads, is joined to one of the enumerated Saṃhitās, and "belongs," as we say, to one of the four Vedas. There are, therefore, not only Saṃhitās, but also Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads of the Ṛgveda, as well as of the Atharvaveda, of the Sāmaveda, and of the Yajurveda. Thus, for example, the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa belongs to the Ṛgveda, the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa to the White Yajurveda, and the Chāndogya-Upaniṣad to the Sāmaveda, and so on.

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Every work which belongs to one of the three above-mentioned classes, and to one of the four Vedas, must be designated as "Vedic," and the whole Vedic literature is thus presented to us as a long succession of works of religious content—collections of songs, prayer-books, theological and theosophical treatises—which belong to different successive periods of time, but which represent a unity, in so far as they all together form the foundation for the Brahmanical religious system, and have the same significance for Brahmanism as the Old Testament has for Judaism or the New Testament for Christianity. As Jews and Christians look on their "Holy Scripture," so the Brahmanic Indians look on their Veda, in its whole extent, as divine revelation. But it is significant that to the expression "Holy Scripture" there corresponds in the case of the Indians the expression "Śruti," "hearing," because the revealed texts were not written and read, but only spoken and *heard*. The whole history of Indian philosophy bears witness that not only the ancient hymns of the Ṛgveda were looked upon as "breathed out" by the God Brahman, and only "visioned" by the ancient seers, but that also every word in the Upaniṣads, the latest productions of the Vedic literature, was looked upon as indisputable wisdom emanating from the God Brahman himself. However much the different systems of Indian philosophy may vary, yet they are nearly all agreed in considering the Veda as revealed, and in appealing to the Veda, especially the Upaniṣads—although great freedom and arbitrariness prevail in regard to the explanation of these texts, and every philosopher gleans from them just what he wishes to. Most significant it is, that even the Buddhists, who deny the authority of the Veda, yet concede that it was originally given or "created" by God Brahman: only, they add, it has been falsified by the Brahmans, and therefore contains so many errors.

The expression "Veda" is justified only for this literature

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which is regarded as revealed. However, there is another class of works, which has the closest connection with the Vedic literature, but yet cannot be said to belong to the Veda. These are the so-called Kalpasūtras (sometimes also called briefly "Sūtras") or manuals on ritual, which are composed in a peculiar, aphoristic prose style. These include:

1. The Śrautasūtras, which contain the rules for the performance of the great sacrifices, which often lasted many days, at which many sacred fires had to burn and a great number of priests had to be employed.

2. The Gṛhyasūtras, which contain directions for the simple ceremonies and sacrificial acts of daily life (at birth, marriage, death, and so on).

3. The Dharmasūtras, books of instruction on spiritual and secular law—the oldest law-books of the Indians.

Like Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads, these works, too, are connected with one of the four Vedas; and there are Śrauta, Gṛhya, and Dharmasūtras which belong to the Ṛgveda, others which belong to the Sāmaveda, to the Yajurveda, or the Atharvaveda. As a matter of fact, they originated in certain Vedic schools which set themselves the task of the study of a certain Veda. Yet all these books of instruction are regarded as human work, and no longer as divine revelation; they do not belong to the Veda, but to the "Vedāṅgas," the "limbs," *i.e.* "the auxiliary sciences of the Veda."

These Vedāṅgas include, besides the works on ritual, also a number of works on phonetics, grammar, etymology, metrics and astronomy. We shall have to speak of these too at the end of the section.

After this general survey of the Vedic literature and the literature connected with it, we turn to the discussion of the most important works belonging to the Veda, above all, of the Saṃhitas.

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The Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā.

Indisputably the oldest and most important of all the works of Vedic literature, is the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā, usually called simply the "Ṛgveda." Of the different recensions of this Saṃhitā, which once existed, only a single one has come down to us. In the text handed down to us, this [1] consisted of a collection of 1,028 hymns (Sūktas), which are divided into ten books (Maṇḍalas, "circles").[2]

That this collection of hymns is the oldest, or at least contains the oldest Indian literature which we possess, is proved indisputably by the *language* of the hymns.[3] But the language proves also that the collection is not a single work, but consists of older and later elements. As in the Hebrew Book of Psalms, so here also, songs which had been composed at widely separated periods of time, were united at some time in a collection, and ascribed to famous personages of prehistoric times, preferably to the earliest ancestors of those families in which the songs in question were handed down. The majority of the oldest hymns are to be found in Books II to VII, which are usually called the "Family Books," because each is ascribed by tradition to a particular family of singers. The names of the singers or *Ṛṣis* (*i.e.* "seers, prophets") who, as the Indians say, visioned these hymns, are mentioned, partly in the Brāhmaṇas, partly in separate lists of authors (Anukramaṇīs) connected with the Vedāṅga literature. They are: Gṛtsamada, Viśvāmitra, Vāmadeva, Atri, Bharadvāja

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[1]) It is the recension of the Śākalaka-School. Regarding editions of the text, see above, pp. 20f.

[2]) Besides this there is also a purely external division, which takes into consideration only the size, namely into eight Aṣṭakas or "eighths," each of which is divided into eight Adhyāyas or "readings" which in their turn are again divided into smaller vargas or "sections," usually of five verses each.

[3]) See J. Wackernagel, "Altindische Grammatik" I, pp. xiii ff. on the language of the Ṛgveda.

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and Vasiṣṭha. These and their descendants were regarded by the Indians as Ṛṣis or "seers"—we should say "authors"—of the hymns of Maṇḍalas II to VII. Book VIII contains hymns, which are ascribed to the singer race of the Kaṇvas and that of the Aṅgiras. But the Anukramaṇīs give us also the names of the Ṛṣis or "authors" of every single hymn of the remaining books (I, IX, X), and it is noteworthy that there are also women's names to be found amongst them. Unfortunately all these lists of names have practically no value at all, and in reality the authors of the Vedic hymns are quite unknown to us. For, as it has long since been proved,[1] the tradition which mentions Gṛtsamada, Viśvāmitra, and so on, *and* certain of their descendants, as the Ṛṣis of the hymns, disagrees with the statements of the hymns themselves. In the latter, *only* descendants of those ancient Ṛṣis are mentioned as authors of the hymns; the Ṛṣis, however, Gṛtsamada, Viśvāmitra, Vasiṣṭha, and whatever they may all be called—their names are well-known in the whole of Indian literature as the heroes of countless myths and legends —are already in the hymns of the Ṛgveda the seers of a long-past prehistoric time, and are only called the *fathers* of the singer families in which the songs were handed down. Book IX gains a character of unity through the fact that it contains exclusively hymns which glorify the drink of Soma, and are dedicated to the god Soma. Soma is the name of a plant, out of which an intoxicating juice was pressed, which already in the Indo-Iranian time was regarded as a drink pleasing to the gods, and therefore plays a prominent part at the sacrifices of the Indians as well as of the ancient Iranians, who called it Haôma. In ancient Indian mythology, however, the Soma drink is identified with the drink of immortality of the gods, and the seat of this divine drink is

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[1]) *Oldenberg*, "Ueber die Liedverfasser des Ṛgveda" in ZDMG, Vol. 42, pp. 199 ff. Already previously A. *Ludwig*, "Der Ṛgveda," Vol. III, pp. xiii and 100 ff.

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the moon, the golden-gleaming "drop" [1] in the sky. Therefore in Book IX of the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā Soma is celebrated not only as the sacrificial drink dear to the gods, but also as the moon, the king of the sky. As the Soma-cult extends back into the Indo-Iranian period, we can also assume a fairly high age for the songs of Book IX, which are very closely connected with Soma sacrifice. The latest parts of our collection of hymns, however, are to be found in Books I to X, which are composed of very diversified elements.[2] Yet that does not mean that there are not some very old hymns which have been preserved in these books, while, on the other hand, some later hymns are also scattered in the "Family Books." Altogether, the question as to which hymns are "earlier" and which "later" is not easy to decide: for the language on which this decision chiefly rests, not only varies according to the age of the hymns, but also according to their origin and purpose, according to whether they arose more in connection with the priestly cult or with the popular religion.

An incantation, for example, can differ by its language from a song in praise of Soma or Indra, but it need not on that account be later.[3]

The so-called Khilas, which are found in a few manuscripts, represent, on the whole, a later stratum of Ṛgvedic hymn poetry. The word Khila means "supplement," and this name in itself indicates that they are texts which

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[1]) Sanskrit *indu* "drop" means "drop" and "moon." It is to the credit of A. *Hillebrandt* to have shown in his "Vedische Mythologie" (Breslau 1891 ff.) that already in the Ṛgveda, Soma did not mean only the plant, but also the moon. In the whole of the later literature Soma is the moon.

[2]) See A. *Bergaigne*, J. A. 1886-7, on the arrangement of the hymns in Books II-VII, and A. *Barth*, RHR 19, 1889, 134 ff. = Oeuvres II, 8 ff. on those in Books I, VIII-X. See also *Bloomfield*, JAOS, 31, 1910, pp. 49 ff., for criteria for distinguishing between earlier and later hymns in the Ṛgveda.

[3]) See M. *Bloomfield*, "On the Relative Chronology of the Vedic Hymns" (JAOS, 21, 1900, pp. 42-54).

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were collected and added to the Saṃhitā only after the latter had already been concluded. This does not exclude the possibility that *some* of these Khilas are of no less antiquity than the hymns of the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā, but for some reason unknown to us were not included in the collection. The eleven Vālakhilya hymns, which in all manuscripts are found at the end of Book VIII, without being included in it, are probably of this kind. Of comparatively high antiquity are probably also the eleven Suparṇa hymns, as well as the Praiṣasūktāni and the prose Nividas, small collections of sacrificial litanies.[1]

However, the question as to what we are to understand by "earlier" or by "later" hymns, can only be treated by us at the end of this section, where we shall have to discuss the question of the age of the Veda in general. It must here suffice that the general view of the great antiquity of the Ṛgveda, even of the "later" parts of it, is fully justified by the fact that, as Alfred Ludwig says:[2] "The Ṛgveda pre-supposes nothing of that which we know in Indian literature, while, on the other hand, the whole of Indian literature and the whole of Indian life pre-suppose the Veda."

Next to the language, however, the great age of the Vedic hymns is proved chiefly by the metres. For on the one hand, the Vedic metres are separated from those of classical Sanskrit poetry by a gulf, as in Vedic poetry there are numerous metres of which there is no trace to be found in the

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[1]) The Khilas have been published by I. *Scheftelowitz*, "Die Apokryphen des Ṛgveda" (Indische Forschungen, I), Breslau 1906. See also Scheftelowitz, ZDMG 73, 1919, 30 ff.; 74, 1920, 192 ff.: 75, 1921, 37 ff.: ZTT, 1, 1922, 50 ff.; 58 ff. *Oldenberg*, "Die Hymnen des Ṛgveda," I, Berlin, 1888, 504 ff., and GGA, 1907, 210 ff.; A. B. *Keith*, JRAS, 1907, 224 ff. The Khila Śivasaṃkalpa (edited, translated and explained by Scheftelowitz, ZDMG, 75, 1921, 201 ff.), is a regular Upaniṣad, the first part of which (1-13) is old, the rest late sectarian.

[2]) Der Rigveda, III, p. 183. Cf. also *ibid*, p. 3. "The claim to the highest age is proved not only internally by the contents as well as the linguistic form, but externally by the fact that the Veda formed the basis of literature, of the spiritual and religious life, and in the Veda again *the poetical pieces are the basis of the rest, but are not based on anything themselves.*"

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later poetry, while on the other hand numerous metres in classical Sanskrit poetry have no prototype in the Veda. Again, some metres of the Vedic poetry do indeed re-appear in the later poetry, but with a much more strongly marked rhythm than in the Ṛgveda.

In the oldest Indian metre only the number of syllables is fixed, while the quantity of syllables is only partially determined. The Vedic verses are composed of lines of 8, 11 or 12, more rarely of 5 syllables. These lines, called Pādas,[1] are the units in ancient Indian metrics, and only the four (or five) last syllables are fixed with regard to the rhythm, the last syllable, however, being again a syllaba anceps. The regular form of the Pāda of eight syllables is thus :

o o o o ⏑ — ⏑ ⏓

Three such lines form the Gāyatrī and four such lines form the verse called the Anuṣṭubh. In the older poetry the Anuṣṭubh stands far behind the Gāyatrī in popularity. Later it is the reverse : the Anuṣṭubh becomes the usual verse, and out of it is developed the śloka, the proper metre of epic poetry. Metres of rarer occurrence are the Paṅkti, consisting of five lines of eight syllables, and the Mahāpaṅkti, consisting of six such Pādas.

The line of eleven syllables has a caesura after the fourth or fifth syllable, and its regular form is as follows :

o o o o ‖ o o o — ⏑ — ⏓

or o o o o o ‖ o o — ⏑ — ⏓

Four such Pādas form the verse called Triṣṭubh.

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[1]) "Pāda" means "foot" but also "fourth part." The latter meaning is to be supposed here, because as a rule four Pādas make one line. The word "pāda" has nothing to do with the "foot" of Greek prosody. A breaking-up into such small units as the Greek "feet" is impossible in the ancient Indian metre.

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The line of twelve syllables differs from that of eleven only in so far as it has one more syllable, for the rest the two metres are formed exactly alike. The regular form of the Pāda of twelve syllables is thus :

o o o o ‖ o o o — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏒

or o o o o o o ‖ o o — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏒

Four such Pādas of twelve syllables give a verse which is called Jagatī.

The regular form of the line of five syllables, four or eight of which together give the verse called Dvipadā-Virāj is thus :

⏒ — ⏑ — ⏒

By combinations of different kinds of Pādas into *one* verse, a number of more elaborate metres are formed, as the *Uṣṇih* and *Bṛhatī* verses, composed of lines of eight or twelve syllables.

How much, in old Indian metres, everything depends on the number of syllables,[1] is proved by the oft-recurring speculations, in the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads, on the mystical significance of the metres, where the mysticism of numbers comes into play, when, for example, it is said, with strange logic : "The words bhūmi (earth), antarikṣa (atmosphere), and dyu (sky) form eight syllables. A Gāyatrī-Pāda consists of eight syllables. Therefore he who knows the Gāyatrī gains the three worlds." [2] But that the metres play such a highly important part in the mysticism of ritual, that considered as divine beings, they even receive sacrifices,[3] that mythology concern itself with them, especially with the

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[1]) See *Weber*, Ind. Stud. 8, 178 f., and H. *Weller* ZTT, 1, 1922, 115 ff.

[2]) Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad V, 15. Dyu is to be pronounced as "diu."

[3]) Vāsiṣṭha-Dharmasūtra, XIII, 3 and elsewhere.

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Gāyatrī, which in the form of a bird fetches the Soma from heaven, that they are *created* like other beings by Prajāpati,[1] —all this indicates the great age of these metres which were thought to have originated in times immemorial. Thus the age of the metres is also a proof of the age of the hymns themselves.[2]

The best idea, however, of the great age of these hymns is vouchsafed us by a glance at the geographical and cultural conditions of the time of which they tell us. There we see above all, that the Aryan Indians, at the time when the hymns of the Ṛgveda arose, had not nearly as yet spread over the whole of India. We find them still domiciled in the river-land of the Indus (Sindhu), the present Punjab.[3] From the West, over the passes of the Hindukush, Aryan tribes had penetrated into "the land of the five rivers," and in the songs of the Ṛgveda we still hear of the battles which the Aryans[4] had to fight with the Dasyu, or the "black skin", as the swarthy aboriginal inhabitants were called. Only slowly amidst continuous fighting against the hated "non-Aryans" (anārya)—the Dasyus or Dāsas, who know no gods, no laws, and no sacrifices—do they press forward towards the East up

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[1]) See for instance, Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa VIII, 1, 1-2. How great a rôle the metres play in the symbolism and mysticism of the ritual, may be seen from numerous passages in the liturgical Saṃhitās and in the Brāhmaṇas: See A. *Weber*, Ind. Stud. 8, pp. 8 ff., 28 ff.

[2]) See E. V. *Arnold*, "Vedic Metre," Cambridge 1905, and A. B. *Keith and Arnold*, JRAS, 1906, 484 ff., 716 ff., 997 ff., on the metre of the Ṛgveda as a criterion of its age.

[3]) According to E. W. *Hopkins* (the Punjab and the Ṛgveda, JAOS., 19, 1898, 19-28) the habitations of the Aryan Indians at the time when the majority of the hymns were composed, should be sought in the neighbourhood of Amballa, between the rivers Sarasouti and Ghuggar. The rivers of the Punjab are praised in the famous "Praise of the Rivers" (nadistuti), Rv. X, 75. Cf. A. *Stein*, JRAS. 1917, 91 ff. *Hertel* has not yet convinced me that the oldest parts of the Ṛgveda were composed in Iran and not in India (Indo-german. Forschungen, 41, 1923, p. 188).

[4]) Ssk. ārya = Avestic airya = Old Pers. ariya, "the faithful ones," "the people of the same race." Herodotus (VII, 62) says that the Medes called themselves Ἄριοι. Thus "Aryan" is the common designation of Indians and Iranians. On the close relationship between the language of the Veda with the old Iranian, see above, p. 41.

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to the Ganges. It is significant that this river, without which we can hardly imagine the India of all later periods, and which up to the present day plays such a prominent part in the poetry as well as in the popular religion of the Indians, is hardly mentioned in the Ṛgveda. Heine's lyric :—

> "There are sweet smells and lights by the Ganges,
> And giant trees stand there,
> And beautiful silent figures
> Are kneeling by lotus flowers,"

so suggestive of people, and scenes from the period of Kālidāsa, does not in the least fit into the times of the Ṛgveda. Even the lotus-flower, which in a manner belongs to the essentials of later Indian poetry, is not yet a subject for metaphors among the Vedic singers. Altogether the animal and plant worlds in the Ṛgveda are essentially different from those of later periods. The Indian fig-tree (Nyagrodha, Ficus indica) is missing in the Ṛgveda. The most dreaded beast of prey of the India of to-day, the tiger, is not yet mentioned in the hymns—his home is Bengal, into which the Aryan Indians at that time had not yet penetrated. Rice—later the chief product of agriculture and the staple food of the Indians—is still quite unknown to the Ṛgveda. Only barley is planted, and at the time of the hymns agriculture as yet played only a small part. The chief source of income was cattle-rearing, and the chief cattle was the bullock. The horse also was greatly valued and, harnessed before the chariot, bore the warrior to the field, and, at the popular chariot-races, gained praise and glory for the victor. Again and again in the songs and invocations to the gods, the prayer for cattle and horses occurs. Also the strife amongst the hostile aboriginal inhabitants turns on the possession of cattle. Therefore, too, the old word for "war" or "battle" is originally "desire for cattle" (gaviṣṭi). In the

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most extravagant expressions cows and bullocks[1] are praised as the most precious possessions. The lowing of cows hastening to the calves is looked on by the ancient Indian as the sweetest music. "The singers are shouting to the god Indra," says a poet, "as mother cows low to the calf." Gods are readily compared with bullocks, goddesses with cows. The milk of the cow was not only one of the chief articles of food, but milk and butter formed an essential part of the sacrifices to the gods. The milk was by preference consumed warm as it came from the cow, and Vedic poets marvel at the miracle that the "raw" cow gives cooked milk. As the German nursery rhyme has it:—

"How can it be, O tell me now,
The milk is white, but red the cow,"

so a Vedic singer praises the god Indra on account of the miracle that he has put the shining white milk into the red or black cows. However, the high esteem in which cattle were held proved no obstacle to the slaughtering of cows, and especially of bullocks, at the sacrifices, and to the eating of their flesh. An absolute prohibition of cow-killing did not exist in the oldest times, although the word "aghnyā," "she who is not to be killed" for "cow" indicates that cows were killed only under exceptional circumstances.[2] Also the skin of the oxen was used. The tanner worked it up into leather bottles, strings of bows and straps. There were also already different kinds of industries. There was above all the wood worker—at once carpenter, carriage-builder, and cabinet-maker—who made especially the chariot. There were metal-workers, smiths, who used a bird's wings as bellows. Shipping was still in its first beginnings. A canoe provided

[1]) It is quite similar among the Dinkas and Kaffirs in Africa, whose present form of economics must be fairly in agreement with that of the Vedic Aryans.

[2]) See A. A. *Macdonell* and A. B. *Keith*, "Vedic Index of Names and Subjects," London 1912, II, 145 ff.

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with oars, probably consisting only of a hollowed-out tree-trunk, served for the navigation of the rivers. Although the sea was known to the Vedic Indians, it is, to say the least, highly doubtful[1] whether there was yet an extensive maritime trade. However, it is certain that there were traders, and that an extensive trade was carried on, in which oxen and gold ornaments took the place of money. Besides oxen and horses, the Vedic singers implore the gods chiefly for gold, which they hope to receive as gifts from the rich sacrificers.

But while we hear in the Ṛgveda of cattle-rearing and agriculture, of trade and industry, as well as of deeds of war and of sacrifices, there is not yet to be found in the hymns that caste-division, which imparts a peculiar stamp to the whole of the social life of the Indians of later times, and which, up to the present day, has remained the curse of India. Only in one single hymn, evidently late, are the four castes—Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra—mentioned. Certainly there were warriors and priests, but of an exclusive warrior-caste there is in the Ṛgveda as little mention as of one or several lower castes of farmers, cattle-traders, merchants, artisans, and labourers. As in later times, so indeed already in the Ṛgveda, it was the custom that, at the king's side there stood a house-priest (Purohita) who offered the sacrifices for him. But we still hear often enough—even in the later Vedic period—of sacrifices and ceremonies, which the pater-familias performs alone without priestly aid. The wife takes part in these sacrifices; indeed, it is reckoned as absolutely essential, that the husband and wife together perform the sacred ceremonies. This participation of the wife in the sacrifices proves at all events that the position of woman in

[1]) It is certainly not a mere accident, that in the songs of the Ṛgveda countless similes and metaphors are drawn from *cattle-rearing*, while only seldom a simile refers to *shipping*. Contrast with this Homer's wealth of figures of speech which refer to shipping.

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the oldest period of the Ṛgveda was not yet so low as later, when the law-books absolutely *forbid* women to sacrifice, and to repeat sacred texts. In the Ṛgveda (VIII, 31) we read of the married couple (dampatī—"householder and housewife") who "with minds in harmony press the Soma, rinse and mix it with milk" and offer adoration to the gods. Manu, however, declares in his law-book, that it is displeasing to the gods when women sacrifice (IV, 206), and that women who offer the fire-sacrifice (Agnihotra) sink into hell (XI, 37). When we still hear in the Upaniṣads, that women also took an active share in the disputations of the philosophers, we must not wonder that in the hymns of the Ṛgveda women could without restriction—at feasts, dances, and such like—show themselves publicly. It is by no means necessary, as some scholars do, to think of courtesans, when it is said that beautiful women flock to the festival gathering. It is not to be denied, however, that already at the time of the Ṛgveda, many solitary, unprotected women—"brotherless maidens" as a poet calls them—gave themselves up to prostitution; but Pischel and Geldner,[1] in spite of all the trouble which they have taken to prove it, have not succeeded in proving that at that time already there existed a "grand system of courtesans" as in the time of Buddha in Vesali, or at the time of Perikles in Athens.

However, we must not form too exalted an idea of the moral conditions in ancient India, and not picture these to ourselves in such an idyllic manner, as certainly Max Müller has at times done. We hear in the hymns of the Ṛgveda of incest, seduction, conjugal unfaithfulness, the procuring of abortion, as also of deception, theft and robbery. All this, however, proves nothing against the antiquity of the Ṛgveda. Modern ethnology knows nothing of "unspoiled children of nature" any more than it regards all primitive peoples as

[1]) Vedische Studien, I, p. xxv.

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rough savages or cannibal monsters. The ethnologist knows that a step-ladder of endless gradations of the most widely differing cultural conditions leads from the primitive peoples to the half-civilised peoples, and right up to the civilised nations. We need not, therefore, imagine the people of the Ṛgveda either as an innocent shepherd people, or as a horde of rough savages, nor, on the other hand as a people of ultra-refined culture. The picture of culture which is unfolded in these songs, and which Heinrich Zimmer in his still valuable book "Altindisches Leben" [1] has drawn for us in so masterly a manner, shows us the Aryan Indians as an active, joyful and warlike people, of simple, and still partly savage habits. The Vedic singers implore the gods for help against the enemy, for victory in battle, for glory and rich booty; they pray for wealth, heaps of gold and countless herds of cattle, for rain for their fields, for the blessing of children, and long life. As yet we do not find in the songs of the Ṛgveda that effeminate, ascetic and pessimistic trait of the Indian character with which we shall meet again and again in later Indian literature.

Now there have been scholars, who considered the hymns of the Ṛgveda to be so enormously old, that they thought to see in them not so much Indian as Aryan or Indo-European mental life; they held, that the epoch of these hymns was still so near to the Indo-European "pre-historic time," that in them we are still dealing rather with "Aryans" than with actual Indians. On the other hand, other scholars have shown that the Ṛgveda is above all a production of the *Indian* mind, and that for its explanation no other principles must be followed than for any other text of Indian literature. This is one of the many points on which the interpreters of the Ṛgveda diverge rather widely.[2]

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[1]) Berlin 1879.

[2]) See *Barth*, Oeuvres II, 237 ff.; H. *Oldenberg*, Vedaforschung, Stuttgart, 1905; *Winternitz*, WZKM, 19, 1905, 419 ff.

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We must here remember the important fact that the Ṛgveda is as yet by no means fully explained. There are, indeed, a large number of hymns, the explanation of which is as certain as that of any other Indian text. But on the other hand, there are many hymns and very many verses and isolated passages of the Ṛgveda whose right meaning is still in the highest degree doubtful. This is also of great importance for the just appreciation of these old writings. The outsider who takes a translation of the Ṛgveda in his hand often wonders that so much in these hymns is unpoetical, indeed unintelligible and senseless. But the reason is frequently only that the translators do not content themselves with translating that which is intelligible, but that they think they *must* translate *everything*, even that which has up till now not been rightly interpreted.

However it is not entirely our fault, that we as yet do not rightly understand the Ṛgveda, and that a *complete* translation of it *must* of necessity contain much that is incorrect. The reason lies in the great age of these hymns which *to the Indians themselves*, already in very early times, had become unintelligible. Within the Vedic literature we find already some verses of the Ṛgveda misunderstood and wrongly interpreted. Already in early times Indian scholars busied themselves with the interpretation of the Ṛgveda. So-called Nighaṇṭus or "Glossaries," collections of rare and obscure words which occur in the hymns, were prepared. The first commentator of the Ṛgveda, whose work is preserved to us, was Yāska, who on the basis of the Nighaṇṭus, explains a great number of Vedic verses in his work Nirukta (*i.e.* "Etymology"). This Yāska, who doubtless is older than Pāṇini,[1] already quotes no less than seventeen predecessors,

[1]) The great age of the Nirukta is proved by its language, which is more archaic than that of the remaining non-Vedic Sanskrit literature. s. *Bhandarkar*. JBRAS 16, 1885. 265 f. Lakshman *Sarup*, "The Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta the oldest Indian Treatise on

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whose opinions frequently contradict each other. Indeed, one of the scholars quoted by Yāska declares outright that the whole Veda-exegesis is worth nothing, as the hymns are obscure, senseless, and contradictory to each other—to which Yāska, however, observes that it is not the fault of the beam if the blind man does not see it. Yāska himself, in the explanation of difficult words, often relies on the etymology (which of course does not fulfil the scientific requirements of modern philology) and frequently gives two or more different interpretations of one and the same word. It follows from this, that already in Yāska's time the sense of many words and passages of the Ṛgveda was no longer established by an uninterrupted tradition. Of the work of the many successors whom Yāska has had, there is nothing preserved to us, any more than of that of his predecessors. Only from the 14th century after the birth of Christ do we possess a comprehensive commentary, which explains the Ṛgveda word by word. This is the famous commentary of Sāyaṇa. Some of the older European interpreters of the Ṛgveda—thus the English scholar H. H. Wilson, who has published a complete English translation of the Ṛgveda, which entirely follows the Indian commentary—depended entirely upon Sāyaṇa's commentary, taking it for granted that the latter rested on reliable tradition. On the other hand, other Veda investigators did not trouble themselves at all about the native interpretation. They denied

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Etymology, Philosophy and Semantics," Introduction, Oxford 1920, p. 54, merely reflects the universal opinion (without offering any new proofs) that Yāska lived between 700 and 500 B.C. Yāska was acquainted with all the Vedic Saṃhitās and the most important Brāhmaṇas, including the latest Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa, the Prātiśākhyas and a few of the Upaniṣads; s. *Sarup, loc. cit.*, pp. 54 f., and P.D. *Gune*, in Bhandarkar Com. Vol, pp. 43 ff. Yāska already considered the Veda as revealed; but even in his time there were men who doubted the sanctity of the Veda (s. Sarup, *loc. cit.*, pp. 71 ff.). Satyavrata *Sāmasramin* in an appendix to his edition of the Nirukta has an interesting treatise in Sanskrit on the age of Yāska (about 1900 B.C. !) and the purpose of the Nirukta s. *Barth*, RHR. 27, 1893, 184 ff., = Oeuvres II, 94 ff. On Yāska, s. also *Liebich*, "Zur Einführung in die indische einheim. Sprachwiss, II, 22 ff.

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that a commentator, who lived more than two thousand years after the composition of the book explained by him, could know anything which we Europeans, with our philological criticism and with the modern resources of linguistic science, could not fathom and understand better. Among these investigators especially Rudolf Roth is conspicuous. One of his pupils and followers was H. Grassmann, who published in two volumes a complete metrical translation of the hymns of the Ṛgveda.[1] Most of the investigators to-day take up an intermediary position. While admitting that we must not blindly follow the native interpreters, they yet believe that the latter did *partly* at least, draw upon an uninterrupted tradition and therefore should not be disregarded, and that simply because they are Indians and moreover better acquainted with the Indian atmosphere, as it were, than we Westerners, they often hit the right meaning. Among these interpreters is Alfred Ludwig, who, in his complete German translation of the Ṛgveda, to which is added a comprehensive, most valuable commentary,[2] for the first time thoroughly utilized the explanations of Sāyaṇa, without rejecting other aids to interpretation. He is a forerunner of R. Pischel and K. F. Geldner, who, in their "Vedische Studien"[3] have

[1]) Leipzig, 1876 and 1877. The selection "Siebenzig Lieder des Ṛgveda übersetzt von Karl *Geldner* und Adolf *Kaegi*. Mit Beiträgen von R. *Roth*." Tübingen 1875, which also proceeded from *Roth's* school, is much preferable to Grassmann's translation.

[2]) Prag 1876-1888, in six volumes. Though difficult to understand, *Ludwig's* translation is yet more reliable than the smooth verses in the translation of *Grassmann*. A good English translation is that of R.T.H. *Griffith*, Benares, 1889-1892. Selections from the Ṛgveda are translated into English by Max *Müller* and *Oldenberg* in SBE., Vols. 32 and 46; into German by K. F. *Geldner*, in A. Bertholet, "Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch" (Tübingen, 1908) p. 71 ff: A. *Hillebrandt*, "Lieder des Ṛgveda," Göttingen 1913: into English A. A. *Macdonell*, "Hymns from the Ṛgveda" (Heritage of India Series); and E. J. *Thomas* "Vedic Hymns" (Wisdom of the East Series), London 1923. The first part of a new and complete translation of the Ṛgveda by K.F. *Geldner* has been published in the series "Quellen der Religionsgeschichte," Göttingen, 1923.

[3]) Stuttgart, 1889-1901, 3 vols. Other important contributions to the interpretation of the Ṛgveda are: *Oldenberg*, "Ṛgveda, Textkritische und exegetische Noten", AGGW

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rendered invaluable services to the clearing-up of many obscure passages of the Ṛgveda. They have also clung most firmly—certainly not without exaggeration—to the principle that the Ṛgveda must, above all, be interpreted as a production of the *Indian* mind, to the right understanding of which the Indian literature of later periods provides the best key.

Added to all this is yet another much-debated question, which is of no little importance for the interpretation of the Vedic hymns, namely the question whether these hymns arose independently of all sacrificial ritual as the naive expressions of a pious faith in the gods, as the outpouring of the hearts of divinely inspired singers, or whether they were, in a workmanlike manner, composed by priests, merely with the intention of using them for certain sacrifices and ceremonies.

But how differently these songs may be judged according to the line of interpretation taken by a scholar may be shown by contrasting the opinions of two eminent scholars. In his beautiful book, which is still worth reading, "Der Ṛgveda, die älteste Litteratur der Inder," [1] Ad. Kaegi says of the hymns of the Ṛgveda: "The great majority of the songs are invocations and glorifications of the deities addressed at the time; their key-note is throughout a simple outpouring of the heart, a prayer to the Eternal Ones, an invitation to accept favourably the piously dedicated gift..... To that which a god placed in his soul and caused him to feel: to the impulse of his heart the singer wishes to give eloquent expression." He admits that also portions of inferior quality are to be found in the collection, "but there is in them all a fresh breath of vigorous primeval poetry. Whoever takes the trouble to transfer himself to the religious and moral thought

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N.F, Vol. XI, No. 5, and Vol. XIII, No. 3, 1909 and 1912: *Geldner*, "Der Ṛgveda in Auswahl" I. Glossar, II Kommentar, Stuttgart 1907-1909, and ZDMG 71, 1917, 315 ff. M. *Bloomfield*, JAOS 27, 1906, 72 ff.: E. W. *Fay*, *ibid*, 403 ff.: A.B. *Keith*, JRAS 1910, 921 ff.

[1]) Second edition, Leipzig, 1881. An English translation (The Rig-Veda, the Oldest Literature of the Indians) with additions, by R. *Arrowsmith*, appeared 1886.

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and action, the poetry and the working of a people and age, in which the first spiritual development of our own race is placed before our eyes at its best, will feel himself attracted in various ways by many of these songs, here through the childlike simplicity, there through the freshness or delicacy of feeling and in other parts by the boldness of metaphor, by the flight of the imagination." Now let us hear what H. Oldenberg, the ingenious and judicious expert on Indian literature, says about these songs in his "Religion des Veda."[1] He sees already in this "oldest document of Indian literature and religion" "the clear trace of an ever-increasing intellectual enervation." He speaks of the "sacrificial songs and litanies, with which the priests of the Vedic Aryans on a temple-less place of sacrifice, at the sacrificial fires strewn around with grass, invoked their gods—barbarian priests—the barbarian gods, who with horses and chariots came driving through the sky and air in order to feast on the sacrificial cake, butter, and meat, and to imbibe, with the intoxicating soma juice, courage and divine strength. The singers of the Ṛgveda, in a manner inherited of old, composing for the great and pompous ....Soma-sacrifice, do not want to tell of the god whom they are honouring, but they want to praise this god....So they heap upon him all the glorifying epithets which are at the disposal of the grossly flattering garrulousness of an imagination which loves the bright and the garish." "Such poetry," Oldenberg thinks, "could have arisen only in the exclusive circles of the priestly sacrificial experts."

To me both these opinions seem exaggerated, and the truth, in my opinion, here as in all the debateable questions regarding the interpretation of the Ṛgveda, lies midway. Let us remember that the hymn-collection of the Ṛgveda is composed of earlier and later portions. Just as there are hymns in the Saṃhitā, which belong to different periods of

[1]) Berlin 1894, p. 3.

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time, so also in contents the hymns are of greatly varying value and of different origin. There is no doubt that a great number of these hymns arose independently of all sacrificial ritual, and that in them the breath of genuine primeval religious poetry is felt.[1] Even if many of these hymns were used later on for sacrificial purposes, that does not in the least prove that they were originally written for this purpose. On the other hand it is equally certain that very many portions of the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā were from the first intended for nothing but sacrificial songs and litanies, and were glued together in a rather workmanlike fashion by priestly singers. It is also certainly exaggerated when W. D. Whitney[2] once said: "The Vedas appear rather like an Indo-European than an Indian record." But just as certainly is it an exaggeration when Pischel and Geldner (with H. H. Wilson) state that the Indians at the time of the Ṛgveda, had already attained a degree of culture, which was little different from that which Alexander the Great found in existence at the time of his invasion of India.[3]

Although the gulf which divides the hymns of the Ṛgveda from the rest of Indian literature may perhaps not be so wide as many older investigators have supposed, a gulf still exists.[4] This is proved by the language, by the cultural conditions indicated above, and most particularly by the stage of religious development, which we meet with in the hymns. So much is certain, that, whatever the

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[1]) Enthusiasm should not, however, be allowed to obscure calm criticism, as is the case with H. *Brunnhofer*, who (in his essay "Ueber den Geist der indischen Lyrik," Leipzig 1882) makes the author of one of the later philosophical hymns of the Ṛgveda "A prince of poets towering up out of the mists of primitive times" (p. 15) and is carried away into saying that "the Veda is like the lark's morning trill, of humanity awakening to the consciousness of its greatness" (p. 41). That the Veda certainly is not!

[2]) Language and its Study, London 1876, p. 227.

[3]) Vedische Studien, I, pp. xxii, xxvi.

[4]) See also A. *Hillebrandt*, "Vedische Mythologie," II, 8.

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poetical value of the songs of the Ṛgveda may be, there exists no more important source for the investigation of the earliest stages in the development of Indian religion, no more important literary source for the investigation of the mythology of the Indo-European peoples, indeed, of peoples in general, than these songs of the Ṛgveda.

To say it in a word: what renders these hymns so valuable for us is that we see before us in them a mythology in the making.[1]) We see gods, as it were, arising before our eyes. Many of the hymns are not addressed to a sun-god, nor to a moon-god, nor to a fire-god, nor to a god of the heavens, nor to storm-gods and water-deities, nor to a goddess of the dawn and an earth-goddess, but the shining sun itself, the gleaming moon in the nocturnal sky, the fire blazing on the hearth or on the altar or even the lightning shooting forth from the cloud, the bright sky of day, or the starry sky of night, the roaring storms, the flowing waters of clouds and of rivers, the glowing dawn and the spread-out fruitful earth—all these natural phenomena are, as such, glorified, worshipped, and invoked. Only gradually is accomplished in the songs of the Ṛgveda itself, the transformation of these natural phenomena into mythological figures, into gods and goddesses such as Sūrya (Sun), Soma (Moon), Agni (Fire), Dyaus (Sky), Maruts (Storms), Vāyu (Wind), Āpas (Waters), Uṣas (Dawn), and Pṛthivī (Earth), whose names still indubitably indicate what they originally were. So the songs of the Ṛgveda prove indisputably that the most prominent figures of mythology have proceeded from personifications of the most striking natural phenomena. Mythological investigation has succeeded, also in the cases of the deities

[1]) L. *de la Vallée Poussin*, ("Le Védisme," Paris 1909, pp. 61 ff., 68) contests this view that the Veda presents "a mythology in the making" and A. B. *Keith*, JRAS., 1909, p. 469, agrees with him. But I did not mean to say that all mythology first arose at the time of the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā. The beginnings of the Vedic system of mythology and religion

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whose names are no longer so transparent, in proving that they originally were nothing but just natural phenomena similar to sun, moon, and so on. Among such mythological figures, whose original nature is soon partly forgotten in the hymns, and who are honoured more as mighty, lofty beings, distinguished through all kinds of miraculous deeds, are Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aditi, Viṣṇu, Pūṣan, the two Aśvins, Rudra and Parjanya. These gods' names, too, originally indicated natural phenomena, and natural beings. Epithets, which at first emphasized a particularly important side of a natural being, became gods' names and new gods. Thus Savitar, the "inspirer," "the life-giver," and Vivasvat, "the shining," were at first epithets, then names of the sun, and finally they became independent sun-gods beside Sūrya. Also the gods of different tribes and different periods are in many ways represented in the polytheism of the Vedic Indians.[1]) Hence it is that Mitra, Viṣṇu and Pūṣan also appear in the Ṛgveda as sun-gods. Pūṣan was probably the sun-god of a small shepherd-tribe, before he was received into the Vedic pantheon as the "Lord of the ways," the protector of travellers, the god who knows all the paths and also brings back to the right path the cattle which have strayed. Mitra, who is identical with the Mithra of the Avesta, is through this fact already distinguishable as an ancient Aryan sun-god, who still hails from the time when Indians and Iranians formed one people. It is not so easy with all gods to discover to which natural phenomenon they owe their origin. Still the opinions of investigators differ widely in the explanation of gods like Indra, Varuṇa, Rudra, Aditi, and the Aśvins—to mention

doubtless belong to a far earlier period than the compilation of the Saṃhitā. *Those hymns*, however, in which the natural phenomena and the deities embodied in them are as yet scarcely distinguished from one another, hark back to the time of the beginnings of Vedic mythology. This, of course, does not assume that the same thing is true of the whole Saṃhitā, or of the whole of Vedic religion.

[1]) See A. *Hillebrandt*, "Vedische Mythologie," II, 14 ff.

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only the most important ones. Thus, to one, Indra is the god of the storm, to the other an old sun-god. Varuṇa is to some a god of the heavens, while others see in him a moon-god. Rudra, who is usually held to be a storm-god, because he is the father of the storm-gods (the Maruts), would be, according to Oldenberg, a mountain and forest god, according to Hillebrandt "a god of the horrors of the tropical climate."[1] Aditi is, according to one view, the expanse of the sky, according to another the endless, widespreading earth. The two Aśvins, a pair of gods who are doubtless related to the Greek Dioskuri, and also reappear in Germanic and Lettic mythology, were already before Yāska a puzzle to the ancient Indian commentators. Some held them to be heaven and earth, others day and night, and still to-day some scholars see in them the two twilights, others sun and moon, yet others the morning and evening star, and again others the constellation of Gemini.[2] But what is the most important is that most mythologists to-day agree that by far the greatest majority of the Vedic gods has proceeded from natural phenomena or natural beings.[3] There were, indeed, some deities

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[1]) See now the learned dissertation by E. *Arbman*, Rudra Untersuchungen zum altindischen Glauben und Kultus, Uppsala, 1922. He sees in Rudra a primitive popular deity, the prototype of Śiva.

[2]) This is not the place to express an opinion on all the controversial questions which concern Vedic Mythology. The best representation of the *facts* of Vedic Mythology is given by A. A. *Macdonell*, "Vedic Mythology" (in the "Grundriss" III, I, A.). Whoever desires information with reference to the *explanation* of the myths and religious belief of the ancient Indians, must at all events consult *both* H. *Oldenberg's* "Religion des Veda" (Berlin 1894) *and also* A. *Hillebrandt's* "Vedische Mythologie" (3 vols., Breslau 1891-1902). Different as are the results arrived at by the two investigators, both have greatly contributed to the extension and deepening of our knowledge of the Vedic religion. Even the outsider, however, must be quite clear that, in these questions, absolute truth can never be attained, in fact can always only be approached more or less closely. Great services have been rendered to the investigation of Vedic religion and still more to the explanation of the hymns of the Ṛgveda, by the French scholar Abel *Bergaigne*, ("La religion védique d'après les hymnes du Ṛg-veda," 3 vols., Paris, 1878-1883).

[3]) Sten *Konow*, The Aryan Gods of the Mitani People, Kristiania, 1921, p. 5, has not convinced me, "that the conception of Vedic religion as a worship of nature and natural phenomena is fundamentally wrong."

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that have become divine beings out of abstractions, but they nearly all appear only in the latest hymns of the tenth book; thus Viśvakarman = "the world master-builder," Prajāpati = "the lord of creatures," or Śraddhā = "faith," Manyu = "anger," and some similar personifications. More important are certain gods of the so-called "lower" mythology, who also appear in the Ṛgveda: the Ṛbhus, who correspond with the elves, the Apsaras, who correspond with the nymphs, and the Gandharvas, who are a kind of forest and field spirits. Numerous demons and evil spirits too appear in the hymns as enemies of the gods, who are hated and fought against by the Devas or gods. The name Asura, however, by which in the later Vedic works these enemies of the gods are designated, appears in the Ṛgveda still with the old meaning "possessed of wonderful power" or "god,"[1] which the corresponding word "Ahura" has in the Avesta, and only in a few places also with the meaning of demons. In the Ṛgveda Dāsa or Dasyu—thus the non-Aryan aboriginal inhabitants also are called—is the usual name for the evil demons, besides also Rakṣas or Rākṣasas, by which, in the Ṛgveda, as well as in the whole of the later Indian literature, all kinds of mischievous, ghostly beings are designated. Also the Pitaras, the "fathers" or ancestral spirits, already in the Ṛgveda received divine worship. The king of these ancestral spirits, who rules in the kingdom of the deceased, high up in the highest heaven, is Yama, a god who belongs already to the Indo-Iranian prehistoric period; for he is identical with Yima who, in the Avesta, is the first human being, the primeval ancestor of the human race. As the first departed one—perhaps originally the daily setting sun or the monthly dying moon—he became the king in the realm of the dead. This kingdom of the dead is in the heavens, and the dying man is comforted by the belief that after death he will abide with King Yama in the highest heaven. Of the dismal belief

[1]) Cf. *Oldenberg*, Religion des Veda, pp. 162 ff.; V. K. *Rajwade*, Proc. IOC., II, pp. 1 ff.

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in the transmigration of the soul and eternal rebirth—the belief which controls the whole philosophical thought of Indians in later centuries—there is, in the Ṛgveda, as yet no trace to be found. So we see here too, that in these hymns there breathes an entirely different spirit from that which pervades the whole of the later Indian literature.

Just these important differences between the religious views which appear in the songs of the Ṛgveda and those of the succeeding period prove also that these songs do as a matter of fact reflect the popular belief of the old Aryan Indians. Though it is true that the songs of the Ṛgveda cannot really be called "popular poetry," that—for the most part at least—they arose in certain singer-families, in narrow priestly circles, yet we must not think that these priests and singers created a mythology and a system of religion without any consideration of the popular belief. Certainly there may be some things that are told of the gods, which rest only on "momentary fancies of the individual poet," but on the whole we must take for granted that these priests and singers started from popular tradition, that they, as Hillebrandt aptly says, "stood above, but not outside, the people." [1]

Thus, then, these songs are of incalculable value to us as evidence of the oldest religious faith of the Aryan Indians. As works of poetic art, too, they deserve a prominent place in the world literature. It is true, the authors of these hymns rise but extremely seldom to the exalted flights and the deep fervour of, say, the religious poetry of the Hebrews. The Vedic singer does not look up to the god whom he honours in song, with that shuddering awe and that faith, firm as a rock, with which the Psalmist looks up to Jehovah. The prayers of the priestly singers of ancient India do not, as with the former, rise from the inmost soul to the heavenly ones. These poets stand

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[1]) See *Oldenberg*, "Aus Indien und Iran," p. 19; "Religion des Veda," p. 13; *Hillebrandt*, "Vedische Mythologie," II, 4.

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on a more familiar footing with the gods whom they honour in song. When they sing a song of praise to a god, then they expect him to present them with wealth in cows and hero-sons, and they are not afraid to tell him this. "*Do, ut des*," is the standpoint which they hold. Thus a Vedic poet says to the god Indra: (Ṛv. VIII, 14. 1, 2):

"If I, O Indra, were like thee,
Lord of all the goods that be,
My worshipper should never lack
For herds to call his own.

Gifts would I bestow on him,
On that wise singer blessings shower,
If I, as thou, O lord of power,
The Master of the cattle were."

And another poet addresses the god Agni with the following words (Ṛv. VIII, 19. 25, 26):

"If thou wert mortal, Agni, and I the immortal one,
Thou son of strength, like Mitra, to whom we sacrifice,
Thee would I not expose to curse, good God!
My worshipper should not suffer poverty, neglect, or harm."

Yet the character of the hymns—and I am now speaking of those which contain invocations or songs of praise to the gods, without being composed for definite sacrificial purposes—is very different, according to the deities to which they are dedicated. Amongst the loftiest and most inspired poems are indisputably the songs to Varuṇa. There are indeed not many of them. Varuṇa, however, is the only one amongst the Vedic gods, who stands nobly elevated above mortals, whom the poet ventures to approach only with trembling and fear, and in humble reverence. Varuṇa it is, too, who concerns himself more than any other god of the Vedic pantheon with the moral ways of men and punishes the sinners. Contritely, therefore, the poet approaches him and pleads for forgiveness of his sins. Thus the hymns addressed to Varuṇa

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are the only ones which lend themselves, to a certain extent, to comparison with the poetry of the Psalms. As a specimen I give the hymn Rv. V, 85 in the translation of R. T. H. Griffith :—

"Sing forth a hymn sublime and solemn, grateful to glorious Varuṇa, imperial Ruler,
Who hath struck out, like one who slays the victim, earth as a skin to spread in front of Sûrya.

In the tree-tops the air he hath extended, put milk in kine and vigorous speed in horses,
Set intellect in hearts, fire in the waters,[1] Sûrya in heaven and Soma on the mountain.

Varuṇa lets the big cask, opening downward, flow through the heaven and earth and air's mid-region.
Therewith the universe's Sovran waters earth as the shower of rain bedews the barley.

When Varuṇa is fain for milk he moistens the sky, the land, and earth to her foundation.
Then straight the mountains clothe them in the rain-cloud: the Heroes, putting forth their vigour, loose them.[2])

I will declare this mighty deed of magic, of glorious Varuṇa the Lord Immortal,
Who standing in the firmament hath meted the earth out with the Sun as with a measure.

None, verily, hath ever let or hindered this the most wise God's mighty deed of magic,
Whereby with all their flood, the lucid rivers fill not one sea wherein they pour their waters.

If we have sinned against the man who loves us, have ever wronged a brother, friend, comrade,
The neighbour ever with us, or a stranger, O Varuṇa, remove from us the trespass.

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[1]) Namely, the lightning in the cloud.
[2]) The milk is the water of the clouds which are compared with cows. The "strong men" are the storm-god (Maruts) who, in the storm, cause the "milk" of the clouds to flow.

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If we, as gamesters cheat at play, have cheated, done wrong unwittingly or sinned of purpose,
Cast all these sins away like loosened fetters, and, Varuṇa, let us be thine own beloved."

Varuṇa, too, already in the Ṛgveda, is, as he is in the later mythology, the god of the sea, a god of the waters, and therefore he punishes people who have sinned, particularly with dropsy. A simple prayer by one who is suffering from dropsy is Ṛv. VII, 89. I give it in the translation of R. T. H. Griffith:—

"Let me not yet, King Varuṇa, enter into the house of clay[1]):
Have mercy, spare me, Mighty Lord.

When, Thunderer! I move along tremulous like a wind-blown skin,
Have mercy, spare me, Mighty Lord.

O Bright and Powerful God, through want of strength I erred and went astray:
Have mercy, spare me, Mighty Lord.

Thirst found thy worshipper though he stood in the midst of water-floods:
Have mercy, spare me, Mighty Lord.

O Varuṇa, whatever the offence may be which we as men commit against the heavenly host,
When through our want of strength we violate thy laws, punish us not, O God, for that iniquity."

Quite a different note is struck in the songs to the god Indra. Indra can be designated as the actual national god of the Vedic Indians. As, however, the Indians at the time of the Ṛgveda, were still a fighting and struggling nation, so Indra is a thoroughly warlike god. His enormous strength and combativeness are described again and again, and fondly the Vedic singers dwell on the battles of Indra with the demons, whom he destroys with his thunderbolt. Especially

[1]) The grave, or the earthen urn in which the ashes of the cremated corpse are preserved, may be meant. On the methods of burial of the ancient Indians, see below pp. 95ff.

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the battle of Indra with Vṛtra is celebrated by songs in numerous hymns. Again and again the splendid victory is spoken of, which the god achieved over the demon; countless times Indra is praised exultingly, because he slew Vṛtra with his thunderbolt. Vṛtra (probably "the Obstructor") is a demon in the form of a serpent or a dragon, who keeps the waters enclosed or imprisoned in a mountain. Indra wants to release the waters. With Soma he imbibes courage, hastens to the battle, and slays the monster—now the released waters flow in a rapid stream over the corpse of Vṛtra. This great deed of Indra is graphically described in the song Ṛv. I, 32, which begins with the verses [1]:—

"I will proclaim the manly deeds of Indra,
The first that he performed, the lightning-wielder.
He slew the serpent, then discharged the waters,
And cleft the caverns of the lofty mountains.

He slew the serpent lying on the mountain:
For him the whizzing bolt has Tvaṣṭar fashioned.
Like lowing cows, with rapid current flowing,
The waters to the ocean down have glided."

The songs leave no doubt that the myth of Indra's dragon-fight refers to some powerful natural phenomenon. Heaven and earth tremble when Indra slays Vṛtra. He does not destroy the dragon *once* only, but repeatedly, and he is invited also in the future always to kill Vṛtra, and to release the waters. Already the old Indian Veda-interpreters tell us that Indra is a god of the thunder-storm, and that by the mountains in which the waters are enclosed, we are to understand the clouds, in which Vṛtra—the demon of drought—keeps the waters imprisoned. Most of the European mythologists agreed with this opinion and saw in Indra, armed with a thunderbolt, a counterpart of the Teutonic Thunar, who swings the thunder-hammer Mjölnir, a thunder-god reaching

[1] Translated by A. A. *Macdonell*, Hymns from the Rigveda, p. 47.

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back into the Indo-European prehistoric period, and in the dragon-fight a mythological representation of the thunder-storm. Hillebrandt, however, has tried to prove that Vṛtra is not a cloud-demon and not a demon of drought, but a winter-giant whose power is broken by the sun-god Indra; the "rivers" which are imprisoned by Vṛtra and set free by Indra, are, according to him, not the torrents of rain, but the rivers of the North-West of India which dry up in winter and are re-filled only when the sun causes the masses of snow of the Himalaya mountains to melt.

However that may be, it is certain that the Vedic singers themselves had no clear consciousness of the original meaning of Indra and Vṛtra as nature-gods. For them Indra was a powerful champion, a giant of enormous strength, but Vṛtra the most dreaded of the demons, which were believed to be embodied in the black aborigines of the land. For Indra does not fight only with Vṛtra, but with numerous other demons. His demon-fights are only a copy of the battles which the Aryan immigrants had to fight. Therefore, too, Indra is above all a god of warriors. Of none of the gods of the Vedic pantheon are so many individual traits given us, none is portrayed so "true to life"—if one may use the expression with reference to a deity—as this warlike god in the 250 hymns which are dedicated to him. Big and strong are his arms. With beautiful lips he quaffs the Soma-drink, and when he has drunk, he moves his jawbones with pleasure, and shakes his fair beard. Fair as gold is his hair, and his whole appearance. He is a giant in stature,—heaven and earth would not be large enough to serve him as a girdle. In strength and vigour no heavenly nor earthly being approaches him. When he grasped the two endless worlds, they were for him only a handful. He is called by preference a bull. Boundless as his strength, is also his power of drinking, which is described, often not without humour, in the songs. Before he slew Vṛtra, he drank three ponds of soma; and once it is

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even said that he drank, in one gulp, thirty ponds of soma juice. Scarcely was he born—and his birth was no ordinary one, for still in his mother's womb he said: "I do not want to go out here, that is a bad way; across, through the side, I will go out" (Ṛv. IV, 18, 2)—when he already drank goblets of soma. Sometimes, too, he did too much of a good thing. In the song Ṛv. X, 119, a poet brings before us the intoxicated Indra, uttering a monologue and considering what he is to do—"Thus I will do it, no, thus," "I will place the earth here, no, I will place it there," and so on—where each verse ends with the significant refrain "Have I, then, drunk of the Soma?"

This warlike national god is much more suitable than any other to be the chief of gods. Although in the Ṛgveda almost every god is at some time or another praised as the first and highest of all gods—this is a sort of flattery, by means of which one wants to incline the god in one's favour, similarly to the way in which later court poets have celebrated many a petty prince as the ruler of the world—yet Indra is, in the earliest times, undoubtedly a king among the gods, like Zeus of the Greek Olympus.

As chief of gods he is celebrated in the song Ṛv. II, 12, which as a specimen of an Indra song, may here be given in the translation of A. A. Macdonell: [1]

"He who just born as chief god full of spirit
Went far beyond the other gods in wisdom:
Before whose majesty and mighty manhood
The two worlds trembled: he, O men, is Indra.

Who made the widespread earth when quaking steadfast
Who set at rest the agitated mountains,
Who measured out air's middle space more widely,
Who gave the sky support: he, men, is Indra.

[1]) Hymns from the Rigveda, pp. 48 ff.

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Who slew the serpent, freed the seven rivers,
Who drove the cattle out from Vala's cavern,[1])
Who fire between two rocks has generated,
A conqueror in fights: he, men, is Indra.

He who has made all earthly things unstable,
Who humbled and dispersed the Dasa colour,
Who, as the player's stake the winning gambler,
The foeman's fortune gains: he, men, is Indra.

Of whom, the terrible, they ask, "Where is he?"
Of him, indeed, they also say, "he is not."
The foeman's wealth, like player's stakes, he lessens.
Believe in him: for he, O men, is Indra.

He furthers worshippers, both rich and needy,
And priests that supplicate his aid and praise him.
Who, fair-lipped, helps the man that presses Soma,
That sets the stones at work: he, men, is Indra.

In whose control are horses and all chariots,
In whose control are villages and cattle;
He who has generated sun and morning,
Who leads the waters: he, O men, is Indra.

Whom two contending armies vie in calling,
On both sides foes, the farther and the nearer;
Two fighters mounted on the self-same chariot[2])
Invoke him variously: he, men, is Indra.

Without whose aid men conquer not in battle,
Whom fighting ever they invoke for succour,
Who shows himself a match for every foeman,
Who moves what is unmoved: he, men, is Indra.

---

[1]) Next to the Vṛtra-killing this deliverance of the cows is the greatest heroic deed of Indra. It has been compared—I think, rightly—with the deed of Hercules, who kills the three-headed Geryoneus and leads away the herds of oxen stolen by him. In the same way Hercules and Cacus. *Cf. Oldenberg*, "Rel. des Veda," p. 143. f. *Hillebrandt*, "Ved. Myth," III, 260 ff.

[2]) Namely, the warrior and the charioteer.

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Who with his arrow slays the unexpecting
Unnumbered crew of gravely guilty sinners;
Who yields not to the boasting foe in boldness,
Who slays the demons: he, O men, is Indra.

He who detected in the fortieth autumn
Śambara [1] dwelling far among the mountains;
Who slew the serpent that put forth his vigour,
The demon as he lay: he, men, is Indra.

Who with his seven rays, the bull, the mighty, [2]
Let loose the seven streams to flow in torrents;
Who, bolt in arm, spurned Rauhiṇa, the demon,
On scaling heaven bent: he, men, is Indra.

Both Heaven and Earth, themselves, bow down before him;
Before his might the very mountains tremble,
Who, famed as Soma-drinker, armed with lightning,
Is wielder of the bolt: he, men, is Indra.

Who with his aid helps him that presses Soma,
That bakes and lauds and ever sacrifices; [3]
Whom swelling prayer, whom Soma pressings strengthen,
And now this offering: he, O men, is Indra.

Who, fierce, on him that bakes and him that presses
Bestowest booty: thou, indeed, art trusted,
May we, for ever dear to thee, O Indra,
Endowed with hero sons address the Synod."

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[1]) Name of a demon.

[2]) Indra has a chariot provided with seven reins (Ṛv. II, 18, 1; VI, 44, 24), *i.e.*, many horses—"seven" in the Ṛgveda often means "many"—are harnessed to his chariot.

[3]) These are the four sacrificial priests of the older period.

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While the hymns of Varuṇa and Indra show us that the Vedic poets are not lacking in pathos, vigour and raciness the songs to Agni, the fire or the fire-god, show us that these poets also often succeeded in touching the simple, warm, heart-felt tone. Agni, as the sacrificial fire and as the fire which blazes on the hearth, is esteemed as the friend of mortals; he is the mediator between them and the gods, and to him the poet speaks as to a dear friend. He prays to him, that he may bless him "as the father his son," and he takes for granted that the god is pleased with his song and will fulfil the wish of the singer. While Indra is the god of the warrior, Agni is the god of the householder, who protects his wife and children for him, and makes his homestead prosper. He himself is often called "master of the house" (gṛhapati). He is the "guest" of every house, "the first of all guests." As an immortal being he has taken up his abode amongst mortals; and in his hand lies the prosperity of the family. Since primitive times, the bride, when she came to her new home, was led around the sacred fire, and therefore Agni is also called "the lover of maidens, the husband of women" (Ṛv. I, 66, 8), and in a marriage benediction it is said that Agni is the husband of the maidens, and that the bridegroom receives the bride from Agni. Simple prayers are also addressed to him at the wedding, at the birth of children, and similar family events. During the marriage-sacrifice the prayer was offered on behalf of the bride: "May Agni, the lord of the house, protect her! May he lead her offspring on to a high age; may her womb be blessed, may she be the mother of living children. May she behold the joy of her sons!" As the sacrificial fire, Agni is "the messenger" between gods and mortals; and sometimes it is said that, as such, he bears the sacrificial food up to the gods, sometimes also that he brings the gods down to the sacrifice. Therefore he is also called the priest, the wise One, the Brahman, the Purohita (family priest) and by preference the

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title Hotar—the name of the chief priest at the great sacrifice —is given to him. Beginnings of mythology and poetic art can hardly be separated, especially in the songs to Agni. By means of abundant pourings of ghee the sacrificial fire was maintained in a state of radiant flame, and the poet says: Agni's countenance shines, or his back shines, his hair drips with ghee. When he is described as flame-haired, or red-haired, red-bearded, with sharp jawbones and golden gleaming teeth, when the flames of the fire are spoken of as Agni's tongues, when the poet, thinking of the bright fire radiating in all directions, calls Agni four-eyed or thousand-eyed, then all this may be called poetry just as well as mythology. Thus also the rattling and rustling of the fire is compared with the bellowing of a bull,[1])—and Agni is called a bull. The pointed, rising flames are imagined as horns, and a singer calls Agni "provided with a thousand horns," while another one says that he sharpens his horns and shakes them in anger. Just as frequently, however, Agni is also compared with a merrily neighing horse, a "fiery runner"; and in mythology as well as in religious worship, Agni stands in close connection with the horse. But, when Agni is also called the bird, the eagle of heaven, hastening along in rapid flight between heaven and earth, then we must think of the flame of the lightning which descends from the sky. Again, another appearance of fire is in the mind of the poet when he says (Ṛv. I, 143, 5): "Agni, with his sharp jaws, devours the forests; he masticates them, he lays them low as the warrior his foes." Similarly another poet (Ṛv. I, 65, 8): "When fanned by the wind, he has spread through the forests, Agni cuts off the hair of the earth." (*i.e.* grass and herbs).

Even the actual Agni-myths have only originated in the metaphorical and enigmatic language of the poets. Agni

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[1]) In English, too, we speak of the "roaring fire."

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has three births or three birthplaces: in the sky he glows as the fire of the sun, on the earth he is brought forth by mortals out of the two pieces of tinder wood, and as the lightning he is born in the water. As he is brought forth with the help of two pieces of tinder wood (Araṇis), it is said that he has two mothers,—and "scarcely is the child born, when he devours the two mothers." (Ṛv. X, 79, 4.) An older poet, however, says: "Ten indefatigable virgins have brought forth this child of Tvaṣṭar (*i.e.* Agni)" (Ṛv. I, 95, 2), by which are meant the ten fingers, which had to be employed in the twirling; and as it was only possible through great exertion of strength to bring the fire out of the pieces of wood by friction, Agni in the whole of the Ṛgveda is called "the son of strength."

With the extensive part which the fire-cult played among the ancient Indians, it is not to be wondered at, that the majority of the numerous songs in the Ṛgveda which are dedicated to Agni—there are about two hundred of them—have been used as songs of sacrifice, many of them having only been composed for sacrificial purposes. Yet we find among these songs many plain, simple prayers, which, perhaps are the work of priests, but certainly are the work of poets. As an example I give the first hymn of our Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā in the translation of A. A. Macdonell: [1]

"Agni I praise, the household priest,
God, minister of sacrifice,
Invoker, best bestowing wealth.

Agni is worthy to be praised,
By present as by seers of old:
May he to us conduct the gods.

Through Agni may we riches gain,
And day by day prosperity
Replete with fame and manly sons.

[1] Hymns from the Rigveda, pp. 72 f.

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The worship and the sacrifice,
Guarded by thee on every side,
Go straight, O Agni, to the gods.

May Agni, the invoker, wise
And true, of most resplendent fame,
The god, come hither with the gods.

Whatever good thou wilt bestow,
O Agni, on the pious man,
That gift comes true, O Angiras.

To thee, O Agni, day by day,
O thou illuminer of gloom,
With thought we, bearing homage, come :

To thee the lord of sacrifice,
The radiant guardian of the Law,
That growest in thine own abode.

So, like a father to his son,
Be easy of approach to us ;
Agni, for weal abide with us."

Some pearls of lyric poetry, which appeal to us as much through their fine comprehension of the beauties of Nature, as through their flowery language, are to be found among the songs to Sūrya (the Sun), to Parjanya (the Rain-god), to the Maruts (the Storm-gods) and above all to Uṣas (the Dawn). In the hymns addressed to the latter the singers vie with each other in magnificent metaphors which are intended to depict the splendour of the rising dawn. Gleaming she approaches like a maiden decked by her mother, who is proud of her body. She puts on splendid garments, like a dancer, and reveals her bosom to the mortal. Clothed in light the maiden appears in the East and unveils her charms. She opens the gates of heaven and, radiant, steps forth out of them. Again and

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again her charms are compared with those of a woman inviting love. Thus we read (Ṛv. V, 80, 5.6)[1]:

"As conscious that her limbs are bright with bathing, she stands,
as 'twere, erect that we may see her.
Driving away malignity and darkness, Dawn, child of Heaven,
hath come to us with lustre.

The Daughter of the Sky, like some chaste woman, bends,
opposite to men, her forehead down.
The Maid, disclosing boons to him who worships, hath brought
again the daylight as aforetime,"

The following hymn to Dawn (Ṛv. VI, 64) I also give in the translation of Griffith:

"The radiant Dawns have risen up for glory, in their white
splendour like the waves of waters.
She maketh paths all easy, fair to travel, and, rich, hath
shown herself benign and friendly.

We see that thou art good: far shines thy lustre; thy beams,
thy splendours have flown up to heaven.
Decking thyself, thou makest bare thy bosom, shining in majesty,
thou Goddess Morning.

Red are the kine and luminous that bear her the Blessed One
who spreadeth through the distance.
The foes she chaseth like a valiant archer, like a swift warrior
she repelleth darkness.

Thy ways are easy on the hills: thou passest Invincible!
Self-luminous! through waters.
So lofty Goddess with thine ample pathway, Daughter of Heaven,
bring wealth to give us comfort.

Dawn, bring me wealth: untroubled, with thine oxen thou bearest
riches at thy will and pleasure;
Thou who, a Goddess, Child of Heaven, hast shown thee lovely
through bounty when we called thee early.

[1]) Translated by *Griffith*.

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As the birds fly forth from their resting-places, so men with
store of food rise at thy dawning.
Yea, to the liberal mortal who remaineth at home, O Goddess
Dawn, much good thou bringest."

To Vāta, the Wind, as the leader of the Maruts, the storm-gods, the following hymn (Ṛv. X, 168) is addressed, which I quote in the translation of Macdonell.[1]

"Of Vāta's car I now will praise the greatness:
Rending it speeds along; its noise is thunder.
Touching the sky it flies, creating lightnings;
Scattering dust it traverses earth's ridges.

The hosts of Vāta onward speed together:
They haste to him as women to a concourse.
The god with them upon the same car mounted,
The king of all this universe speeds onward.

In air, along his pathways speeding onward,
Never on any day he tarries resting.
The first-born, order-loving friend of waters:
Where was he born, and whence has he arisen?

Of gods the breath, and of the world the offspring,
This god according to his liking wanders,
His sound is heard, his form is never looked on:
That Vāta let us worship with oblation."

Beside these songs, which are worthy of being valued as works of poetic art, there is indeed a second class of hymns in the Ṛgveda, which are composed only as sacrificial songs and litanies, for quite definite ritual purposes. A strict line of demarcation is here, however, not possible. Whether we wish to accept a song as the spontaneous expression of pious faith, as the work of a divinely inspired poet, or as sacrificial prayer put together in a workmanlike fashion,

[1] Hymns from the Rigveda, p. 62.

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is often only a matter of taste. The extraordinary monotony of these prayers and sacrificial chants is certainly one of their characteristics. It is always with the same turns of expression that one god, like another, is praised as great and mighty: always the same formulas, with which the sacrificial priest beseeches the gods for wealth of cattle and riches. Many of these sacrificial songs are already distinguishable through the fact that in one and the same hymn several gods, sometimes even all the gods of the Vedic pantheon, are invoked one after another. For, at the great Soma sacrifice every god must receive his share, and every sacrificial offering must be accompanied by a verse. Compare, for instance, with the above-quoted songs to Varuṇa, Indra and Agni, a sacrificial litany like the following (Ṛv. VII, 35):

"May Indra and Agni grant us happiness by their mercy, so also Indra and Varuṇa, to whom sacrifice is offered; may Indra and Soma grant us happiness, welfare and blessing! May Indra and Pūsan grant us happiness at the capture of booty.

May Bhaga grant us happiness; our hymns of praise, Purandhi, our wealth, may they bring us happiness.....

May Dhātar, Dhartar and the far-extending (Earth) freely grant us happiness; may the two great realms of space [1]), may the mountain, may the auspicious invocations to the gods grant us happiness.

May Agni of shining countenance, may Mitra and Varuṇa, may the two Aśvins grant us happiness; may the good works of the pious grant us happiness! May the mighty Wind-god blow to us happiness"!

Thus it goes on through fifteen long verses.

To these sacrificial songs belong among others also the so-called Āprīsūktas, "propitiatory hymns" (*i.e.* hymns for the propitiation or reconciliation of certain deities, demons, and certain personified objects connected with the sacrifice). These hymns, of which there are ten in the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā,

[1]) Heaven and Earth.

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have a quite definite use at the animal sacrifice. They all consist of eleven or twelve verses, and Agni is invoked in them under various names, that he may bring the gods to the sacrifice. In the fourth or fifth verse the priests are invited to strew about the sacred grass, on which the gods are to sit down in order to receive the sacrificial gifts. Also certain goddesses are regularly invoked in the hymns, and the penultimate verse generally contains an invocation to the stake which serves in the binding of the sacrificial animal, *e.g.* "O divine tree, let the sacrificial meal go to the gods."

The hymns of Book IX which have already been referred to above, are throughout sacrificial songs, which are all addressed to Soma and are used in the great Soma-sacrifice. In sheer endless monotony the same procedure recurs, the pressing of the soma, the mixing and refining of the same, the pouring into the vats, and so on; again and again Indra is called to the drinking of the soma, Soma and Indra united are praised, and implored for riches, or for rain, of which the soma-juice trickling down through the sieve is a symbol. But rarely in these monotonous litanies do we come across a pretty metaphor, as for instance, when it is said of Soma (Ṛv. IX, 16, 6).

> "Clarified by the sieve of sheep's wool
> Soma rises to his fullest splendour,
> There he stands, as after battle
> Stands the hero by the stolen cows."

The fact that verses may be composed for ritual purposes and yet be of great poetic beauty, is proved by the funeral songs of which a few are preserved in Book X of the Ṛgveda. In Ancient India corpses were usually burnt, yet in the oldest times burial was probably the custom with the Indians,

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as with other Indo-European peoples. The following beautiful verses (Ṛv. X, 18, 10-13) refer to a burial : [1]

"Approach the bosom of the earth, the mother,
This earth, the far-extending, most propitious ;
Young, soft as wool to bounteous givers, may she
Preserve thee from the lap of dissolution.

Wide open, earth, O press not heavily on him ;
Be easy of approach to him, a refuge safe ;
As with a robe a mother hides
Her son, so shroud this man, O earth.

Now opening wide may here the earth stand steadfast,
May here a thousand columns rise to prop her ;
May here those mansions ever drip with butter,
And here be always shelter to protect him.

For thee I now prop up the earth around thee here ;
In lowering this clod may I receive no harm.
May the Fathers hold up for thee this column,
And Yama here provide for thee fit mansions."

It would indeed be possible also to fit in these verses, as Oldenberg [2] thinks, into the ritual of cremation. As we learn in the books of ritual, in ancient India the bones were collected after the cremation and placed in an urn, and this was buried. Accordingly these verses *could* have been uttered at the burial of this urn of bones. However I do not consider this probable. The words "wide open, Earth, O press not heavily on him" and so on, seem to me, only to be relevant at the erection of a mound over the actual corpse. The custom of burying the bones I consider to be a remnant of an older custom of the burial of the corpses, to which our verses refer. [3]

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[1]) Translated by A. A. *Macdonell*, Hymns from the Rigveda, p. 88.
[2]) "Religion des Veda," p. 571.
[3]) At the time when cremation was already a general custom, children and ascetics were still buried. But in the above verse nothing indicates that it is a case of the burial of a child or of an ascetic. W. *Caland*, "Die altindischen Toten-und Bestattungsgebräuche," Amsterdam, 1896, pp. 163 ff., as against R. *Roth* (ZDMG 8, 1854, 467 ff.), has proved that the hymn Ṛgveda X, 18 is not one uniform production. Only the verses 10 to 13 form a separate poem. S. also W. D. *Whitney*, "Oriental and Linguistic Studies," New York, 1873, 51 ff., and L. v. *Schroeder*, WZKM 9, 1895, 112 f.

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On the other hand, the hymn Ṛv. X, 16, 1-6, probably belonging to a later period, is intended for the ceremony of cremation. When the funeral pile is erected, the corpse is laid upon it, and the fire lighted. And when the flames unite above it, the priests pray:

"Burn him not up, nor quite consume him, Agni: let not his body or his skin be scattered.
O Jâtavedas,[1] when thou hast matured him, then send him on his way unto the Fathers.

When thou hast made him ready, Jâtavedas, then do thou give him over to the Fathers.
When he attains unto the life that waits him, he shall become the Deities' controller.

The Sun receive thine eye, the Wind thy spirit; go, as thy merit is, to earth or heaven.
Go, if it be thy lot, unto the waters; go, make thine home in plants with all thy members.

Thy portion is the goat: with heat consume him; let thy fierce flame, thy glowing splendour, burn him.
With thine auspicious forms, O Jâtavedas, bear this man to the region of the pious.

Here we already find philosophical theories on life after death and on the destiny of the soul mixed up with the mythological ideas about Agni and the fathers. These are not the only allusions to philosophical ideas, but there are about a dozen hymns in the Ṛgveda which we can designate as philosophical hymns, in which, along with speculations on the universe and the creation, that great pantheistic idea of the Universal Soul which is one with the universe, appears for the first time—an idea, which since that time has dominated the whole of Indian philosophy.

Quite early there arose, among the Indians, doubts as to the power, even as to the existence of the gods. Already

[1]) A name of the god Agni.

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in the hymn Ṛv. II, 12, translated above, which praises so confidently the might and the feats of strength of Indra, and the separate verses of which end in the refrain, which is flung out in such full faith: "He, O men, is Indra,"—even there we hear that there were people who did not believe in Indra: "Of whom they ask 'Where is he?' Of him indeed, they also say 'He is not'.....Believe in him: for he, O men, is Indra." Similar doubts occur in the remarkable hymn Ṛv. VIII, 100, 3 f., where the priests are invited to offer a song of praise to Indra, "a true one, if in truth, he is: for many say: 'There is no Indra, who has ever seen him? To whom are we to direct the song of praise?'" Whereupon Indra personally appears, in order to give assurance of his existence and his greatness: "There I am, singer, look at me here, in greatness I tower above all beings" and so on.

But when people had once begun to doubt Indra himself, who was the highest and mightiest of all the gods, so much the more arose scruples concerning the plurality of the gods in general, and doubts began to arise whether indeed there was any merit in sacrificing to the gods. Thus in the hymn Ṛv. X, 121, in which Prajāpati is praised as the creator and preserver of the world and as the one god, and in which, in the refrain recurring in verse after verse: "Which god shall we honour by means of sacrifice?" there lies hidden the thought, that in reality there is nothing in all the plurality of the gods, and that alone the one and only god, the Creator Prajāpati, deserves honour. Finally, this scepticism finds its most powerful expression in the profound poem of the Creation (Ṛv. X, 129).[1] It begins with a description of the time before the creation:

"Nor aught existed then, nor naught existed,
There was no air, nor heaven beyond.
What covered all? Wherein? In whose shelter was it?
Was it the water, deep and fathomless?

[1]) Translation by R. T. H. *Griffith*.

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No death was then, nor was there life immortal.
Of day and night there was then no distinction.
That *One* alone breathed windless by itself.
Than that, forsooth, no other thing existed."

Only very timidly does the poet venture on a reply to the question regarding the origin of the world. He imagines the state before the creation as "darkness shrouded in darkness," far and wide nothing but an impenetrable flood, until through the power of the Tapas,[1] "the One" arose. This "One" was already an intellectual being; and as the first product of his mind—"the mind's first fruit," as the poet says—came forth Kāma, *i.e.* "sexual desire, love,[2]" and in this Kāma "the wise searching in their hearts, have by meditation discovered the connection between the existing and the non existing." But only gentle hints does the poet venture to give, soon doubts again begin to arise, and he concludes with the anxious questions:

"Who knoweth it forsooth, who can declare it here,
Whence this creation has arisen, whence it came?
The gods came hither by this world's creation only:[3]
Who knoweth then, whence this creation has arisen?

Whence this creation has arisen, whether
It has been made or not: He who surveys
This world in highest heaven, he may be knoweth,—
Or, it may be, he knoweth not."[4]

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[1]) *Tapaç* may here have its original meaning of "heat" (some "creative heat" analogous to the heat by which the brood-hen produces life from the egg) or it may mean the 'fervour' of austerity; or, as *Deussen* thinks, both meanings may be implied in the word.

[2]) Not the "will" of Schopenhauer, as *Deussen* and others assume. As sexual desire leads to the procreation and birth of beings, so these ancient thinkers considered sexual desire as the primal source of all existence.

[3]) That is the gods themselves were created only with the rest of creation, therefore they cannot tell us whence the world originated.

[4]) Translated into English by the author. This famous hymn has been often translated and discussed, thus by H. T. *Colebrooke*, Miscellaneous Essays (2nd Ed., Madras,

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In most of the philosophical hymns of the Ṛgveda the idea certainly comes to the foreground of a creator who is named now Prajāpati, now Brahmaṇaspati, or Bṛhaspati, or again Viśvakarman, but who is still always thought of as a personal god. But already in the above-quoted verse it appears doubtful to the poet whether the creation was "made" or whether it came into being by some other means, and the creative principle receives no name in this poem, but is called "the One." Thus already in the hymns the great idea of Universal Unity is foreshadowed, the idea that everything which we see in Nature and which the popular belief designates as "gods," in reality is only the emanation of the One and Only One, that all plurality is only imaginary—an idea which is really already expressed clearly and distinctly in the verse Ṛv. I, 164, 46:

"They call him Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa,
And Agni; he is the heavenly bird Garutmat:
To what is one, the poets give many a name,
They call it Agni, Yama, Mātariśvān."

While these philosophical hymns form, as it were, a bridge to the philosophical speculations of the Upaniṣads, there exist also a number of poems in the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā—there might be about twenty of them—which form a connecting link with the epic and dramatic poetry. These are fragments of narratives in the form of dialogues (Saṃvādas), and may therefore be fitly called Samvāda or dialogue hymns. H. Oldenberg [1] called them "Ākhyāna hymns,"

1872), I, pp. 33 f.; Max *Müller* History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, 2nd Ed., London 1860. p. 564; J. *Muir*, Original Sanskrit Texts, V, p. 356: H. W. *Wallis*, Cosmology of the Ṛigveda, London, 1887, pp. 89 ff.; W. D. *Whitney*, JAOS, XI, p. cix; P. *Deussen*, Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie I (where all the philosophical hymns of the Ṛgveda are discussed); L. *Scherman*, Philosophische Hymnen aus der Ṛig-und Atharvaveda-Sanhitâ, Strassburg, 1887, pp. 1 ff. It has also been translated by *Macdonell*, E. J. *Thomas*, etc.

[1]) "Das altindische Âkhyâna" in ZDMG 37 (1883) 54 ff. and Âkhyânahymnen im Ṛgveda" in ZDMG 39 (1885) 52 ff. *Âkhyâna* means "narrative."

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and started a theory, in order to explain their fragmentary and enigmatic character. The oldest form of epic poetry in India, he said, was a mixture of prose and verse, the speeches of the persons only being in verses, while the events connected with the speeches were narrated in prose. Originally only the verses used to be committed to memory and handed down, while the prose story was left to be narrated by every reciter in his own words. Now in the dialogue hymns of the Ṛgveda only the verse portions, containing conversations, have been preserved, while the prose portions of the narrative are lost to us. Only some of these narratives can partly be restored with the help of the Brāhmaṇas or the epic literature, or even of commentaries. Where these aids fail, nothing remains for us but to try to guess the story from the conversations. This theory seemed to be supported by the fact that not only in Indian, but also in other literatures, the mixture of prose and verse is an early form of epic poetry. It is found, for instance, in Old Irish and in Scandinavian poetry.[1] In India we find it in some narrative portions of the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads, in some of the old parts of the Mahābhārata, in Buddhist literature, in the literature of fables and tales, in the drama, and again in the campū. It is true that, in all these cases the prose has been handed down together with the verses, but as the Ṛgveda is professedly the Veda of the *verses*, it was not possible to include any prose in the Saṃhitā of the Ṛgveda. And if an Ākhyāna, consisting of prose and verse, was to find a place in the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā, the prose portion would have to be omitted. This is the theory of Oldenberg, which for a long time was almost generally accepted by scholars.

[1]) Already in the year 1878 in a lecture delivered at the 33rd meeting of German philologists and pedagogues at Gera, Ernst *Windisch* had pointed out the significance of quite similar phenomena in the *old Irish* legend-poetry, and on this occasion had also already drawn attention to the related phenomena in Indian literature.

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Of late, however, the theory has also met with a great deal of opposition. Many years back Max Müller and Sylvain Lévi [1] had already suggested that the dialogue poems of the Ṛgveda might be a kind of dramas. This idea has been taken up by Joh. Hertel[2] and L. von Schroeder,[3] who tried to prove that these Saṃvāda hymns are really speeches belonging to some dramatic performances connected with the religious cult. We have only, they say, to supply dramatic action, and the difficulties which these hymns offer to interpretation will disappear. What kind of action has to be supplied can of course only be guessed from the dialogues themselves.

The fact is, that poems like the dialogue hymns of the Ṛgveda are of frequent occurrence in Indian literature. We shall find similar semi-epic and semi-dramatic poems, consisting chiefly or entirely of dialogues or conversations, in the Mahābhārata, in the Purāṇas, and especially in Buddhist literature. All these poems are nothing else but ancient ballads of the same kind as are found also in the literatures of many other peoples.[4] This ancient ballad poetry is the

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[1]) Le Théâtre Indien, Paris, 1890, pp. 301 ff.

[2]) WZKM 18, 1904, 59 ff., 137 ff.; 23, 1909, 273 ff.; Indische Märchen, Jena, 1921, pp. 344, 367 f.

[3]) Mysterium und Mimus im Rigveda, Leipzig, 1908.

[4]) A. *Barth* (RHR 19, 1889, 130 f....Oeuvres, II, 5 f.) has already compared the Ākhyāna of Purūravas and Urvaśī in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa with the ballad of King Rasālū in *Temple's* "Legends of the Panjâb." On the whole question see *Pischel*, GGA 1891, 355 ff.; *Oldenburg*, GGA 1909, 66 ff.; NGGW 1911, 459 ff.; *Bloomfield*, American Journal of Philology, 30, 1909, 78 ff.; A. B. *Keith*, JRAS, 1909, 200 ff.; 1911, 979 ff.; 1912, 429 ff.; ZDMG 64, 1910, 534 ff.; J. *Charpentier*, WZKM 23, 1909, 151 f.; 25, 1911, 307 ff.; Die Suparṇasage, Uppsala 1920, p. 13 ff. W. *Caland*, AR 14, 1911, 499 ff.; *Hillebrandt*, Lieder des Ṛgveda, passim; K. F. *Geldner*, Die indische Balladendichtung, Festschrift der Universität Marburg, 1913, pp. 93 ff.; E. *Windisch*, Geschichte der Sanskrit Philologie, pp. 404 ff.; M. *Winternitz*, WZKM 23, 1909, 102 ff.; Oesterreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient 41, 1915, 173 ff., and the Lecture on "Ancient Indian Ballad Poetry" in the Calcutta Review, December, 1923.

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source both of the epic and of the drama, for these ballads consist of a narrative and of a dramatic element. The epic developed from the narrative, the drama arose from the dramatic elements of the ancient ballad. These ancient Ākhyānas or ballads were not always composed entirely in verse, but sometimes an introductory or a concluding story was told in prose, and occasionally the verses were linked together by short explanations in prose. Thus it may be that in some cases there might have been a connecting prose story (as Oldenberg assumed), which, if we knew it, would make the conversations of the hymns clear. But most of these hymns are simply ballads of the half-epic, half-dramatic type, though not real dramas, as some scholars have thought them to be.

The most famous of these Vedic ballads or Saṃvāda hymns is Ṛv. X. 95. This is a poem of 18 stanzas, consisting of a dialogue between Purūravas and Urvaśī. Purūravas is a mortal, Urvaśī a nymph (Apsaras). During four years the divine beauty lived on earth as the wife of Purūravas, until by him she became pregnant, when she vanished, "like the first of the dawns." He went out to seek her. At last he found her, playing with other water-nymphs, in a lake. That is about all we can glean from the obscure, often quite unintelligible verses, from the dialogues between the deserted one and the goddess who is romping about in the pond with her playmates. Fortunately this ancient myth of the love of a mortal king for a divine maiden is also preserved in other portions of Indian literature, and thus we can, to a certain extent, complete the poem of the Ṛgveda. The legend of Purūravas and Urvaśī is already told us in a Brāhmaṇa,[1] and the verses of the Ṛgveda are woven into the narrative. We are there told that the nymph, when she consented to become the wife of Purūravas, stipulated three conditions, one

[1] Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa XI, 5, 1.

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of which was that she might never see him naked. The Gandharvas—demi-gods of the same kingdom to which the Apsaras belong—wanted to get Urvaśī back. Therefore, in the night, they stole two little lambs which she loved like children, and which were tied to her bed. As Urvaśī complained bitterly that she was robbed as though no man were near, Purūravas jumped up—"naked as he was, for it seemed to him that the putting on of a garment would take too long" —to pursue the thieves. But at the same instant the Gandharvas caused a flash of lightning to appear, so that it became as light as day, and Urvaśī perceived the king naked. She then vanished ; and when Purūravas returned, she was gone. Mad with grief, the king wandered about the country, until one day he came to a pond, in which nymphs in the form of swans, were swimming about. This gives rise to the dialogue which we find in the Ṛgveda. and which is reproduced with explanatory additions in the Brāhmaṇa. [1] Yet all the pleadings of Purūravas that she might return to him are in vain. Even when, in despair, he talked of self-destruction—he wanted to throw himself from the rocks as a prey to the fierce wolves—she only replied :

"Nay, do not die, Purūravas, nor perish :
let not the evil-omened wolves devour thee.
With women there can be no lasting friendship,
hearts of hyenas are the hearts of women." [2]

Whether and how Purūravas is reunited with his beloved is not quite clear either in the Ṛgveda or in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa. It seems that he becomes transformed into a Gandharva and attains heaven, where at last the joy of reunion is his. The story of Purūravas and Urvaśī has often been retold in India : it is briefly hinted at in the Kāṭhaka

[1]) The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa has only fifteen of the eighteen verses of the Ṛgveda.
[2]) Translated by R.T.H. *Griffith*.

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belonging to the black Yajurveda, it is retold in exegetic works attached to the Veda,[1] in the Harivaṃśa, an appendix to the Mahābhārata, in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa and in the book of tales Kathāsaritsāgara, and no less a poet than Kālidāsa has founded one of his immortal dramas on it. From the circumstance that, in spite of all efforts to bring the verses of the Ṛgveda into unison with the later narratives and to utilize the latter in the elucidation of the Ṛgvedic poem,[2] there is still so much that is obscure and unexplained in these verses, we see how very much earlier the Ṛgveda is than any other known work of Indian literature.

We have another valuable fragment of the art of narration in ancient times, in the dialogue of Yama and Yamī (Ṛv. X, 10). An old myth of the origin of the human race from a first pair of twins underlies the conversation.[3] Yamī tries to tempt her brother Yama to incest, in order that the human race may not die out. In passionate words, glowing with desire, the sister draws the brother on to love. In gentle, deliberate speech, pointing to the eternal laws of the gods, which forbid the union of blood-relations, Yama repulses her. These speeches, in which unfortunately there is still much obscurity, are full of dramatic strength. Yamī first says:

"My friend I would draw near to me in friendship,
Should he have gone e'en to the farthest ocean,
That he beget a grandson to his sire
On earth, remembering wisely future days." [1]

---

[1]) Baudhāyana-Śrautasūtra (s. *Caland*, in the Album Kern, pp. 57 ff.) Bṛhaddevatā, Ṣaḍguruśiṣya's commentary on the Sarvānukramaṇī of the Ṛgveda.

[2]) See especially *Geldner* in the "Vedische Studien" I, 243-295. Also *Oldenberg*, ZDMG 39, 72 ff. and "Die Literatur des alten Indien," pp. 53 ff. The Purūravas-Urvaśī dialogue has also been translated by *Hertel*, Indogerm. Forschungen 31, 1912, 143 ff., and *Hillebrandt*, Lieder des Ṛgveda, pp. 142 ff.

[3]) See A. *Weber*, SBA. 1895, 822 ff. Yama means "twin," and Yamī is a feminine form of Yama. A. *Winter* has attempted a mythological interpretation of the myth in the essay: "Mein Bruder freit um mich" (ZVV. VII, 1897, pp. 172 ff.), where he compares

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Thereupon Yama replies :

"Thy friend loves not the friendship which considers her who is near
in kindred as a stranger.
Sons of the mighty Asura, the Heroes, supporters of the heavens,
see far around them." [2]

Yamī, however, tries to persuade her brother that the gods themselves desire that he shall unite himself with her in order to propagate his race. As he will not listen, she becomes more and more persistent, more and more passionate :

"I, Yamī, am possessed by love of Yama, that I may rest on the same
couch beside him.
I as a wife would yield me to my husband. Like car-wheels let us
speed to meet each other." [7]

But Yama again refuses with the words :

"They stand not still, they never close their eyelids, those sentinels
of God who wander round us.
Not me—go quickly, wanton, with another, and hasten like a chariot-
wheel to meet him." [8]

More and more tempestuous, however, does the sister grow, ever more ardently does she desire the embrace of Yama, until—on his repeated refusal—she bursts forth into the words :

"Alas! thou art indeed a weakling, Yama; we find in thee no trace
of heart or spirit.
As round the tree the woodbine clings, another will cling about thee
girt as with a girdle." [13]

Rv. X, 10. with a Lettic popular song, in which a brother attempts to seduce his sister to incest. *Schroeder* (Mysterium und Mimus, pp. 275 ff.), explains the hymn as a drama connected with some rite of fertility. This is certainly wrong. See *Winternitz*, WZKM 23, 1909, 118 f. and *Charpentier*, Die Suparṇasage, p. 99,

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Whereupon Yama concludes the dialogue with the words:

"Embrace another, Yamī; let another, even as the woodbine rings the tree, enfold thee.
Win thou his heart and let him win thy fancy, and he shall form with thee a blest alliance." [1] [14]

How the story of Yama and Yamī ended, we do not know; moreover no later source gives us any information upon it. Thus the poem of the Ṛgveda is unfortunately only a torso, but a torso which indicates a splendid work of art.

The Sūryāsūkta, Ṛv. X, 85,[2] may also be included in the Ṛgvedic ballad poetry. This particular hymn describes the marriage of Sūryā (the sun-daughter, as the dawn is here called) with Soma (the moon), at which the two Aśvins were the match-makers. This hymn consists of 47 verses, which are somewhat loosely connected. The verses nearly all refer to the marriage ritual, and most of them, as we know from the Gṛhyasūtras, the manuals of domestic ritual, were used also at the marriage of ordinary mortals. Yet I do not think that these verses were merely compiled from the ritual (as is the case with some of the funeral hymns) so that they would have to be regarded as a kind of compilation of all the benedictions used in the marriage-rites, like a chapter in a prayer-book. It is much more probable that it is an ancient ballad describing the marriage of Sūryā partly in narrative stanzas, partly in addresses to the Aśvins and Sūryā, and partly by the insertion of the mantras (benedictions, incantations) recited at the various stages of the marriage ceremony. But among the benedictions which we find in this Sūryāsūkta, there are many which, with their

[1]) Verses 2, 7, 8, 13, 14 translated by R. T. H. *Griffith*, the first verse by the author.
[2]) Translated into German by A. *Weber*, Ind. Stud. 5, 177 ff. See also J. *Ehni*, ZDMG, 23, 1879, 166 ff.; *Pischel*, Vedische Studien, I, 14 ff.; *Oldenberg*, GGA., 1889, p. 7.

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simple, warm, hearty tone, remind us of the funeral hymns discussed above. Thus the bridal pair is addressed in the beautiful words:

"Happy be thou and prosper with thy children here: be vigilant to rule thy household in this home.
Closely unite thy body with this man, thy lord. So shall ye, full of years, address your company." [27]

The spectators past whom the marriage procession goes, are thus accosted:

"Signs of good fortune mark the bride: Come all of you and look at her.
Wish her prosperity, and then return unto your homes again." [33]

When the bridegroom, according to ancient Indo-European marriage-custom, clasps the hand of the bride, he recites this verse:

"I take thy hand in mine for happy fortune that thou mayst reach old age with me thy husband.
Gods, Aryaman, Bhaga, Savitar, Purandhi, have given thee to be my household's mistress." [36]

When at last the bridal pair enter the new home, they are received with the following words:

"Be ye not parted; dwell ye here; reach the full time of human life.
With sons and grandsons sport and play, rejoicing in your own abode." [42]

And upon the bride the blessing is invoked:

"O Bounteous Indra, make this bride blest in her sons and fortunate.
Vouchsafe to her ten sons, and make her husband the eleventh man!" [45][1]

[1]) The five verses translated by R. T. H. *Griffith*.

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But some of the marriage benedictions have more of the character of magic formulas. Among them we find charms against the evil eye and other pernicious magic, by means of which the bride could injure her future husband, as well as exorcisms by means of which demons, which lie in wait for the bride, are to be scared away. These magic formulas by no means stand alone, for there are, besides, about thirty magic songs in the Ṛgveda. Some of these are benedictions and formulas for the healing of various diseases, for the protection of the embryo, for warding off the effects of bad dreams and unfavourable omens, while others are incantations for the scaring away of witches, for the destruction of enemies and malevolent wizards, or magic formulas against poison and vermin, verses for the supplanting of a rival; we also find a blessing on the field, a charm for the prosperity of cattle, a battle charm, a charm for inducing sleep, and so on. Of this kind is also the very remarkable "Frog song," Ṛv. VII, 103. Here the frogs are compared with Brahmans. In the dry season they lie there like Brahmans who have taken the vow of silence. Then when the rain comes, they greet each other with merry croaking "as a son his father." And the one repeats the croaking of the other, as the pupils repeat the words of the teacher when studying the Veda in a Brahman school. They modulate their voices in many ways. As priests at the Soma-sacrifice sit singing around the filled tub, so the frogs celebrate the commencement of the rainy season with their song. At the end follows a prayer for wealth:

"Both Lowing Cow and Bleating Goat have given,
Spotty and Tawny, too, have given us riches.
The frogs give kine by hundreds; they for pressings
Of Soma thousandfold, prolong existence." [1]

[1]) Translated by A. A. *Macdonell*, Hymns from the Ṛgveda, p. 96. A free poetical translation of the hymn is to be found in J. *Muir*, Metrical Translations from Sanskrit writers, pp. 194 f.

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All this sounds immensely funny, and almost generally the song was looked upon by scholars as a parody on the sacrificial songs and malicious satire against the Brahmans.[1] However, Bloomfield has proved conclusively[2] that this is a magic incantation, which was used as a rain-spell, and that the frogs, which, according to ancient Indian popular belief, can bring forth water, are praised and invoked as rain-bringers. The comparison with the Brahmans is not intended as a satire on the latter, but only as a flattery—a captatio benevolentiae—to the frogs. The frog-song was probably never a satire. It is only we who see something comic in it, and not the ancient Indians, who actually regarded frogs as great wizards. It appears, however, that incantations sometimes arose from secular poems. Thus, the song Ṛv. VI, 75, may originally have been a war song, which has been changed into a battle charm. While some verses of this song are distinguished by great poetic beauty and especially by bold images, other verses show only the dry, inartistic language of incantations. The first three verses sound more like a war-song than like an incantation :

"The warrior's look is like a thunderous rain-cloud's when, armed with mail, he seeks the lap of battle.

Be thou victorious with unwounded body : so let the thickness of thy mail protect thee.

With bow let us win kine, with bow the battle, with bow the victors in our hot encounters.

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[1]) *Cf.* for instance, *Deussen*, Ag Ph 1, 1, pp. 100 ff.

[2]) JAOS 17, 1896, pp. 173 ff. Already before this M. *Haug* (Brahma und die Brahmanen, München, 1871, p. 12) had explained the song in the same way, and attached to it the following interesting information. "The song is used in connection with the foregoing, addressed to the rain-god (Parjanya), even to-day in time of great drought, when the ardently desired rain refuses to come. Twenty to thirty Brahmans go to a river and recite these two hymns, in order to cause the rain to descend."

See also L. v. *Schroeder* Mysterium und Mimus im Ṛgveda, pp. 396 ff., and J. W. *Hauer*, Die Anfänge der Yogapraxis, Berlin 1922, pp. 68 ff.

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The bow brings grief and sorrow to the foeman : armed with the bow may we subdue all regions.

Close to his ear, as fain to speak, she presses, holding her well-loved friend in her embraces.

Strained on the bow, she whispers like a woman—this bow-string that preserves us in the combat." [1]

On the whole, however, the magic songs of the Ṛgveda differ in no wise from those of the Atharva-Veda, with which we shall deal later. But it is very significant that, besides the hymns to the great gods and the sacrificial songs, also incantations like these have been included in the Ṛgveda Saṃhitā—and that by no means only in the tenth book of the latter.

It is still more significant that also some apparently quite secular poems have got mixed amongst the sacred songs and sacrificial chants of the Ṛgveda. Thus, we find, for example, Ṛv. IX, 112, in the midst of the Soma songs a satirical poem, which derides the manifold desires of mankind. It is probably an old popular song of the "labour song" type. It could be sung as an accompaniment to any kind of work, and here the refrain "Flow, Indu,[2] flow, for Indra's sake" [3] indicates that it was adapted for the work of pressing Soma.[4]

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[1]) Translated by R. T. H. *Griffith*.

[2]) Indu = Soma.

[3]) There is no justification for omitting this refrain, as some translators have done, for instance *Muir*, Metrical Translations from Sanskrit Writers, p. 190; *Macdonell*, Hymns from the Ṛgveda, p. 90. But see *Pischel*, Vedische Studien, I, 107.

[4]) Some of the Soma hymns (*e. g.* Ṛv. I, 28; IX, 2; 6; 8 etc.) are 'labour songs' in which the whole process of preparing the Soma juice is described. See K. *Bücher*, Arbeit und Rhythmus, 5. Aufl., Leipzig 1919, pp. 412 f. L. v. *Schroeder* (Mysterium und Mimus im Rigveda, pp. 408 ff.) has with bold imagination tried to show that the hymn was used at a popular procession during a Soma festival. But there are no facts on which this hypothesis could be founded. *Oldenberg* (GGA. 1909, 80 f.) thinks that the hymn was intended as a prayer at some Soma sacrifice offered for attaining special wishes. So also *Charpentier*, Die Suparṇasage, pp. 80 f.

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I give the remarkable poem in the translation of R. T. H. Griffith:

"We all have various thoughts and plans, and diverse are the ways of men.

The Brahman seeks the worshipper, wright seeks the cracked, and leech the maimed. Flow, Indu, flow for Indra's sake.

The smith with ripe and seasoned plants, with feathers of the birds of air,

With stones, and with enkindled flames, seeks him who hath a store of gold. Flow, Indu, flow for Indra's sake.

A bard am I, my dad's a leech, mammy lays corn upon the stones. Striving for wealth, with varied plans, we follow our desires like kine. Flow, Indu, flow for Indra's sake.

The horse would draw an easy car, gay hosts attract the laugh and jest.

The male desires his mate's approach,[1] the frog is eager for the flood. Flow, Indu, flow for Indra's sake."

The most beautiful amongst the non-religious poems of the Ṛgveda collection is the song of the gambler, Ṛv. X, 34. It is the soliloquy of a penitent sinner, who by means of his irresistible attraction to dice-playing has destroyed the happiness of his life. In pathetic verses the gambler describes how the dice have caused him to lose his domestic happiness:

"She wrangles not with me, nor is she angry:
To me and comrades she was ever kindly.
For dice that only luckless throws effected
I've driven away from home a wife devoted. [2]
Her mother hates me, she herself rejects me:
For one in such distress there is no pity.
I find a gambling man is no more useful
Than is an aged horse that's in the market. [3]
Others embrace the wife of him whose chattels
The eager dice have striven hard to capture;
And father, mother, brothers say about him:
We know him not; lead him away a captive." [4]

[1] Expressed much more coarsely in the original.

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The uncanny power of the dice, too, is described in forceful terms :

"When to myself I think, I'll not go with them,
I'll stay behind my friends that go to gamble,
And those brown nuts, thrown down, have raised their voices,
I go, like wench, straight to the place of meeting." [5]

And of the dice it is said :

"The dice attract the gambler, but deceive and wound,
Both paining men at play and causing them to pain.
Like boys they offer first and then take back their gifts :
With honey sweet to gamblers by their magic charm. [7]

Downward they roll, then swiftly springing upward,
They overcome the man with hands, though handless.
Cast on the board like magic bits of charcoal,
Though cold themselves, they burn the heart to ashes." [9]

And however much he bewails his fate, yet he always falls again into the power of the dice.

"Grieved is the gambler's wife by him abandoned,
Grieved, too, his mother as he aimless wanders.
Indebted, fearing, he desiring money
At night approaches other people's houses. [10]

It pains the gambler when he sees a woman
Another's wife, and their well-ordered household.
He yokes those brown steeds early in the morning,[1]
And when the fire is low sinks down a beggar." [2] [11]

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[1]) *i.e.* he begins to play with the brown dice.

[2]) Translated by A. A. *Macdonell*, Hymns from the Rigveda, pp. 88 ff. The hymn has also been translated by J. *Muir*, Metrical Translations from Sanskrit Writers, pp. 190 ff. L. v. *Schroeder* (Mysterium und Mimus im Rigveda, pp. 377 ff.) explains the poem as a drama in form of a monologue. *Charpentier* (Die Suparṇasage, pp. 83 ff.) thinks that it was composed for "didactic purposes." It seems to me more probable that this soliloquy of a gambler is part of a ballad, in which some epic story was told like that of Yudhiṣṭhira or Nala.

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But finally he resolves to turn over a new leaf. He implores the dice to set him free, as, according to the command of Savitar, he desires to give up gambling, in order to look after his field and live for his family.

Lastly, a kind of intermediate position between religious and secular poetry is occupied by those hymns which are connected with so-called Dānastutis, "Songs of praise to Generosity" (namely, that of the princes and patrons of the sacrifice, for whom the songs were composed.) There are about forty such hymns.[1] Some of them are songs of victory, in which the god Indra is praised, because he has helped some king to achieve a victory over his enemies. With the praise of the god is united the glorification of the victorious king. Finally, however, the singer praises his patron, who has presented him with oxen, horses, and beautiful slaves out of the booty of war, while incidentally with a few coarse, obscene jokes, the pleasure which the slaves give to the singer is recalled. Others are very long sacrificial songs,[2] also mostly addressed to Indra, which evidently were composed for quite definite occasions at the request of a prince or a wealthy man, and were recited at the sacrifice; and they also are followed by verses in which the patron of the sacrifice is praised, because he gave the singer a liberal priestly fee. These Dānastutis always mention the full name of the pious donor, and indubitably refer to historic events, or actual happenings. Hence they are not unimportant. As poems they are, of course, quite worthless; they are composed to order by artisan-like verse-writers, or accomplished with an eye to the expected payment. Even when they are not connected with any Dānastuti, some of the hymns of the

[1]) Only *one* hymn (Ṛv. I, 126) is entirely a Dānastuti. Otherwise it is usually only three to five verses at the conclusion of the hymns which contain the Dānastuti.

[2]) We get the impression that the honorarium was the greater, according to the length of the poem.

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Ṛgveda certainly were "hammered together" for good payment in an equally artisan-like manner. Sometimes even the Vedic singers themselves compare their work with that of the carpenter.[1] Nevertheless it is remarkable that among those hymns which excel at all as works of poetic art, there is not a single one which ends in a Dānastuti. When, therefore, H. Oldenberg [2] says about Ṛgvedic poetry *in general*: "This poetry does not rank in the service of beauty, as this religion does not serve the aim of enlightening and uplifting the soul; but both rank in the service of class-interest, of personal interest, of fees,"—he evidently forgets that among the 1,028 hymns of the Ṛgveda there are only about 40 which end in Dānastutis. I think that among the composers of Vedic hymns there were certainly *artisans*, but equally certainly there were also *poets*.

There is one hymn in the Ṛgveda which is, in the higher sense, a Dānastuti, a "Praise of Generosity." It is the hymn Ṛv. X, 117, which is worthy of mention also because it strikes a moralizing note which is otherwise quite foreign to the Ṛgveda. The Ṛgveda is everything but a text-book of morals. And the hymn, which I give here in the translation of A. A. Macdonell,[3] is quite isolated in the Ṛgveda:—

"The gods inflict not hunger as a means to kill:
Death frequently befalls even satiated men.[4]
The charitable giver's wealth melts not away;
The niggard never finds a man to pity him.

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[1]) Ṛv. I, 130, 6: "This speech has been built for thee by men desiring possessions, like a chariot by a clever master." Ṛv. I, 61, 4: "To him (to Indra) I send this song of praise, as a *coach builder* sends a chariot to him who has ordered it."

[2]) Die Literatur des alten Indien, p. 20.

[3]) Hymns from the Rigveda, pp. 92 f. Freely translated by J. *Muir*, Metrical Translations from Sanskrit Writers, pp. 193 f. See also *Deussen*, AGPh., I, I, pp. 93 f.

[4]) This is very well explained by A. *Ludwig* (Der Rigveda V, 561): "We do not interfere with the rule of the gods by giving nourishment to one who is nearly dying of starvation; this is said with bitter irony against the hypocrites who sought to justify

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Who, of abundant food possessed, makes hard his heart
Towards a needy and decrepit suppliant
Whom once he courted, come to pray to him for bread:
A man like this as well finds none to pity him.

He is the liberal man who helps the beggar
That, craving food, emaciated wanders,
And coming to his aid, when asked to succour,
Immediately makes him a friend hereafter.

He is no friend who gives not of his substance
To his devoted, intimate companion:
This friend should turn from him—here is no haven—
And seek a stranger elsewhere as a helper.

The wealthier man should give unto the needy,
Considering the course of life hereafter;
For riches are like chariot wheels revolving!
Now to one man they come, now to another.

The foolish man from food has no advantage;
In truth I say: it is but his undoing;
No friend he ever fosters, no companion:
He eats alone, and he alone is guilty.

The plough that cleaves the soil produces nurture;
He that bestirs his feet completes his journey.
The speaking Brahmin earns more than the silent;
A friend who gives is better than the niggard.

Riddle poetry

The one-foot strides more swiftly than the biped;
The biped goes beyond him who has three feet.
The quadruped comes at the call of bipeds,
And watches near where groups of five are gathered.[1]

---

their hardness of heart by saying that the fate of the needy ones was determined by the gods. The irony or sarcasm becomes unquestionable through what follows; the poet concludes further that, if the poor were predestined by the gods to death by starvation, then the wealthy who had plenty of food, must live for ever."

[1]) The translation is hardly questionable, so much the more, then, the sense. It has been conjectured that by the "one-foot," the "one-footed ram," a storm-god, is meant, or, by others, the sun, and that the "three-footed" is the old man supported on a stick, and the "quadruped" the dog. This is by no means certain.

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ANNESH

Two hands though equal make not what is equal;
No sister cows yield milk in equal measure;
Unequal is the strength even of twin children;
The gifts of even kinsmen are unequal." [1]

The last verse but one is an example of the riddle-poetry, very popular with ancient Indians as with other ancient nations. The hymn Rv. I, 164, contains a large number of such riddles, most of which, unfortunately, we cannot understand. For instance:

"Seven harness a one-wheeled cart; it is drawn by one horse with seven names; three naves has the immortal, never-stopping wheel, on which all these beings stand."

This *may* mean: The seven priests of the sacrifice harness (by means of the sacrifice) the sun-chariot, which is drawn by seven horses or *one* horse with seven forms: this immortal sun-wheel has three naves, namely, the three seasons (summer, rainy season and winter), in which the life of all mankind is passed. However, other solutions of the riddle are possible.

The meaning of the following riddles, too, is by no means clear:

"Bearing three mothers and three fathers the One stands erect, and they do not tire him; there on the back of the sky they consult with the all-knowing, but not all-embracing Vac (Goddess of Speech).

He who made him knows nothing of him; he who has seen him, from him he is hidden; he lies enwrapped in the womb of the mother; he has many children, and yet he has gone to Nirṛti.[2]

The sky is my father and my progenitor, there is the navel; my own mother is this great earth. Between the two spread-out Soma vessels is the womb; into it the Father placed the seed in the daughter."

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[1]) *Cf. Deussen*, AGPh I, 1, pp. 93 f.

[2]) Nirṛti is the goddess of death and destruction. "To go to Nirṛti" means: to be completely ruined, to sink into nothingness.

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On the other hand it is clear that the sun is meant when it is said:

"A shepherd I saw, who does not fall down, who wanders up and down on his paths: clothing himself in those which run together and those which disperse [1] he circles about in the worlds."

Equally clear is the meaning of the riddle:

"Twelve tyres, *one* wheel, three naves: who knows that? In it there are altogether about three hundred and sixty movable pegs."

The year is meant, with the twelve months, three seasons, and roughly three hundred and sixty days.[2]

Such riddle-questions and riddle-games were among the most popular diversions in ancient India; at some sacrifices they even formed a part of the ritual. We come across such riddles again in the Atharvaveda as well as in the Yajurveda.

If we now cast a glance over the varied contents of the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā, of which I have here tried to give an idea, the conviction forces itself upon us that in this collection we have the fragments of the very oldest Indian poetry, that the songs, hymns and poems of the Ṛgveda which have come down to us are only a fragmentary portion of a much more extensive poetic literature, both religious and secular, of which probably the greater part is irretrievably lost. But as the great majority of these hymns are either sacrificial chants, or were used, or could have been used, as prayers and sacrificial songs, we may assume that these very hymns gave the actual stimulus for collecting and uniting them in one "book." Yet the collectors, who probably had a purely

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[1]) The rays are meant.

[2]) The riddles of Ṛv. I, 164, have been treated in detail by Martin *Haug*, Vedische Rätselfragen and Rätselsprüche (SBay A 1875) and by *Deussen*, AGPh, I, 1, pp. 105-119. See also R. *Roth*, ZDMG 46, 1892, 759 f.; E. *Windisch*, ZDMG 48, 1894, 353 f.; H. *Stumme*, ZDMG 64, 1910, 485 f. and V. *Henry*, Revue critique, 1905, p. 403.

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literary interest, as well as a religious interest in the collection, did not scruple to include in it also profane poems, which by language and metre, had proved themselves to be equally ancient and venerable as those sacrificial chants. Only through being included in a "book"—that is, a school-text intended for memorization—could they be saved from oblivion. Certainly there was much also which they considered too profane to be included in the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā. Of this a certain amount has been saved through the fact that it was later included in another collection—the Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā.

The Atharvaveda-Samhitā.[1]

"Atharva-veda" means "the Veda of the Atharvan" or "the knowledge of Magic Formulas." Originally, however, the word *Atharvan* meant a fire-priest, and it is probably the oldest Indian name for "priest" in general, for the word dates back to the Indo-Iranian period. For the Athravans or "fire-people" of the Avesta correspond to the Indian Atharvans.[2] The fire-cult played no less a part in the daily life of the ancient Indians than in that of the ancient Persians, so often designated as "fire-worshippers;" the

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[1]) There are two complete English translations of the Atharvaveda, one by R.T.H. *Griffith* (Benares 1895-6), and another by W.D. *Whitney*, revised and brought nearer to completion and edited by C.R. *Lanman* (HOS, vols. 7 and 8, Cambridge Mass. 1905), a selection of hymns in excellent English translation by M *Bloomfield* (SBE, vol. 42, 1897). A great number of hymns have been translated into German by A. *Ludwig* in the 3rd volume of his "Rigveda" (Prague 1878), pp. 428-551. A selection of hymns into German verse by J. *Grill* (Hundert Lieder des Atharva-Veda, 2. Aufl., Stuttgart 1888). German translations of books I-V and XIV by A. *Weber* (Ind. Stud., vols. 4, 5, 13, 17, 18), of book XVIII by the same (SBA 1895 and 1896), of book XV by Th. *Aufrecht* (Ind. Stud., vol. 1) and of VI, 1-50 by C.A. *Florenz* (Diss., Gottingen 1887). A French translation of books VII-XIII by V. *Henry* (Paris 1891-96). *Bloomfield* has treated of the Atharvaveda in detail in the "Grundriss" (II, I, B), and I am particularly indebted to this work for this chapter. For the contents and interpretation of the Atharvaveda, see also V. *Henry*, La magie dans l'Inde antique, Paris 1904; *Oldenberg*, AR 7, 1904, 217 ff.; F. *Edgerton*, American Journal of Philology, 35, 1914, 435 ff.

[2]) In Ancient Rome, too, the *Flamines*, who had to perform the burnt-sacrifice, belong to the oldest priests. (Th. *Mommsen*, Römische Geschichte, 4. Aufl. I p. 170 f.)

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priests of this very ancient fire-cult, however, were still, like the Shamans of Northern Asia and the Medicine-men of the American Indians, "priests of magic," that is, priest and wizard combined in one person, as in the word "Magi"—as the Āthravans in Medea were called—the ideas of wizard and priest are merged together. Thus we can understand that the name Atharvan designated also the "incantations of the Atharvan or the wizard-priest," that is, the spells and magic formulas themselves. The oldest name, however, by which this Veda is known in Indian literature is Atharvāṅgirasaḥ, that is, "the Atharvans and the Aṅgiras." The Aṅgiras, similarly, are a class of prehistoric fire-priests, and the word also, like the word atharvan, attained the meaning of "magic formulas and spells." The two expressions *atharvan* and *aṅgiras*, however, designate two different species of magic formulas: atharvan is "holy magic, bringing happiness," while aṅgiras means "hostile magic, black magic." Among the Atharvans, for example, are the formulae for the healing of diseases, while among the Aṅgiras are the curses against enemies, rivals, evil magicians, and such like. The old name Atharvāṅgirasaḥ thus means these *two* kinds of magic formulae, which form the chief contents of the Atharvaveda. The later name Atharvaveda is merely an abbreviation of "Veda of the Atharvans *and Aṅgiras*." [1]

Now the Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā, usually called simply "the Atharvaveda," is a collection of seven hundred and thirty-one hymns, which contain about six thousand verses, in the recension which is best preserved.[2] It is divided into twenty

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[1]) In later literature we meet also with the terms bhṛgvaṅgirasaḥ and bhṛguvistara (Culikā-Upaniṣad 11) for the Atharvaveda. The Bhṛgus also were ancient fire-priests.

[2]) It is the Śaunaka recension of the Saṃhitā text belonging to the Śaunaka school. The Paippalāda recension is known only in one single inaccurate manuscript. The text of the Saunaka recension is published by R. *Roth* and W.D. *Whitney*. Berlin 1856. The Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā, with the commentary of Sāyaṇa, has been published by Shankar P. *Pandit*, 4 vols., Bombay 1895-1898. The manuscript of the Paippalāda recension has

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books.[1] The twentieth book was added quite late, and the nineteenth book, too, did not originally belong to the Saṃhitā. The twentieth book is almost entirely composed of hymns which have been taken literally from the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā. Besides this, about one-seventh of the Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā is taken from the Ṛgveda ; moreover, more than half of the verses which the Atharvaveda has in common with the Ṛgveda, are to be found in the tenth book, most of the remaining verses in the first and the eighth book of the Ṛgveda. The arrangement of the hymns in the eighteen genuine books is according to a definite plan, and shows fairly careful editorial activity. The first seven books consist of numerous *short* hymns, the hymns in Book I having, as a rule, four verses, in Book II five, in Book III six, in Book IV seven. The hymns of Book V have a minimum of eight and a maximum of eighteen verses. Book VI consists of one hundred and forty-two hymns mostly of three verses each, and the seventh Book consists of one hundred and eighteen hymns, most of which contain only one or two verses. Books VIII-XIV, XVII and XVIII consist throughout of very *long* hymns, the shortest hymn (twenty-one verses) being at the beginning of this series (VIII, 1) and the longest (eighty-nine verses) at the end (XVIII, 4). Book XV and the greater part of Book XVI, which interrupt the series, are composed in prose, and are similar in style and language to the Brāhmaṇas. Although in this arrangement something quite external—the number of verses—has been considered first, yet some consideration is also given to the contents. Two, three,

been published in facsimile by M. *Bloomfield* and R. *Garbe* (The Kashmirian Atharva-Veda, Stuttgart 1901). Books I, II, IV-X of the Kashmirian recension have been published with critical notes on the text by *Le Roy Carr Barret* and F. *Edgerton* in JAOS, vols. 26, 30, 32, 34, 35, 37, 40-43, 1906-1923.

[1]) We can distinguish three main divisions of the Saṃhita, *cf. Lanman*, HOS, vol. 7, pp. CXXVII ff.) 1. Books I-VI. an appendix to which is contained in Book VII ; 2. Books VIII-XII and 3. Books XIII-XVIII, an appendix to which is contained in Book XIX.

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four, and even more hymns, which deal with the same subject frequently stand side by side. Occasionally the first hymn of a book is placed at the beginning on account of its contents; thus Books II, IV, V and VII, begin with theosophical hymns, which, no doubt, is intentional. On the whole we can say thus :[1] the first section of the Saṃhitā (Books I to VII) contains the short hymns of miscellaneous contents, the second section (Books VIII to XII) the long hymns of miscellaneous contents, while Books XIII to XVIII are almost entirely uniform as to their contents. Thus Book XIV contains only marriage prayers and Book XVIII only funeral hymns.

The language and metre of the hymns of the Atharvaveda are in essentials the same as those of the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā. Yet in the language of the Atharvaveda we find some decidedly later forms and some more popular forms : also the metre is not nearly so strictly handled as in the Ṛgveda. Apart from Book XV, which is wholly composed in prose, and Book XVI, the greater part of which is in prose, we occasionally find also other prose pieces among the verses ; and frequently it is not easy to distinguish whether a piece is composed in lofty prose or in badly-constructed verses. It also happens that an originally correct metre is spoiled through an interpolation or corruption of the text.[2] In certain cases, indeed, the facts of language and metre indicate that we are dealing with later pieces. In general, however, no conclusions can be drawn from the language and the metre with regard to the date of the composition of the hymns, still less with

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[1]) On the divisions of the Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā see *Whitney* and *Lanman*, HOS, vol. 7, pp. cxxvii ff.

[2]) On the metre of the Atharvaveda see *Whitney*, HOS, vol. 7, pp. cxxvi f. Irregularities of metre are equally peculiar to the Atharvaveda as to all metrical Vedic texts other than the Ṛgveda. To correct the metre everywhere, would mean changing the text arbitrarily.

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regard to the date of the compilation of our Saṃhitā. For it always remains an open question, whether the peculiarities of language and the freedom of metre, by which the magic incantations of the Atharvaveda are distinguished from the hymn-poetry of the Ṛgveda, are based upon a difference in the period of origin or on the difference between *popular* and *priestly* composition. (*Cf.* above, pp. 53 f.)

On the other hand there are other facts which prove indisputably that our text of the Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā is later than that of the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā. Firstly, the geographical and cultural conditions show us a later period than that reflected in the Ṛgveda. The Vedic Aryans have now penetrated further to the South-east and are already settled in the Ganges country. The tiger, native to the marshy forests of Bengal, and therefore still unknown in the Ṛgveda, appears in the Atharvaveda already as the mightiest and most feared of all beasts of prey, and the king, at his consecration, steps upon a tiger-skin, the symbol of kingly power. The Atharvaveda knows not only the four castes—Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras,—but in a number of hymns, the highest privileges are already claimed (as later happens more and more frequently) by the priestly caste, and the Brahmans are already often called the "gods"[1] of this earth. The songs of magic in the Atharvaveda, which, according to their main contents, are certainly popular and very ancient, have no longer even their original form in the Saṃhitā, but are *brahmanised*. These old charms and formulas, whose authors are equally unknown as the authors of the magic incantations and formulas of other peoples, and which originally were just as much "popular poetry" as the poetry of magic everywhere is, have already in the Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā partly lost

[1]) The expression "gods" for "priests" occurs *once* also in the Ṛgveda (Rv. I, 128, 8). Cf. *Zimmer*, Altindisches Leben, pp. 205 f.

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their popular character. We see at every step, that the collection was made by priests, and that many of the hymns were also composed by priests. This priestly outlook of the compilers and partly also of the authors of the hymns of the Atharvaveda, reveals itself in occasional comparisons and epithets, as for instance, when, in a charm against field-vermin, it is said that the insects are to leave the corn untouched "as the Brahman does not touch unfinished sacrificial food." A whole class of hymns of the Atharvaveda, with which we shall deal below, is concerned only with the interests of the Brahmans, the feeding of priests, the fees for the sacrifice, and such like, and they are, of course, the work of priests.

And just as the brahmanizing of the ancient magic poetry indicates a later period of the collection, so the part which the Vedic gods play in the Atharvaveda points to a later origin for the Saṃhitā. We here meet the same gods as in the Ṛgveda: Agni, Indra and so on; but their character had quite faded, they hardly differ from each other, their original signification as natural beings is, for the greater part, forgotten, and as the magic songs deal mostly with the banishment and destruction of demons—the gods being invoked only for this purpose—they have all become demon-killers. Finally, also those hymns of the Atharvaveda which contain theosophical and cosmogonic speculations indicate a later period. We already find in these hymns a fairly developed philosophical terminology, and a development of pantheism standing on a level with the philosophy of the Upaniṣads. The fact that even these philosophical hymns themselves are used for magic purposes, that, for instance, a philosophical conception such as *Asat*, "the non-existent," is employed as a means of destroying enemies, demons, and magicians,[1] shews that here

[1]) Ath. IV, 19, 6.

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already we have before us an artificial and very modern development of ancient witchcraft.

It is no sign of a later date that the sacredness of the Atharvaveda was not recognised by the Indians themselves for a long time, and even to-day is frequently disputed. The reason for this is to be found in the character of this Veda. The purpose of the Atharvaveda is, as the Indians say, "to appease, to bless and to curse." [1] Those numerous magic formulas, however, which contain curses and exorcisms, belong to the province of "unholy magic," which the priesthood and the priestly religion endeavoured more and more to renounce. On the whole there is no essential difference between cult and magic; by means of both man seeks to influence the transcendental world. Moreover, priests and magicians are originally one and the same. But in the history of all peoples there begins a time when the cult of the gods and witchcraft strive to separate (never quite succeeding), when the priest, who is friendly with the gods, renounces the magician, who is in league with the uncanny demon-world, and looks down on him. This contrast between magician and priest developed also in India. Not only the Buddhist and Jain monks are forbidden to devote themselves to the exorcisms of the Atharvaveda and to magic, but also the brahmanical law-books declare sorcery to be a sin, place the magician on a level with impostors and rogues, and invite the king to proceed against them with punishments.[2] Certainly in other places in the law-books of the Brahmans permission to make use of the exorcisms of the Atharvaveda against enemies is expressly given,[3] and the ritual texts, which describe the great sacrifices, contain numerous exorcism-formulas and descriptions of

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[1]) *i.e.* to appease the demons, to bless friends and to curse enemies.

[2]) SBE X, II, p. 176. XLV, pp. 105, 133, 363. Manu IX, 258, 290; XI, 64. Viṣṇu-Smṛti 54, 25.

[3]) See Manu XI, 33.

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magic rites by means of which the priest can annihilate—so runs the formula—"him who hates us, and him whom we hate." Yet a certain aversion to the Veda of the magic formulas arose in priestly circles; it was not considered sufficiently orthodox and was frequently excluded from the canon of sacred texts. From the beginning it held a peculiar position in the sacred literature. Wherever, in old works, there is talk of sacred knowledge, there the *trayī vidyā*, "the three-fold knowledge," that is, Ṛgveda, Yajurveda, and Sāmaveda, is always mentioned first; the Atharvaveda always follows *after* the trayī vidyā, and sometimes is even entirely passed over. It even happens that the Vedāṇgas and the epic narratives (itihāsapurāṇa) are represented as sacred texts, while the Atharvaveda remains unmentioned. Thus in a Gṛhyasūtra [1] a ceremony is described, by which the Vedas are to be "laid into" the new-born child. This takes place by means of a formula, which says: "I lay the Ṛgveda into thee, I lay the Yajurveda into thee, I lay the Sāmaveda into thee, I lay the discourses (vākovākya) into thee, the tales and legends (itihāsapurāṇa) I lay into thee, all the Vedas I lay into thee." Here, then, the Atharvaveda is intentionally passed over. Even in old Buddhist texts it is said of learned Brahmans that they are versed in the *three* Vedas.[2] The fact however that already in one Saṃhitā of the Black Yajurveda [3] and also occasionally in old Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads the Atharvaveda is mentioned by the side of the three other Vedas shows

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[1]) Śāṅkhāyana-Gṛhyasūtra I, 24, 8.

[2]) Suttanipāta, Selasutta is especially remarkable, where it is said of the Brahman Sela that he is conversant with the *three* vedas, the Vedāṅgas and the Itihāsa as fifth (ed. Fausböll, p. 101). Also in Suttanipāta 1019 it is said of Bhāvarī that he has mastered th *three* Vedas. (SBE, vol. X, II, pp. 98 and 189).

[3]) Taittirīya-Saṃhitā, VII, 5, 11, 2, where the plural of Aṅgiras stands in the sense of "Atharvaveda." See above, pp 120 f.

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that this non-mention of the Atharvaveda is no proof of the late origin of the Saṃhitā.

But even though it is certain that our *version* of the Atharvaveda-*Saṃhitā* is later than that of the Ṛgveda-*Saṃhitā*, yet it by no means follows from this that the *hymns* themselves are later than the Ṛgveda hymns. It only follows that the latest hymns of the Atharvaveda are later than the latest hymns of the Ṛgveda. However, certain as it is that among the hymns of the Atharvaveda there are many which are later than the great majority of Ṛgveda hymns, it is equally certain that the magic poetry of the Atharvaveda is in itself at least as old as, if not older than, the sacrificial poetry of the Ṛgveda, that numerous pieces of the Atharvaveda date back into the same dim prehistoric times as the oldest songs of the Ṛgveda. It will not do at all to speak of a "period of the Atharvaveda." Like the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā, so too the collection of the Atharvaveda contains pieces which are separated from each other by centuries. Only of the later parts of the Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā it can be said that many of them were only composed after the pattern of the Ṛgveda-hymns. I consider as erroneous the opinion of Oldenberg,[1] that the oldest form of magic formulas in India was the prose form, and that the whole literature of magic verses and magic songs was only created after the "pattern of its elder sister, the poetry of the sacrificial hymns."

After all it is quite a different spirit that breathes from the magic songs of the Atharvaveda than from the hymns of the Ṛgveda. Here we move in quite a different world. On the one hand the great gods of the sky, who embody the mighty phenomena of Nature, whom the singer glorifies and praises, to whom he sacrifices, and to whom he prays, strong, helpful, some of them lofty beings, most of them friendly gods of life—on the other hand the dark, demoniacal powers,

[1]) Literatur des alten Indien, p. 41.

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which bring disease and misfortune upon mankind, ghostly beings, against whom the wizard hurls his wild curses, or whom he tries to soothe and banish by flattering speeches. Indeed, many of these magic songs, like the magic rites pertaining to them, belong to a sphere of conceptions which, spread over the whole earth, ever recur with the most surprising similarity in the most varying peoples of all countries. Among the Indians of North America, among the Negro races of Africa, among the Malays and Mongols, among the ancient Greeks and Romans, and frequently still among the peasantry of present-day Europe, we find again exactly the same views, exactly the same strange leaps of thought in the magic songs and magic rites, as have come down to us in the Atharvaveda of the ancient Indians. There are, then, numerous verses in the Atharvaveda, which, according to their character and often also their contents, differ just as little from the magic formulas of the American-Indian medicine-men and Tartar shamans, as from the Merseburg magic maxims, which belong to the sparse remains of the oldest German poetry. Thus we read, for example, in one of the Merseburg magic incantations that "Wodan, who well understood it," charmed the sprained leg of Balder's foal with the formula:

"Bone to bone,
Blood to blood,
Limb to limbs,
As if they were glued."

And quite similarly it is said in Atharvaveda IV, 12, in a spell against the breaking of a leg:

"With marrow be the marrow joined, thy limb united with the limb.
Let what hath fallen of thy flesh, and the bone also grow again. [3]
Let marrow close with marrow, let skin grow united with the skin,
Let blood and bone grow strong in thee, flesh grow together with the flesh. [4]

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Join thou together hair with hair,[1] join thou together skin with skin,
Let blood and bone grow strong in thee. Unite the broken part, O Plant." [2] [5]

The great importance of the Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā lies in the very fact that it is an invaluable source of knowledge of the real popular belief as yet uninfluenced by the priestly religion, of the faith in numberless spirits, imps, ghosts, and demons of every kind, and of the witchcraft, so eminently important for ethnology and for the history of religion. How very important the Atharvaveda is for the ethnologist, may be shown by the following glance at the various classes of hymns which the collection contains.

One of the chief constituent parts of the Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā consists of Songs and Spells for the Healing of Diseases, which belong to the magic rites of healing (bhaiṣajyāni). They are either addressed to the diseases themselves imagined as personal beings, as demons,[3] or to whole classes of demons who are considered to be the creators of diseases. And in India, as among other peoples, it is believed that these demons either oppress and torment the patient from outside, or that the patient is possessed by them. Some of these spells are also invocations and praises of the curative herb, which is to serve as the cure of the disease; others again, are prayers to the water to which special healing power is ascribed, or to the fire which is looked on by the Indians as the mightiest scarer of demons. These songs of magic, together with the magic rites attached to them, of which we learn in the Kauśikasūtra which will be mentioned later, form the oldest system of Indian medical science. The symptoms

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[1]) The healing herb is addressed.

[2]) Translated by R. T. H. *Griffith*.

[3]) The name of the disease is at the same time the name of the demon. It is exactly the same, for instance, with the Malays: they have as many names of disease-spirits as of diseases known to them.

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of the various diseases are often described with great clearness in the songs, and therefore they are not uninteresting for the history of medicine. This is true particularly of the spells against fever. In the later text-books of medicine the fever is still called "the king of diseases," on account of its frequency and violence. Numerous charms are addressed to Takman [1]—this is the name of the fever imagined as a demon in the Atharvaveda. Thus, for instance, hymn Ath. V. 22, from which a few verses may here be quoted:

"And thou thyself who makest all men yellow, consuming them with burning heat like Agni,
Thou, Fever! then be weak and ineffective. Pass hence into the realms below or vanish. [2]
Endowed with universal power! send Fever downward, far away,
The spotty, like red-coloured dust, sprung from a spotty ancestor. [3]
Go, Fever, to the Mūjavans, or, farther, to the Bahlikas,[2]
Seek a lascivious Śūdra girl and seem to shake her through and through. [7]
Since thou now cold, now burning hot, with cough besides, hast made us shake,
Terrible, Fever, are thy darts; forbear to injure us with these. [10]
Go, Fever, with Consumption, thy brother, and with thy sister, Cough,
And with thy nephew Herpes, go away unto that alien folk.[3] [12]

This pious wish, that the diseases may go to other people, may visit other lands, returns frequently in the songs of the Atharvaveda. In a similar manner the cough is sent away from the patient into the far distance with the spell Ath. VI, 105:

"As the soul with the soul's desires swiftly to a distance flies, thus do thou, O cough, fly forth along the soul's course of flight! (1)
As a well-sharpened arrow swiftly to a distance flee, thus do thou, O cough, fly forth along the expanse of the earth! (2)

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[1]) On the hymn to Takman, see J. V. *Grohmann*, Ind. Stud. 9, 1865, 381 ff.
[2]) Names of tribes.
[3]) Translated by R. T. H. *Griffith*.

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As the rays of the sun swiftly to a distance fly, thus do thou, O cough, fly forth along the flood of the sea"! [1] (3)

On account of their picturesque, sublime language, some of these magic songs deserve to be valued as examples of lyrical poetry. Certainly we must not expect too much in this poetry; we must be content to be surprised here and there by a pretty simile, as when, in a spell against bleeding, the magician addresses the veins as red-robed maidens (Ath. I, 17):

"Those maidens there, the veins, who run their course in robes of ruddy hue,
Must now stand quiet, reft of power, like sisters who are brotherless. [1]
Stay still, thou upper vein, stay still, thou lower, stay, thou midmost one,
The smallest one of all stand still: let the great vessel e'en be still. [2]
Among a thousand vessels charged with blood, among a thousand veins,
Even these the middlemost stand still and their extremities have rest. [3]
A mighty rampart built of sand hath circled and encompassed you.
Be still, and quietly take rest." [2]

However, these sayings are not always so poetical. Very often they are most monotonous, and in many of them, in common with the poetical compositions of primitive peoples, it is chiefly that monotonous repetition of the same words and sentences of which their poetical form consists.[3] Often, too, as is the case with the magic incantations of all peoples, their meaning is intentionally problematic and obscure. Such a monotonous and, at the same time, obscure verse is, for instance, that against scrofulous swellings (Ath. VI, 25):

"The five and fifty (sores) that gather together upon the nape of the neck, from here they all shall pass away, as the pustules of the (disease called) apakit! (1)

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[1]) Translated by M. *Bloomfield*, SBE, 42, p. 8.

[2]) Translated by R. T. H. *Griffith*.

[3]) On *repetition* as the crudest rudimentary form of poetry, *cf.* H. *Schurtz*, Urgeschichte der Kultur, Leipzig and Vienna, 1900, pp. 523 ff.

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The seven and seventy (sores) that gather together upon the neck, from here they all shall pass away, as the pustules of the (disease called) apakit! (2)

The nine and ninety (sores) that gather together upon the shoulders from here they all shall pass away, as the pustules of the (disease called) apakit!" [1] (3)

There is here again a remarkable agreement between Indian and German magic incantations. Similarly as 55, 77, or 99 diseases are mentioned in the Atharvaveda, so in German incantations too, 77 or 99 diseases are often spoken of. For example in this German spell against fever:

"This water and the blood of Christ is good for the seventy-seven kinds of fever."

A conception which the ancient Indians have in common not only with the Germans but also with many other peoples, is that many diseases are caused by worms. There are therefore a series of magic songs, which are intended to serve the purpose of exorcism and driving away all kinds of worms. Thus we read Ath. II, 31:

"The worm which is in the entrails, that which is in the head, and that which is in the ribs.....these worms we crush with this spell. [4]

The worms which have settled down in the hills, in the woods, in the plants, in the cattle, in the waters, and those which have settled down in our bodies, this whole breed of worms I crush." [5]

These worms are regarded as demoniacal beings, their king and governor are mentioned, also male and female ones, worms of many colours and fantastical forms, and so on: for instance, in the spell against worms in children (Ath. V. 23):

Slay the worms in this boy. O Indra, lord of treasures! Slain are all the evil powers by my fierce imprecation! (2)

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[1]) Translated by M. *Bloomfield*, SBE., 42, p. 19.

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Him that moves about in the eyes, that moves about in the nose, that gets to the middle of the teeth, that worm do we crush. (3)

The two of like colour, the two of different colour; the two black ones, and the two red ones; the brown one; and the brown-eared one; the (one like a) vulture, and the (one like a) cuckoo, are slain. (4)

The worms with white shoulders, the black ones with white arms, and all those that are variegated, these worms do we crush. (5)

Slain is the king of the worms and their viceroy also is slain. Slain is the worm, with him his mother slain, his brother slain, his sister slain. (11)

Slain are they who are inmates with him, slain are his neighbours; moreover all the quite tiny worms are slain. (12)

Of all the male worms, and of all the female worms do I split the heads with the stone, I burn their faces with fire." [1] (13)

Similarly, German spells are directed against "he-worm. and she-worm" and worms of various colours are mentioned in the German spell against toothache:

"Pear-tree, I complain to thee,
Three worms are pricking me.
The one is grey,
The other is blue,
The third is red,
I wish they were all three dead." [2]

Very numerous, too, are the incantations which are directed against whole classes of demons, which are looked upon as the originators of diseases, especially against the *Piśācas* (goblins) and *Rākṣasas* (devils). The object of these spells is the scattering or exorcising of these demoniacal beings. An example is found in the song Ath. IV, 36 against

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[1]) Translated by M. *Bloomfield*, SBE., 42, p. 24.

[2]) The belief that toothache is caused by worms, is not only prevalent in India, Germany, England and France. In Madagascar, too, it is said of one who has toothache: "He is ill through the worm." And the Cherokees have a spell against toothache which says: "The intruder in the tooth has spoken, and it is only a worm." (James Mooney in the 7th Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1885-86, Washington, 1891, pp. 357 f.).

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the Piśācas, from which the following verses, here reproduced in prose, are taken, which indicated a boundless self-assertion on the part of the wizard.

"I am a pest to the Piśācas, as the tiger to the owners of oxen. Like dogs, when they have perceived the lion, they find no loophole. [6]

I cannot bear with the Piśācas, nor with thieves and prowlers in the forests. From the village which I enter, the Piśācas vanish. [7]

From the village which my violent strength encounters, the Piśācas vanish; they have no more evil intentions." [8]

Along with this belief in devilish beings which bring diseases upon mankind, we find in India also the world-wide belief in male and female demons (Incubi and Succubi), which visit mortal women and men by night. These are the *Apsaras* and *Gandharvas* of the ancient Indian popular belief, which correspond in every respect and in an amazing manner with the sprites and elves and fairies of the German popular belief. They are originally spirits of nature, river and forest deities. Rivers and trees are their dwelling places, which they leave only to entice mortals and to injure them by unnatural co-habitation. In order to drive away these spirits, the ancient Indian magicians made use of a pleasant-smelling plant, called Ajaśṛṅgī (*Odina pinnata*), and recited the song Ath. IV, 37, from which I quote the following verses:

"With thee do we scatter the Apsaras and Gandharvas. O ajaśringi (*Odina pinnata*), goad (aga) the Rakshas, drive them all away with thy smell! (2)

The Apsaras, Guggulû, Pîlâ, Naladî, Aukshagandhi, and Pramandanî (by name), shall go to the river, to the ford of the waters, as if blown away! Thither do ye, O Apsaras, pass away, (since) ye have been recognised! [1] (3)

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[1]) According to the magic lore of the Indians, as of other peoples, spirits and ghosts become powerless when recognized and called by name. Guggulū, and so on, are names of certain Apsaras.

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Where grow the asvattha (*Ficus religiosa*) and the banyan-trees, the great trees with crowns, thither do ye, O Apsaras pass away, (since) ye have been recognised ! (4)

Of the crested Gandharva, the husband of the Apsaras, who comes dancing hither, I crush the two mushkas and cut off the sepas. (7)

One is like a dog, one like an ape. As a youth with luxuriant locks, pleasant to look upon, the Gandharva hangs about the woman. Him do we drive out from here with our powerful charm. (11)

The Apsaras you know, are your wives ; ye, the Gandharvas are their husbands. Speed away, ye immortals, do not go after mortals ! " [1] (12)

Just as in this song in the Atharvaveda, the elf in the German incantations is exhorted to leave the houses of mortals, and to depart to the rivers and trees. Just like the Apsaras and the Gandharvas, too, the Germanic water-fairies and elves love music and dancing, with which they lure mortal men and women. Just as in the ancient Indian magic song the Gandharva appears now as a dog, now as an ape, now as a youth with beautiful curls, the elf of the German legends makes his appearance in all kinds of transformations. Again, just as the Apsaras of the Indians have their swings in the branches of the banana and fig trees, the water-fairies of German popular belief swing in the branches and on the tree-tops. As here in the Atharvaveda a sweet-smelling plant serves to scare away the demons, so too sweet-smelling herbs (like thyme) were thought by the Germans to be an excellent means of driving away elves and other spirits. These points of agreement can scarcely be mere coincidences : and we may well agree with Adalbert Kuhn, who compared Indian and German incantations as long as sixty years ago,[2] in assuming that not only certain phenomena of magic lore, but also quite definitely developed forms of magic songs and magic

[1] Translated by M. *Bloomfield*, SBE., Vol. 42, pp. 33 f.

[2] In Vol. XIII of Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft (1864), pp. 49 ff., 113 ff.

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formulas may be traced back to the Indo-European period, and that the German and Indian magic songs thus give us a clue to a kind of prehistoric poetry of the Indo-Europeans.

The prayers for health and long life, called by the Indians āyuṣyāṇi sūktāni, *i.e.* "hymns achieving long life," which form the second class of the hymns of the Atharvaveda, are but little different from the magic spells for healing. These are prayers, as they were used chiefly at family festivals, such as the first hair-cutting of the boy, the first shaving of the youth, and the initiation (upanayana). The prayer for a great age, for a life of "a hundred autumns" or "a hundred winters," for deliverance from the 100 or 101 kinds of death, and for protection against all sorts of diseases, here recurs again and again in a rather monotonous manner. Book XVII, consisting of a single hymn of thirty stanzas, belongs to this class of hymns. As in the spells of healing, the healing herb which the magic-doctor uses is often invoked, so some of these prayers for long life are addressed to amulets which are to ensure health and long life to the wearer.

In the closest connection with these prayers are the extremely numerous benedictions (pauṣṭikāni), by means of which the farmer, the shepherd, the merchant hope to gain happiness and success in their undertakings. Here we find a prayer which is used at the building of a house, benedictions for ploughing, for sowing, for the growth of the corn, and exorcisms against field-vermin, spells against the danger of fire, prayers for rain used in rain-magic, numerous benedictions for the prosperity of the herds of cattle, exorcisms of a herdsman against wild animals and robbers, prayers of a merchant for good business and good fortune on his journey, of a gamester for good luck with the dice, proscriptions and exorcisms against snakes, and so on. Only a few of these songs and spells are of any worth as poetry. It frequently happens, however, that in a very mediocre poem of considerable length, we find single verses of great beauty. The most beautiful is

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perhaps the rain-song Ath. IV, 15. Here we read: Driven by the wind may the clouds pass by, and "while the great, cloud-enwrapped bull roars,[1] may the rushing waters refresh the earth." Parjanya himself is invoked with the words:

"Roar, thunder, set the sea in agitation, bedew the
ground with thy sweet rain, Parjanya!
Send plenteous showers on him who seeketh shelter,
and let the owner of lean kine go homeward." [2]

The least amount of poetry is found in those benedictions which contain only quite general prayers for happiness and blessing or for protection against danger and evil. Among the latter are the so-called "mṛgārasūktāni" (Ath. IV, 23-29), a litany consisting of seven hymns of seven verses each. They are addressed respectively to Agni (1), Indra (2), Vāyu and Savitar (3), heaven and earth (4), the Maruts (5), Bhava and Śarva [3] (6), Mitra and Varuṇa (7), and every verse concludes with the refrain-like prayer for deliverance from affliction.

The word "aṃhas," however, which we here translate by "affliction," combines in itself the meanings "distress, affliction" on one side, and "guilt, sin" on the other. Therefore the above-mentioned litany can be reckoned among that class of Atharvaveda hymns which is connected with expiatory ceremonies (prāyaścittāni). These expiatory formulæ and spells for cleansing from guilt and sin are less different from the spells of healing than one might think. For, to Indian ideas, an expiation, a prāyaścitta, is necessary not only for "sins" in our sense, *i.e.* offences against the moral rule, or

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[1]) The rain-god Parjanya.

[2]) Ath. IV. 15, 6, translated by R. T. H. *Griffith*. In time of drought the cows have become lean on account of scanty food. Now the herdsman must flee before the rain, and better times will come for the cattle (Weber, Ind. Stud., Vol. 18, p. 62).

[3]) Names or forms of *Rudra*, a god who plays a prominent part in witchcraft and in the magic songs of the Atharvaveda, while he occupies a more subordinate position in the hymns of the Ṛgveda.

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transgressions against religion, but by the side of propitiatory formulae for imperfectly performed sacrifices and ceremonies, for crimes consciously and unconsciously committed, for sins of thought, for non-payment of debts, especially gambling debts, for the marriage prohibited by the law, of a younger brother before the elder, and beside general prayers for liberation from guilt and sin and their consequences, we find also propitiatory formulas, and, in connection with atonement ceremonies, songs and spells by which mental and physical infirmities, unpropitious omens (*e.g.* by the flight of birds or the birth of twins or the birth of a child under an unlucky star), bad dreams and sudden accidents are "expiated," *i.e.* warded off or weakened in their effects. The conception "guilt," "sin," "evil," "misfortune" are continually merged one into the other. The fact is that everything evil—disease and misfortune, just the same as guilt and sin—is looked on as caused by evil spirits. Like the invalid or the madman, so is the evil-doer, too, the sinner, possessed by a wicked demon. The same fiends which bring disease, also send the unfavourable omens and the accidents themselves. Thus, for example, Ath. X, 3, an amulet, which is tied on the person, is praised extravagantly in twenty-five verses and glorified as a mighty protection against dangers and evils of every kind, against evil magic, against bad dreams and unfavourable omens, against "the sin which my mother, which my father, which my brothers and which my sister and which we ourselves have committed," and at the same time as a universal remedy for all diseases.

Family discord, too, arises through the influence of evil demons or malicious wizards. Therefore we find in the Atharvaveda also a number of spells for the restoration of harmony, which stand midway between the expiatory formulas and the benedictions. For to this class belong not only the spells by which peace and harmony are to be restored in the family, but also formulas by which one can appease the wrath

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of a great master, or by which one desires to gain influence in an assembly, the art of persuasion in a court of law, and so on. One of the most pleasing of this kind of songs is Ath. III, 30, which begins with the words:

"Of one heart and of one mind,
Free from hatred do I make you,
Take delight in one another,
As the cow does in her baby calf.

Loyal to his sire the son be,
Of one mind, too, with his mother;
Sweet and kindly language ever
Let the wife speak to her husband.

Brother shall not hate the brother,
And the sister not the sister.
Of one mind and of one intent,
Speak ye words of kindness only." [1]

Of course some of these reconciliation-spells could also be employed in the restoration of unity between husband and wife. But the magic songs referring to marriage and love form a large separate class of hymns of the Atharvaveda; and in the Kauśikasūtra we become acquainted with the manifold kinds of love-magic and all the magic rites, which are called "strīkarmāṇi" or "women's rites," and for which these songs and spells were employed. There are, however, two sorts of spells belonging to this class. Those of the one kind have a sociable and peaceful character and refer to marriage and the begetting of children. They are pious spells connected with harmless magical rites by which a maiden tries to obtain a bridegroom, or a young man a bride, benedictions upon the bridal pair and the newly-married, magic songs and spells

[1]) This is an almost literal translation. The translation by J. *Muir*, Metrical Translations from Sanskrit Writers, p. 139, is rather free.

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through which conception shall be accelerated and the birth of a male child effected, prayers for protection of the pregnant woman, also of the unborn and the new-born child, and so on. Of this kind is the whole of Book XIV, which contains a collection of marriage-verses and is, on the whole, a second, greatly enlarged edition of the marriage verses of the Ṛg-veda.[1] More numerous is the second kind of these spells, consisting of wild exorcisms and curses, which refer to love-intrigues and disturbances of the married life. Still fairly harmless are the spells through which a wife wishes to pacify her husband's jealousy, or the verses which are to bring the unfaithful wife back to her husband, or the charm for inducing sleep (Ath. IV, 5), in which the following verse proves that the song is used by a lover who steals to his sweetheart: "May the mother sleep, may the father sleep, may the dog sleep, may the eldest in the house sleep, may *her* relations sleep, may all the people round about sleep."[2] Less harmless and partly of primeval savageness are the spells by which a person is to be forced to love against his or her will. The belief, existing all over the world, that by means of the *picture* of a person one can harm or obtain power over that person, is also found in ancient India. If a man wished to gain the love of a woman, he made a picture out of clay, took a bow with a string of hemp, an arrow the barb of which was a thorn, the feather of which came from an owl, the shaft of which was made of black wood, and began to pierce the heart of the picture through and through with the arrow—a symbolical piercing of the heart of the beloved with the arrow of the love-god Kama—while he recited the verses of the magic song, Ath. III, 25:

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[1]) See above, pp. 107 f. The marriage prayers as also the love-charms of the Atharvaveda have been translated and explained by A. *Weber*, Ind. Stud., Vol. V.

[2]) *Bloomfield* (SBE., Vol. 42, p. 105) calls the hymn a "charm at an assignation," *Whitney* (HOS., Vol. 7, p. 151) "an incantation to put to sleep." See also Th. *Aufrecht*, Ind. Stud. 4, 337 ff., on the two sleeping-spells, Ṛv. VII, 55 and Ath. IV, 5.

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"May (love) the disquieter, disquiet thee; do not hold out upon thy bed: with the terrible arrow of Kâma (love) do I pierce thee in the heart.

The arrow, winged with longing, barbed with love, whose shaft is undeviating desire, with that, well-aimed, Kâma shall pierce thee in the heart!

With that well-aimed arrow of Kâma which parches the spleen, whose plume flies forward, which burns up, do I pierce thee in the heart.

Consumed by burning ardour, with parched mouth, do thou (woman) come to me, pliant (thy) pride laid aside, mine alone, speaking sweetly and and to me devoted!

I drive thee with a goad from thy mother and thy father, so that thou shalt be in my power, shalt come up to my wish.

All her thought do ye, O Mitra and Varuṇa, drive out of her!

Then, having deprived her of her will, put her into my power alone!" [1])

A woman acts in a similar manner if she wants to compel the love of a man. She makes an effigy of the man, places it before herself, and hurls heated arrow-heads at it, while she recites the song, Ath. VI, 130 and 138 with the refrain: "Send forth Desire, ye Deities! Let him consume with love of me!" Thus she says:

"Madden him, Maruts, madden him. Madden him, madden him, O Air.
Madden him, Agni, madden him. Let him consume with love of me.
(130, 4.)

Down upon thee, from head to foot, I draw the pangs of longing love.
Send forth Desire, ye Deities! Let him consume with love of me.
(131, 1.)

If thou shouldst run three leagues away, five leagues, a horse's daily stage,
Thence thou shalt come to me again and be the father of our sons." [2])
(131, 3.)

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[1]) Translated by M. *Bloomfield*, SBE., Vol. 42, p. 102.

[2]) Translated by R. T. H. *Griffith*. In the refrain (131, 1) I have corrected "send forth the charm" into "send forth Desire."—*The author.*

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The wildest incantations, actually bristling with hatred, are those which women use in the attempt to oust their rivals. One example is Ath. I, 14:

"I have taken unto myself her fortune and her glory, as a wreath of a tree. Like a mountain with broad foundation may she sit a long time with her parents!

This woman shall be subjected to thee as thy wife, O King Yama![1]) (till then) let her be fixed to the house of her mother, or her brother, or her father!

This woman shall be the keeper of thy house, O king (Yama), and her do we make over to thee! May she long sit with her relatives, until (her hair) drops from her head!

With the incantation of Asita, of Kasyapa, and of Gaya[2]) do I cover up thy fortune, as women cover (something) within a chest." [3])

Language of unbridled wildness, of unmistakeable meaning is also found in the songs which are intended to make a woman barren (Ath. VII, 35) or to rob a man of his generative power (Ath. VI, 138; VII, 90).

These love-incantations really belong already to that class of hymns which are designated by the old name "Aṅgiras,"[4]) to the class of the curses and exorcisms against demons, wizards and enemies (ābhicārikāṇi). Some of the charms of healing, too, can just as well be included in this class inasmuch as they contain exorcisms against the demons of disease. Of this kind is among other things, also the second half of Book XVI, which contains an exorcism against nightmare in which this demon is told to visit the enemies. In these exorcisms no difference is made between demons and malicious

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[1]) The god of death.

[2]) Probably names of famous wizards.

[3]) Translated by M. *Bloomfield.* (SBE., Vol. 42, p. 107) who was the first to give a correct interpretation of this difficult charm (*ib.* pp. 252 ff.) *Whitney* (HOS., Vol. 7, p. 15) describes it as an "imprecation of spinsterhood on a woman."

[4]) See above, pp. 120 f.

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wizards and witches, and against them, Agni especially, the fire as a demon-destroyer, is called to the rescue. Numerous popular names of demons, otherwise quite unknown, are found in these hymns, in which indeed we continually meet with ideas more genuinely popular than usual. Thus we here come across the view, deeply-rooted in the popular belief—and that, of all peoples—that disease and misfortune can be caused not only by demons, but also by malicious people who are endowed with magic power. The magic by means of which these bad people work evil, is often personified in the songs, and a magic antidote—a healing herb, an amulet, a talisman—is confronted with it. The spells and songs connected with this hostile magic and its magic antidotes are often distinguished by a raciness and ferocity which are not without a certain beauty. In any case, in some of these curses and exorcisms of the Atharvaveda, there is more good popular poetry than in most of the sacrificial songs and prayers of the Ṛgveda. An example of this is the song for averting evil magic, Ath. V, 14, of which a few verses may here be quoted:

"An eagle found thee: with his snout a wild boar dug thee from the earth.
Harm thou, O Plant, the mischievous, and drive the sorcerer away. [1]
Beat thou the Yātudhānas back, drive thou away the sorcerer;
And chase afar, O Plant, the man who fain would do us injury. [2]
As 'twere a strip cut round from skin of a white-footed antelope,
Bind, like a golden chain, O God, his witchcraft on the sorcerer. [3]
Take thou his sorcery by the hand, and to the sorcerer lead it back.
Lay it before him, face to face, that it may kill the sorcerer. [4]
Back on the wizard fall his craft, upon the curser light his curse.
Let witchcraft, like a well-naved car, roll back upon the sorcerer. [5]
Whoso, for other's harm hath dealt—woman or man—in magic arts,
To him we lead the sorcery back, even as a courser with a rope. [6]

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Go as a son goes to his sire : bite as a trampled viper bites,
As one who flies from bonds, go back, O Witchcraft to the sorcerer." [1] [10]

In a similar manner in the song Ath. VI, 37, the curse is personified and returned to the cursing one in the following vigorous verses :

" Hitherward, having yoked his steeds, came
Imprecation, thousand-eyed,
Seeking my curser, as a wolf the home of one who owneth sheep. [1]
Avoid us, Imprecation ! as consuming fire avoids the lake.
Smite thou the man who curses us, as the sky's lightning strikes the tree. [2]
Who curses us, himself uncursed, or, cursed, who curses us again,
Him cast I as a sop to Death, as to a dog one throws a bone." [2] [3]

Here we may mention the magnificent hymn to Varuṇa (Ath. IV, 16), the first half of which celebrates the almighty power and omniscience of God in language which is familiar to us from the Psalms, but which is extremely rarely heard in India, while the second half is nothing but a vigorous exorcism-formula against liars and libellers, such as are not infrequent in the Atharvaveda. I give the first five verses of this remarkable poem in the beautiful poetical translation of Muir,[3] and verses 6-9 in the prose translation of M. Bloomfield.[4]

" The mighty lord on high our deeds, as if at hand, espies ;
The gods know all men do, though men would fain their acts disguise, [1]
Whoever stands, whoever moves, or steals from place to place,
Or hides him in his secret cell,—the gods his movements trace.

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[1]) Translated by R. T. H. *Griffith.*
[2]) Translated by R. T. H. *Griffith.*
[3]) Metrical Translations from Sanskrit Writers, p. 163.
[4]) SBE., Vol. 42, pp. 88 f.

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Wherever two together plot, and deem they are alone,
King Varuṇa is there, a third, and all their schemes are known. [2]

This earth is his, to him belong those vast and boundless skies;
Both seas within him rest, and yet in that small pool he lies. [3]

Whoever far beyond the sky should think his way to wing.
He could not there elude the grasp of Varuṇa the king.
His spies, descending from the skies, glide all this world around;
Their thousand eyes all-scanning sweep to earth's remotest bound. [4]

Whate'er exists in heaven and earth, whatever beyond the skies,
Before the eyes of Varuṇa, the king, unfolded lies.
The ceaseless winkings all he counts of every mortal's eyes,
He wields this universal frame as gamester throws his dice. [5]

May all thy fateful toils which, seven by seven, threefold, lie spread out, ensnare him that speaks falsehood: him that speaks the truth they shall let go! [6]

With a hundred snares, O Varuṇa, surround him, let the liar not go free from thee, O thou that observest men! The rogue shall sit his belly hanging loose, like a cask without hoops, bursting all abont! [7]

With (the snare of) Varuṇa which is fastened lengthwise, and that which (is fastened) broadwise, with the indigenous and the foreign, with the divine and the human,— [8]

With all these snares do I fetter thee, O N. N., descended from N. N., the son of the woman N. N.: all these do I design for thee." [9]

Roth [1] says with regard to this hymn: "There is no other song in the whole of Vedic literature, which expresses the divine omniscience in such impressive words, and yet this beautiful work of art has been degraded into the exordium of an exorcism. Still, here as with many other portions of this Veda, we may surmise that available fragments of older hymns were used for the purpose of re-furbishing

[1]) Abhandlung über den Atharvaveda, Tübingen 1856, pp. 29 f. where the hymn is translated into German. For other translations of the hymn see *Whitney*, HOS., Vol. 7, p. 176.

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magic formulæ. As a fragment of this kind the first five or even six verses of our hymn may be considered." I fully agree to these words. The supposition of Bloomfield,[1] that the whole poem, just as it is, was composed from the first for magic purposes, does not seem to me at all probable.

There exists a rather large class of magic songs, which are intended for the needs of the kings, partly exorcism formulas against enemies and partly benedictions. Every king was compelled, in India, from the earliest times, to have his Purohita or family priest, and this family priest had to be familiar with the magic rites which refer to the life of a king ('rājakarmāṇi,' 'kings' rites') and also with the songs and charms belonging to these rites. The Atharvaveda therefore is closely connected with the warrior caste. Thus we here find the songs which refer to the consecration of a king, when the king is sprinkled with the holy water and steps upon the tiger-skin; we find spells which are intended to ensure for the king mastery over other princes, and power and fame in general, prayers for the king when he girds on his armour, when he ascends his war-chariot, and so on. There is an interesting prayer (Ath. III, 4) at the election of a king, in which the heavenly King Varuṇa appears as the one who chooses the king, the name of the god being brought into etymological connection with the verb *vṛ*, "to choose." A remarkable magic formula is that for the restoration of a banished king, in Ath. III, 3. Among the most beautiful hymns of this class are the battle-chants and magic songs of war, in particular the two songs to the drum, which is to call the fighters to the battle and to victory (Ath. V., 20 and 21). A few verses of V, 20, follow as an example:

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[1]) SBE, Vol. 42, p. 389.

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Formed out of wood, compact with straps of leather, loud is the War-drum as he plays the hero.
Whetting thy voice and vanquishing opponents, roar at them like a lion fain to conquer! [1]
Like a bull marked by strength among the cattle, roar seeking kine and gathering up the booty.
Pierce through our adversaries' heart with sorrow, and let our routed foes desert their hamlets. [3]
Hearing the Drum's far-reaching voice resounding, let the foe's dame, waked by the roar, afflicted,
Grasping her son, run forward in her terror amid the conflict of the deadly weapons.[1] [5]

The Brahmans, however, were from the beginning much too practical a people to have used the magic charms always only in the interest of kings or other people, and not also for themselves. Among the magic incantations belonging to the "kings' rites" we already find a few which are concerned more with the Purohita, the indispensable family priest of the king, than with the latter himself. And although attacks on witchcraft and exorcisms are not lacking[2] in brahmanical literature, yet the law-book of Manu (XI, 33) says clearly and distinctly: "Without hesitation the Brahman shall make use of the sacred texts of the Atharvaveda; the word, indeed, is the weapon of the Brahman; therewith may he kill his enemies." Thus also in the Atharvaveda we find a whole series of magic incantations and exorcisms in the interest of the Brahmans. In these hymns the inviolability of the Brahmans and their possessions is repeatedly emphasized in the strongest manner, and the heaviest curses are pronounced

[1]) Translated by R. T. H. *Griffith*. In Southern India, even in much later times, the Battle Drum was an object of worship, and "was regarded with the same veneration that regiments used to bestow upon the regimental flag in the armies of Europe." H. A. *Popley*, The Music of India, London, 1921, p. 11.

[2]) See above, pp. 125 f.

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against those who assail the property and lives of the Brahmans. Besides this, the mystical meaning of the Dakṣiṇa, *i.e.* the sacrificial fee, is emphasized in the most extravagant expressions. The heaviest of all sins is to oppress Brahmans; the highest summit of piety is to give them liberal fees for sacrifice; these are the fundamental ideas running through all these songs, which are among the most unedifying of the whole Atharvaveda. Only a few of the better of these hymns contain prayers for enlightenment, wisdom, fame and theological knowledge. All songs belonging to this class might unhesitatingly be included amongst the latest parts of the Atharvaveda collection.

Among the later parts of the Saṃhitā are also the songs and charms composed for sacrificial purposes, which probably were included in the Atharvaveda only in order that the latter, like the other three Vedas, might be brought into connection with the sacrifice and be recognised as a real "Veda." Thus, for example, we find two Aprī[1] hymns and other songs corresponding to the sacrificial chants of the Ṛgveda. Prose formulæ, too, which correspond to those of the Yajurveda, are to be found, for example, in Book XVI, the entire first half of which consists of formulæ in which water is glorified, and which refer to some purification-ritual or other. Book XVIII, which contains the prayers pertaining to the death ritual and to ancestor-worship, should be included among this class of hymns. The funeral songs of Book X of the Ṛgveda,[2] recur here literally, though they are increased by many additions. Also Book XX, which was added quite late, and the hymns of which, with few exceptions, are all borrowed from the Ṛgveda, is related to the soma-sacrifice. The only new hymns in this book are the very curious

[1]) See above, pp. 94 f.

[2]) See above, pp. 95 ff.

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"Kuntāpa hymns," [1] Ath., XX, 127-136. They, too, form part of the sacrificial ritual as liturgies, while in content they coincide partly with the Dānastutis of the Ṛgveda,[2] by praising the liberality of certain princes; partly they are riddles and their solutions,[3] but partly also obscene songs and coarse jokes. At certain sacrifices, which lasted for many days, hymns of this kind constituted the prescribed conversation of the priests.[4]

The last class of hymns of the Atharvaveda which have still to be mentioned, are the hymns of theosophical and cosmogonic contents, which doubtlessly belong to the latest parts of the Atharvaveda. Nothing, indeed, seems further from magic than philosophy, and one might well wonder at the fact that the Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā contains, besides magic incantations, spells and benedictions, also hymns of philosophical content. However, if we look more closely at these hymns, we shall soon find that they, like the magic songs, mostly serve only practical purposes.[5] It is not the yearning and searching for truth, for the solution of dark riddles of the universe, which inspires the authors of these hymns, but they, too, are only conjurers who pose as philosophers, by misusing the well known philosophical expressions in an ingenious, or rather artificial, web of foolish and nonsensical plays of fancy, in order to create an impression of the mystical, the mysterious. What at the first glance

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[1]) What the name "Kuntāpa" signifies is not known.

[2]) See above, pp. 114 f.

[3]) Like those of the Ṛgveda. See above, pp. 117 f.

[4]) A detailed account of the Kuntāpa hymns has been given by M. *Bloomfield*. The Atharvaveda (Grundriss, II, 1 B), pp. 96 ff. They were probably part of the jollification on the occasion of the bestowal of the dakṣinā, which "in many instances must have led to gormandizing and drunkenness,.....followed.....by shallow witticisms, by obscene talk, and worse" (l.c., p. 100).

[5]) *Cf.* F. *Edgerton*, The Philosophical Materials of the Atharva Veda (Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield, New Haven, 1920, pp. 117 ff.).

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appears to us as profundity, is often in reality nothing but empty mystery-mongering, behind which there is more nonsense than profound sense; and indeed, mystery-mongering and the concealment of reality under a mystical veil, are part of the magician's trade. Yet these philosophical hymns presuppose a fairly high development of metaphysical thought. The chief ideas of the Upaniṣads, the conception of a highest god as creator and preserver of the world (Prajāpati), and even the ideas of an impersonal creative principle, besides a number of philosophical terms, such as brahman, tapas, asat, prāṇa, manas, must, at the time when these hymns originated, already have been the common property of large circles. Therefore, too, we must not look upon the theosophical and cosmogonic hymns of the Atharvaveda as representing a step in the development of Indian philosophy. The productive thoughts of the truly philosophical hymns of the Ṛgveda have attained their further development only in the Upaniṣads, and the philosophical hymns of the Atharvaveda can in no way be regarded as a transition-step from the oldest philosophy to that of the Upaniṣads. "They stand," as Deussen says, "not so much inside the great course of development, as, rather, by its side." [1]

Many a deep and truly philosophical idea occasionally flashes forth in these hymns out of the mystical haze, but in most cases, it may be said that the Atharvan poet is not the originator of these ideas, that he has only utilized for his own purposes the ingeniousness of others. Thus it is certainly an idea worthy of a philosopher, that *Kāla, Time,* is the first cause of all existence. Yet, it is the language of the mystic and not of the philosopher, when we read in Ath. XIX, 53:[2]

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[1]) *Deussen*, AGPh. I, 1, p. 209.

[2]) On this hymn see F. O. *Schrader* Über den Stand der indischen Philosophie zur Zeit Mahāvīras und Buddhas, 1902, pp. 20 f.

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"Time, the steed, runs with seven reins (rays), thousand-eyed, ageless, rich in seed. The seers, thinking holy thoughts, mount him, all the beings (worlds) are his wheels.

With seven wheels does this Time ride, seven naves has he, immortality is his axle. He carries hither all these beings (worlds). Time, the first god, now hastens onward.

A full jar has been placed upon Time; him, verily, we see existing in many forms. He carries away all these beings (worlds); they call him Time in the highest heaven." and so on.

Certainly, the idea that Kāla, Time, has brought forth everything, finds worthy expression in the two verses 5 and 6:

"Time begot yonder heaven, Time also (begot) these earths. That which was, and that which shall be, urged forth by Time, spreads out.

Time created the earth, in Time the sun burns. In Time are all beings, in Time the eye looks abroad." [1]

But immediately in the following verses and in the following hymn (Ath. XIX, 54) all kinds of things are enumerated in a quite mechanical manner as originating in Time, and especially the various names of the Divine, as they were known at that time, are enumerated as being created by Kāla, thus Prajāpati, thus Brahman, thus Tapas (asceticism), prāṇa (breath of life), and so on.

More mystery-mongering than true philosophy is to be found also in the long Rohita hymns, of which Book XIII of the Atharvaveda consists, in which, moreover, all kinds of disconnected matter appears to be thrown together in motley confusion. Thus, for instance, in the first hymn, Rohita, "the red one," *i.e.* the sun or a genius of the sun, is extolled as creative principle—"he created the heaven and the earth," "with strength he secured the earth and heaven"—; at the same time, however, an earthly king is

[1] Translated by *Bloomfield*, SBE., Vol. 42, p. 224.

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glorified, and the heavenly king Rohita brought into connection with the earthly king in an intentionally confused manner. In the middle of it, however, we find also imprecations against enemies and rivals and against those who strike a cow with their feet, or make water against the sun.[1] Again in hymn XIII, 3, in a few verses whose pathos recalls the above-quoted Varuṇa hymn, Rohita is extolled as the highest being, but a refrain is attached, in which the same Rohita is told to crush, in his anger, him who torments a Brahman. For example:

"He who engendered these, the earth and heaven,
who made the worlds the mantle that he weareth,
In whom abide the six wide-spreading regions
through which the bird's keen vision penetrateth,
This God is wroth offended by the sinner who wrongs
the Brahman who hath gained this knowledge.
Agitate him, O Rohita; destroy him: entangle in thy
snares the Brahman's tyrant. [1]
He from whom winds blow pure in ordered season,
from whom the seas flow forth in all directions,
This God, etc. [2]
He who takes life away, he who bestows it; from
whom comes breath to every living creature,
This God, etc. [3]
Who with the breath he draws sates earth and
heaven, with expiration fills the ocean's belly,
This God, etc." [2]

By the side of such sublime glorifications of Rohita, however, there are to be found instances of the mystical play of ideas, as when it is said that the two sacrificial melodies

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[1]) Bloomfield compares this with Hesiod.

μηδ'αγιηελιου τετραμμενος βσνος βμιγειν (Εργὰ × αι ημεραι 725).

Cf. Protagoras (Diog. Laert, VIII, 1, 19):

προς ηλιου τετραμμενον μη ομιγειν.

[2]) Translated by R. T. H. *Griffith*.

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Bṛhat and Rathantara have brought forth Rohita, or when the metre Gāyatrī is designated as "the lap of immortality." It would be vain to attempt to lighten the mystical semi-darkness which surrounds such and similar verses. I do not think, therefore, that we have to look for great philosophical truths in a hymn like Ath. IV, 11, where the Ox is extolled as the creator and preserver of the world:

"The Ox bears the earth and the sky.
The Ox bears the wide atmosphere.
The Ox bears the six wide spheres of heaven,
The Ox penetrates the whole universe."

Nor are we much impressed by the fact that this ox is identified with Indra and others of the highest gods, still less by the fact that he yields milk, "his milk is the sacrifice, the priestly fee is his milking," and we willingly believe that "he who knows the seven inexhaustible milkings of the ox, gains offspring and heaven." This ox is of no more importance than the bull that is extolled extravagantly in Ath. IX, 4—he bears all forms in his sides, he was in the beginning an image of the primeval water, and so on,—and that is finally discovered to be only an ordinary sacrificial bull which is to be slaughtered. The fact, however, that this pseudo-philosophy and mystery-mongering at bottom pursues a very practical purpose, is proved by such a hymn as Ath. X, 10. Here the great mystery of the cow is announced: heaven and earth and the waters are protected by the cow. A hundred pails, a hundred milkers, a hundred cow-herds are on her back. The gods who breathe in the cow, they know the cow. The cow is the mother of the warrior, sacrifice is the weapon of the cow, thought originated in her. In this manner it proceeds till this secret doctrine reaches its climax in the words: "The cow alone is called Immortality, the cow alone is worshipped as death; the cow became this universe, gods,

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people, asuras, manes and seers (they all are the cow)." But now follows the practical use: Only he who knows this great secret may accept a cow as a gift, and he who gives a cow to the Brahmans, gains all worlds, for in the cow is enclosed all the highest—Ṛta (the order of the universe), Brahman (the world-soul) and Tapas (asceticism)—and:

> "The gods live by the cow, and also man lives by the cow;
> The cow is this whole world, as far as the sun looks down."

Just as the Rohita, the Ox, and the Cow are praised as the Highest Being, so there is one hymn (XI, 5) in which the *Brahmacārin*, the Vedic student, is celebrated in a similar way. And again in the still more mysterious cycle of hymns forming Book XV of the Saṃhitā, the Highest Brahman is conceived and exalted as the *Vrātya*,—both as the heavenly Vrātya, identified with the Great God (mahādeva), the Lord (īśāna) Rudra, and as his prototype, the earthly Vrātya. The Vrātyas were certain, probably Eastern, tribes, whether Aryan or non-Aryan, but certainly living outside the pale of Brahmanism, roving about in bands—on rough waggons covered with boards in a rather war-like fashion, owners of cattle, having their own peculiar customs and religious cults, whose members however could be received into brahmanical society by means of certain sacrificial rites and ceremonies. Such a Vrātya who has already been converted to Brahmanism, seems to be glorified in the Vrātya-book of the Atharva-veda.[1]

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[1]) See A. *Weber* and Th. *Aufrecht* in Ind. Stud. I, 1850; A. *Hillebrandt*, Ritual-Litteratur (Grundriss III, 2), pp. 139 f.; M. *Bloomfield*, The Atharvaveda (Grundriss, II, 1 B) pp. 96 ff.; Chas. *Lanman*, HOS., Vol. 8, pp. 769 ff. *Macdonell* and *Keith*, Vedic Index, II, pp. 341 ff. Rājārām Rāmkrishna *Bhāgavat*, JBRAS., 19, 1896, 357 ff. considers the Vrātyas to be non-Aryans. J. *Charpentier* (WZKM. 23, 151 ff.; 25, 355 ff.) considers the Vrātyas to be early worshippers of Rudra Siva, see *Keith*, JRAS. 1913, 155 ff. According to J. W. *Hauer*, Die Anfänge der Yogapraxis, Berlin 1922, pp. 11 ff. 172 ff. they were ecstatics of the Kṣatriya class and fore-runners of the Yogins. (*cf.* Winternitz in Festschrift für L. Scherman.

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Deussen [1] has taken endless trouble to discover sense and meaning in the "philosophical" hymns of the Atharva-veda, and to establish certain coherent ideas in them. He finds, for instance, in Ath. X, 2, and XI, 8, the idea that deals with the "realisation of Brahman in man," and this in X, 2, "more from the physical teleological aspect," and XI, 8, "more from the psychical aspect." [2] I cannot discover so much philosophy in these hymns; I believe, rather, that here too we have only pseudo-philosophers, who did not announce a new doctrine of the world-soul in man, but who found this doctrine already existing in entirety and proclaimed it in mystically confused disconnectedness. While in a celebrated hymn of the Ṛgveda (X, 121) a deep thinker and a true poet refers in bold words to the splendour of the cosmos and sceptically asks about the creator, in Atharvaveda, X, 2, a verse-maker enumerates, one after the other, all the limbs of man, and asked who has created them:

"By whom are the heels of man created? By whom the flesh, by whom the ankles, by whom the well-formed fingers? By whom the openings?...Why have they made the ankles of man below and the knee caps above? Why have the legs been placed apart from each other, and where are the joints of the knees? Who has thought that out?" etc.

Thus it proceeds throughout eight verses. Then follow nine verses, in which all kinds of things that belong to the human organism, and indeed to human life in general, are enquired about: "Whence come likes and dislikes, whence sleep, fear, fatigue, whence all joys and pleasures of mankind? Whence poverty and misery?" etc. In the same tone, all sorts of miscellaneous questions are asked, such as, who has

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[1]) AGPh., I, 1, pp. 209 ff.

Cf. also Lucian *Scherman*, Philosophische Hymnen aus der Rig-und Atharva-Veda-Samhitā, verglichen mit den Philosophemen der älteren Upanishads, Strassburg, 1887.

[2]) Deussen, *loc. cit.*, pp. 264 ff.

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placed water into the body, blood into the veins, whence man has obtained stature, height and name, who has endowed him with gait, intelligence, breath, truth and untruth, immortality and death, clothing, long life, strength and speed, and so on. Then further is asked whence man obtains his mastery over nature, and all these questions are answered with the reply that man as Brahman (world-soul) has become what he is, and attained all his power. So far the hymn is not exactly beautiful, but at least fairly clear. But now follows the usual mystical humbug in the closing verses 26-33, where, for instance, it is said :

"Having sewn his heart and his head together, the Atharvan being above the brain as a purifier stimulated (him) from above the head. [26]

To the Atharvan forsooth this head belongs, a firmly-locked box of the gods, and this head is protected by the breath, by food and by the mind." [27]

I think one would be honouring this kind of verses too much by seeking deep wisdom in them. Therefore, I cannot find such deep sense in the hymn Ath. XI, 8, as Deussen does, who tells us that it describes "the origin of man through the contact of psychic and physical factors which themselves are altogether dependent upon Brahman." Just as the liar must sometimes speak truth, in order that one may believe his lies, so the pseudo-philosopher, too, must introduce here and there into his fabrications a real, philosophical idea which he has "picked up" somewhere or other, in order that one may take his nonsense for the height of wisdom. Thus, the idea of Brahman as the first cause of all existence and of the oneness of man with the world-soul, is certainly at the basis of the hymn XI, 8. However, I do not think that the author had any idea in his mind while composing the words :

"Whence was Indra, whence Soma, whence Agni born? Whence originated Tvaṣṭar ("the Fashioner")? Whence was Dhātar ("the Creator") born?

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From Indra was Indra born, Soma from Soma, and Agni from Agni. Tvaṣṭar came of Tvaṣṭar, and Dhātar is born of Dhātar."

Immeasurably higher than this verse-making, which is neither philosophy nor poetry, stands *one* hymn of the Atharva-veda, which, on account of a few verses which relate to the origin of the earth, is usually included among the cosmogonic hymns, but which is free from any and every kind of mysticism and really contains very little philosophy, but so much the more true poetry. It is the magnificent hymn to Earth, Ath. XII, 1. In sixty-three verses the Mother Earth is here extolled as the supporter and preserver of everything earthly, and entreated for happiness and blessing and protection from all evil. Just a few verses in R. T. H. Griffith's translation must suffice to give an idea of one of the most beautiful productions of the religious poetry of Ancient India:

"Truth, high and potent Law, the Consecrating Rite,
Fervour, Brahma, and Sacrifice uphold the Earth.
May she, the Queen of all that is and is to be, may
Pṛithivī make ample space and room for us. [1]

She who at first was water in the ocean, whom with their wondrous powers the sages followed,
May she whose heart is in the highest heaven, compassed about with truth, and everlasting,
May she, this Earth, bestow upon us lustre, and grant us power in loftiest dominion. [8]

She whom the Aśvins measured out, o'er whom the foot of Viṣṇu strode,
Whom Indra, Lord of Power and Might, freed from all foemen for himself,
May Earth pour out her milk for us, a mother unto me her son. [10]

O Pṛithivī, auspicious be thy woodlands, auspicious be thy hills and snow-clad mountains.
Unslain, unwounded, unsubdued, I have set foot upon the Earth,
On Earth, brown, black, ruddy and every-coloured, on the firm earth that Indra guards from danger. [11]

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Produced from thee, on thee move mortal creatures : thou bearest them, both quadruped and biped.

Thine, Pṛithivī, are these Five human Races, for whom, though mortal, Sūrya as he rises spreads with his rays the light that is immortal. [15]

On earth they offer sacrifice and dressed oblation to the gods, men, mortals, live upon the earth by food in their accustomed way.

May that Earth grant us breath and vital power,
Pṛithivī give me life of long duration ! [22]

Let what I dig from thee, O Earth, rapidly spring and grow again,
O Purifier, let me not pierce through thy vitals or thy heart. [35]

May she, the Earth, whereon men sing and dance with varied shout and noise,
Whereon men meet in battle, and the war-cry and the drum resound,
May she drive off our foemen, may Pṛithivī rid me of my foes. [41]

Supporting both the foolish and the weighty she bears the death both of the good and evil.

In friendly concord with the boar, Earth opens herself for the wild swine that roams the forest. [48]

O Earth, my Mother, set thou me happily in a place secure,
Of one accord with Heaven, O Sage, set me in glory and in wealth." [63]

This hymn, which might just as well be found in the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā, proves that in the Saṃhitā of the Atharva-veda, too, there are scattered manifold fragments of ancient poetry, although the latter Saṃhitā, more than the Ṛgveda, pursues one definite purpose. In this collection, too, as in that of the Ṛgveda, by the side of much that is of little value or absolutely worthless, there are rare gems of the oldest Indian poetic art. Only *both works together* give us a real idea of the oldest poetry of the Aryan Indians.

The Ancient Indian Sacrifice and the Vedic Samhitās.

The two Saṃhitās which have so far been discussed have in common the fact that they were not compiled for special liturgical purposes. Although most of the hymns of the

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Ṛgveda could be, and actually were used for sacrificial purposes, and although the songs and spells of the Atharvaveda were almost throughout employed for ritualistic and magic purposes, yet the collection and arrangement of the hymns in these Saṃhitās have nothing to do with the various liturgical and ritualistic purposes. The hymns were collected for their own sake and arranged and placed, in both these collections, with regard to their supposed authors or the singer-schools to which they belonged, partly also according to their contents and still more their external form—number of verses and such like. They are as we may say, collections of songs which pursue a *literary* object.

It is quite different with the Saṃhitās of the two other Vedas, the Sāmaveda and the Yajurveda. In these collections we find the songs, verses, and benedictions arranged according to their practical purposes, in exactly the order in which they were used at the sacrifice. These are, in fact, nothing more than prayer-books and song-books for the practical use of certain sacrificial priests—not indeed written books, but texts, which existed only in the heads of teachers and priests and were preserved by means of oral teaching and learning in the priests' schools.[1] Now, in order to explain the origin of these Saṃhitās, it is necessary to insert here a few words about the cult of the Aryan Indians. This is the more advisable as a complete understanding of the Vedic literature in general is altogether impossible without a certain insight into the ancient Indian sacrificial cult.

So far back as we can trace the Vedic-Brahmanic religion there have always been two varieties of the cult. We have seen [2] that certain hymns of the Ṛgveda and a large number of songs and charms of the Atharvaveda were used as benedictions and prayers at birth and marriage and other

[1]) *Cf.* above, p. 36.

[2]) *Cf.* above, pp. 95 ff., 107 ff., 135 f.

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occasions of daily life, at funerals and ancestor-worship, as well as at the various ceremonies which had to be performed by the herdsman for the prosperity of the cattle and by the farmer for the growth of the fruits of the field. The Indians call these ceremonies, mostly also connected with sacrifices, "*gṛhyakarmaṇī*," *i.e.* "domestic ceremonies." Concerning these the Gṛhyasūtras, which will be mentioned later, give us detailed information. At the sacrifices which this domestic cult required, the householder himself, who was assisted at most by *one single priest*, the "Brahman," occupied the position of the sacrificial priest.[1]) So far as these sacrifices were burnt offerings, the *one fire* of the domestic hearth served as the altar for their presentation. Beside these sacrifices, which every pious Aryan, whether poor or rich, whether aristocratic or humble, performed according to ancient usage, there were also great sacrificial feasts—especially in connection with the Soma-cult relating to Indra, the god of the warriors,—which could only be celebrated by the aristocratic and wealthy, more especially by the kings. On an extensive sacrificial place set up according to firmly established rules, altars were erected for the *three sacred fires*, which were necessary at every sacrifice of this kind, and a multitude of priests, headed by *four chief priests*, were occupied with the performance of the innumerable, extremely intricate rites and ceremonies required for such a sacrifice. The Yajamāna or "sacrificer," the prince or great man, who offered the sacrifice, had very little to do; his chief duty lay in giving the priests a liberal payment for the sacrifice (dakṣiṇā). No wonder that the Brahmans selected these sacrifice-ceremonies, by which they gained the most, as the

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[1]) Āśvalāyana—Gṛhyasūtra I, 3, 6: The appointment of a Brahman is optional at domestic sacrifices. Goohila-Gṛhyasūtra I, 9, 8 f. The Brahman is the only priest at the Pākayajñas (*i.e.* the "simple sacrifices" of the domestic cult); the sacrificer himself is the Hotar (the priest who recites the verses).

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subject of enthusiastic study, that they developed a regular science of sacrifice, which is set forth in those texts with which we shall become acquainted as Brāhmaṇas, and which form an essential part of the *Śruti*, the "Revelation," *i.e.* of that literature to which, in the course of time, divine origin has been ascribed. These sacrifices, therefore, were called *śrauta-karmāṇi*," "ceremonies based upon Śruti," in contrast to the domestic (gṛhya) ceremonies, which are based only upon *Smṛti*, "memory," *i.e.* tradition, and possess no divine authority.

Now the four chief priests who were occupied with the Śrauta sacrifices are: (1) The *Hotar* or "caller," who recites the verses (ṛcaḥ) of the hymns in order to praise the gods and invite them to the sacrifice; (2) the *Udgātar* or "singer," who accompanies the preparation and presentation of the sacrifices, especially of the Soma libations, with chants (sāman); (3) the *Adhvaryu* or "executor of the sacrifice," who performs all the sacrificial acts, at the same time muttering the prose prayers and sacrifice formulae (yajus), and (4) the *Brahman* or high priest, whose office it is to protect the sacrifice from harm. For every sacred act, therefore, every sacrifice too is, according to the Indian view, exposed to a certain amount of danger; if an act is not performed exactly in accordance with the ritualistic prescription, if a spell or a prayer formula is not spoken correctly, or if a melody is sung incorrectly, then the sacred act may bring destruction upon the originator of the sacrifice. Therefore the Brahman sits in the south of the place of sacrifice, in order to protect the sacrifice: the south being the haunt of the god of death, and the haunt from which the demons hostile to the sacrifice, threaten the people. He follows the course of the whole sacrifice mentally, and as soon as he notices the least mistake in a sacrificial act, in a recitation or in a chant, he must, by pronouncing sacred words, make good the harm. Therefore the Brahman is called in an old text "the best

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physician among the sacrificial priests." [1] But in order to be able to fulfil this office the Brahman must be "full of the veda"; he fulfils his office as sacrificial priest "with the threefold knowledge," *i.e.* by means of his knowledge of the three Vedas, which puts him in the position of being able instantly to detect every error.[2]

On the other hand, the three other priests need only know *one* Veda each. The verses with which the Hotar calls the gods to the sacrifice, the so-called "verses of invitation" (anuvākyās), and the verses with which he accompanies the gifts, the so-called "verses of sacrifice" (yājyās), the Hotar takes from the Ṛgveda. He must also know the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā, *i.e.* he must have memorized it, in order to compile out of it the so-called Śastras or "songs of praise" which he had to recite at the Soma sacrifice. Thus the Ṛgveda Saṃhitā stands in a certain relationship to the hotar, although it is in no wise collected or arranged for the purposes of this priest.

However, to the Soma-sacrifice belong not only the songs of praise *recited* by the hotar, but also so-called stotras or "songs of praise," which are *sung* by the udgātar and his assistants.[3] Such stotras consist of song-stanzas, *i.e.* stanzas (ṛcah) which had been made the bearers of certain melodies (sāman). These melodies, as well as the song-verses with which they were connected, were learnt by the udgātar-priests

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[1]) Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa—XIV, 2, 2, 19. *Cf.* Chāndogya-Upaniṣad IV, 17, 8 f.

[2]) Aitareya-Āraṇyaka, III, 2, 3, 6. Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa XI, 5, 8, 7. Only at a later period was the Brahman brought into relationship with the *Atharvaveda*, so that the Atharvaveda was sometimes actually called "Brahmaveda" or "the Veda of the Brahman" and the adherents of the Atharvaveda declared that the Brahman must be a knower of the Atharvaveda-Samhitā. In reality the office of the Brahman at the Śrauta-sacrifice has nothing to do with the Atharvaveda. However, we can understand that the two were connected with each other. For, if the Brahman, as remarked above, officiated as the only priest at Gṛhya-sacrifices, he certainly had to be familiar with the benedictions which occur, for the most part, in the Atharvaveda.

[3]) In fact the chants (stotras) come *first*, and then the recitations (Śastras).

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in the schools of the *Sāmaveda*, and the Sāmaveda-Saṃhitās are nothing but collections of texts which have been collected for the uses of the udgātars, not for their own sake, but because of the melodies the bearers of which they were.

Finally, the Adhvaryu-priest, at his innumerable sacrificial rites, has to utter, in low voice, partly short prose formulae, partly longer prayers in prose and verse—the prose formulae and prayers are called *yajus* (plur. yajūṃsi), the verses ṛc (plur. ṛcah).[1] In the Saṃhitās of the *Yajurveda* all these prose formulae and prayers, mostly accompanied by rules and discussions on the sacrificial acts at which they are to be uttered, are collected for the purposes of the Adhvaryu-priest, in the order in which they were used at the sacrifices.

We now turn to the discussion of the liturgical Saṃhitās, as, according to what has just been stated, we may call the Saṃhitās of the Sāmaveda and the Yajurveda, in contrast to those of the Ṛgveda and the Atharvaveda.

The Sāmveda-Saṃhitā.

Of the many Saṃhitās of the Sāmaveda which are said to have existed once—the Purāṇas even speak of a thousand Saṃhitās—,[2] only three have come down to us.[3] The best known of these, the Sāmaveda-Saṃhitā of the Kauthumas,[4]

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[1]) The Hotar *recites* the hymns, *i.e.* he repeats them aloud in a kind of sing-song, the udgātar *sings* the songs of praise to certain melodies, the adhvaryu *mutters* the prayers. Only the "Nigadas," a variation of the Yajus-formulae, which serve the purpose of summoning the other priests to their various occupations, naturally had to be uttered loudly by the adhvaryu.

[2]) Later authors also speak of a thousand schools of the Sāmaveda. Cf. R. *Simon*, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der vedischen Schulen (Kiel 1889), pp. 27, 30 f.

[3]) The Saṃhitā of the Rāṇayanīyas has been edited and translated by J. *Stevenson*, London, 1842; that of the Kauthumas by Th. *Benfey*, Leipzig, 1848, and by Satyavrata Sāmaśramin, Bibl. Ind., 1871 ff. The Jaiminīya-Saṃhitā has been edited by W. *Caland* (Indische Forschungen, 2, Breslau 1907).

[4]) About this and the other two Saṃhitās see *Caland*, l.c., Introduction. See also *Oldenberg*, GGA, 1908, 711 ff.

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consists of two parts, the Ārcika or the "verse-collection" and the Uttarārcika, the "second verse-collection." Both parts consist of verses, which nearly all recur in the Ṛgveda. Of the 1810—or, if we subtract the repetitions, 1549—verses, which are contained in the two parts together, all but 75 are also found in the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā and, mostly in Books VIII and IX of the latter. Most of these verses are composed in Gāyatrī metre or in Pragātha stanzas which are made up of Gāyatrī and Jagatī lines, and doubtless the stanzas and songs composed in these metres were from the beginning intended for singing.[1] The seventy-five verses which do not occur in the Ṛgveda, are partly found in other Saṃhitās, partly in various works on ritual; some may be taken from a recension unknown to us, but some are only pieced together out of sundry verses of the Ṛgveda without any proper meaning. Some of the verses of the Ṛgveda met with in the Sāmaveda offer divergent readings, and it has been believed that a more ancient text might be recognized in them. But Theodor Aufrecht,[2] has already shown that the divergent readings of the Sāmaveda are due only to arbitrary, intentional or accidental alterations—alterations such as also occur elsewhere where words are prepared for music. For in the Sāmaveda, in the Ārcika as well as in the Uttarārcika, the text is only a means to an end. The essential element is always the melody, and the purpose of *both* parts is that of teaching the melodies. The scholar, who wished to be trained as an udgātar-priest in the schools of the Sāmaveda, had first to learn the melodies: this was done with the aid of the Ārcika; then only could he

[1]) This is proved by the very names "Gāyatrī" and "Pragātha," which are derived from the verb "gā" (resp. pragā) "to sing." See H. *Oldenberg*, ZDMG, 38, 1884, 439 ff., 464 ff.

[2]) In the preface to his edition of the hymns of the Ṛgveda (2nd ed., Bonn 1877) II, pp. xxxviii ff. See also J. *Brune*, Zur Textkritik der dem Samaveda mit dem achten Maṇḍala des Ṛgveda gemeinsamen Stellen, Diss, Kiel, 1909, who comes to the same conclusion as *Aufrecht*, l.c., and *Oldenberg*, Hymnen des Rigveda I, pp. 289 f.

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memorize the stotras as they were sung at the sacrifice, for which purpose the Uttarārcika served.

The first part of our Sāmaveda-Saṃhitā, the Ārcika, consists of five hundred and eighty-five single stanzas (ṛc) to which the various melodies (sāman) belong, which were used at the sacrifice. The word *sāman*, although frequently used for the designation of the text which had been either made or destined for singing, means originally only "tune" or "melody." As we say that a verse is sung "to a certain tune," thus the Indians say the reverse: This or that melody (sāman) is "sung upon a particular stanza." The Vedic theologians, however, conceive the relationship of melody and stanza in such a way that they say, the melody has *originated* out of the stanza. The stanza (ṛc) is therefore called the Yoni, *i.e.* "the womb," out of which the melody came forth. And although naturally a stanza can be sung to various melodies, and one melody can be used for different stanzas, yet there are certain stanzas, which as a rule, may be considered as the texts—the "yonis," as the Indian technical term goes—for certain melodies. The Arcika, then, is nothing but a collection of five hundred and eighty-five "yonis" or single stanzas, which are sung to about double the number of different tunes.[1] It may be compared to a song-book, in which only the text of the *first stanza* of each song is given as an aid to the recollection of the tune.

The Uttarārcika, the second part of the Sāmaveda-Saṃhitā, consists of four hundred chants, mostly of three stanzas each,[2] out of which the stotras which are sung at the chief sacrifices are formed. While in the Arcika the stanzas are arranged partly according to the metre, partly according to

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[1]) See *Oldenberg*, GGA, 1908, 712 A.

[2]) 287 songs consist of 3 verses each, 66 of 2 each, 13 of one verse, 10 of 6 each, 9 of four each, 4 of 5 each, 3 of 9 each, the same number of 10 each, 2 of 7 each, and the same number of 12 each, and one song consists of 8 verses.

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the gods to which they are addressed (in the sequence: Agni, Indra, Soma), the chants in the Uttarārcika are arranged according to the order of the principal sacrifices.[1] A stotra then, consists of several, usually three stanzas, which are all sung to the same tune, namely to one of the tunes which the Ārcika teaches. We may compare the Uttarārcika to a song-book in which the complete text of the songs is given, while it is presumed that the melodies are already known. It is usually assumed that the Uttarārcika is of later origin than the Ārcika.[2] In favour of this assumption is the fact that the Ārcika contains many "yonis," therefore also many melodies, which do not occur at all in the chants of the Uttarārcika, and that the Uttarārcika also contains some songs for which the Ārcika teaches no melody. On the other hand, however, the Uttarārcika is an essential completion of the Arcika: the latter is as it were, the first, the former the second course in the instruction of the udgātar.

Both parts of the Samhitā give us only the texts as they are *spoken*. The *melodies* themselves, in any case in the earliest times, were taught by oral, and probably also instrumental rendering. Of later origin are the so-called Gānas or "song-books" proper (from gā "to sing"), which designate the melodies by means of musical notes, and in which the texts are drawn up in the form which they take in singing, *i.e.* with all the extensions of syllables, repetitions and interpolations of syllables and even of whole words—the so-called "stobhas," as hoyi, hūva, hōi, and so on, which are partly not unlike our huzzas and other shouts of

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[1]) On the stotras of the Sāmaveda and their use at the sacrifice, see A. *Hillebrandt*, Rituallitteratur, "Grundriss," III, 2, pp. 99 ff.

[2]) *Caland* (De wording van den Sāmaveda, Amsterdam (Akad.), 1907; Die Jaiminīya-Samhitā, pp. 4 f. and WZKM, 22, 1908, 436 ff.) endeavours to prove that the Uttarārcika is older. *Oldenberg*, GGA, 1908, 713, 722, disputes this on good grounds. For the question of the origin of the Sāmaveda, see *Caland*, Eene unbekende Recencie van den Sāmaveda, Amsterdam (Akad.), 1905.

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joy. The oldest notation is probably that by means of syllables, as ta, co, ṇa, etc. More frequent, however, is the designation of the seven notes by means of the figures 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7, with which the F, E, D, C, B, A, G, of our scale correspond. When singing, the priests emphasize these various notes by means of movements of the hands and the fingers.[1] There are, attached to the Arcika, a Grāmageyagāna ("book of songs to be sung in the village" and an Araṇyagāna ("book of forest songs"). In the latter those melodies were collected, which were considered as dangerous (taboo), and therefore had to be learnt in the forest, not in the village.[2] There are also two other books of songs, the Uhagāna and the Uhyagāna. These were composed for the purpose of giving the Sāmans in the order in which they were employed at the ritual, the Uhagāna being connected with the Grāmageyagāna, the Uhyagāna with the Āranyagāna.[3]

The number of known melodies must have been a very large one,[4] and already at a very early period every melody had a special name. Not only are they often mentioned by these names in the ritual-books, but various symbolical meanings are also ascribed to them, and they play no insignificant part in the symbolism and mysticism of the Brāhmaṇas, Âraṇyakas and Upaniṣads, especially a few of them, such as the two melodies "Bṛhat" and "Rathantara," which already appear in the Ṛgveda. The priests and theologians certainly did not invent all these melodies themselves. The oldest of them were presumably popular melodies, to which in very early times semi-religious songs were sung at solstice

[1]) More details about this the most ancient music of the Indians can be found in A. C. *Burnell*, The Ârsheya Brāhmaṇa ..... of the Sāma Veda (Mangalore 1876), Introd., pp. xxviii, xli-xlviii.

[2]) See W. *Caland*, Die Jaiminīya-Saṃhitā, p. 10; H. *Oldenberg*, GGA, 1908, pp. 722 *f.*

[3]) See *Caland*, Die Jaiminīya-Saṃhitā, pp. 2 ff

[4]) A later author gives the number of Sāmans as 8,000! (R. *Simon*, *loc. cit.*, p. 31.)

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celebrations and other national festivals, and yet others may date back as far as that noisy music with which pre-brahmanical wizard-priests not unlike the magicians, shamans and medicine-men of the primitive peoples—accompanied their wild songs and rites.[1] Traces of this popular origin of the sāman-melodies are seen already in the above-mentioned stobhas or shouts of joy, and especially in the fact that the melodies of the Sāmaveda were looked upon as possessing magic power even as late as in brahmanical times.[2] There is a ritual-book belonging to the Sāmaveda, called Sāmavidhāna-Brāhmaṇa, the second part of which is a regular handbook of magic, in which the employment of various Sāmans for magic purposes is taught. We may also see a survival of the connection of the Sāman-melodies with the pre-brahmanical popular belief and magic, in the fact that the brahmanical law-books teach that the recitation of the Ṛgveda and the Yajurveda must be interrupted as soon as the sound of a sāman is heard. Especially distinct is the rule in Āpastamba's law book,[3] where the barking of dogs, the braying of donkeys, the howling of wolves and jackals, the hooting of the owl, the sound of musical instruments, weeping, *and the tone of sāmans* are enumerated as sounds at which the Veda-study must be interrupted.

Thus, then, the Sāmaveda-Saṃhitā is not without value

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[1]) See A. *Hillebrandt*, Die Sonnwendfeste in Alt-Indien (Sep. aus der Festschrift für Konrad Hofmann), Erlangen 1889, pp. 22 ff. 34 ff., M. *Bloomfield*, The god Indra and the Sāma-veda, in WZKM, 17, 1903, pp. 156 ff.

[2]) The primary meaning of *Sāman* is probably "propitiatory song," "a means for appeasing gods and demons." The word sāman also occurs in the sense of "mildness, soothing words." In the older literature, when the Sāmaveda is quoted, it is usually with the words; "The Chandogas say." Chandoga means "Chandas-singer," and *chandas* combines in itself the meanings "magic song," "sacred text" and "metre." The fundamental meaning of the word must be something like "rhythmical speech"; it might be connected with the root chand "to please, to satisfy, or to cause to please," (*cf.* chanda, "pleasing, alluring, inviting").

[3]) 1, 3, 10, 19.

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for the history of Indian sacrifice and magic, and the gānas attached to it are certainly very important for the history of Indian music,[1] even though as yet in no way exploited for this purpose. As a literary production, however, this Saṃhitā is practically worthless for us.

The Saṃhitās of the Yajurveda.

Just as the Sāmaveda-Saṃhitā is the song-book of the udgātar, so the Yajurveda-Saṃhitās are the *prayer-books* for the Adhvaryu priest. The grammarian Patañjali[2] speaks of "101 schools of the Veda of the Adhvaryus," and it is conceivable that many schools of just this Veda existed; for with reference to the separate sacrificial acts, such as the Adhvaryu had to execute and accompany with his prayers, differences of opinion and sectarian divisions could easily arise, which led to the formation of special manuals and prayer-books. The least deviation in the ceremonial or in the liturgy was sufficient cause for the formation of a new Vedic school. Up to the present we know the following five Saṃhitās and schools of the Yajurveda:

1. The Kāṭhaka, the Yajurveda-Saṃhitā in the recension of the Kaṭha-school.[3]

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[1]) *Oldenberg* concludes his investigations of the Sāmaveda (GGA, 1908, 734) with the remark that these literary investigations "after all only touch upon the problems lying on the surface of the Sāmaveda"; for, in order to penetrate to greater depths, the philologist would have to be a student of the history of music as well. Since then we have gained an idea of the present-day mode of reciting the Sāmans in E. *Felber* (Die indische Musik der vedischen und der klassischen Zeit, mit Texten und Uebersetzungen von B. Geiger, SWA, 1912), based on the records of the Phonogramm-Archiv of the Vienna Academy. It is still doubtful, however, whether this necessarily teaches us how the ancient Udgātars sang 3,000 years ago. See also R. *Simon*, Die Notationen der vedischen Lieder-bücher (WZKM, 27, 1913, 305 ff.).

[2]) In the Introduction to his Mahābhāṣya.

[3]) Edited by L. v. *Schroeder*, Leipzig, 1900-1910, Index Verborum by R. *Simon*, 1912. For the contents of the Kāṭhaka see A. *Weber*, Ind. Stud. 3,451 ff.; for the text and its interpretation s. *Keith*, JRAS, 1910, 517 ff.; 1912, 1095 ff.; *Caland*, ZDMG, 72, 1918, 12 ff.

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2. The Kapiṣṭhala-Kaṭha-Saṃhitā, which is preserved only in a few fragments of manuscript.[1]

3. The Maitrāyaṇī-Saṃhitā, *i.e.* the Yajurveda-Saṃhitā in the recension of the Maitrāyaṇīya school.[2]

4. The Taittirīya-Saṃhitā, *i.e.* the Yajurveda-Saṃhitā in the recension of the Taittirīya school, also called "Āpastamba-Saṃhitā" after the Apastamba-school, one of the chief schools in which this text was taught.[3]

These four recensions are closely inter-related, and are designated as belonging to the "Black Yajurveda." Differing from them is

5. The Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā or the Saṃhitā of the "White Yajurveda," which takes its name from Yājñavalkya Vājasaneya, the chief teacher of this Veda. Of this Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā there are two recensions, that of the Kāṇva and that of the Mādhyandina-school, which however, differ very little from each other.[4]

The chief difference between the Saṃhitās of the "black" and the "white" Yajurveda lies in the fact that the Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā contains only the Mantras, *i.e.* the prayers and sacrificial formulæ which the priest has to utter, while the Saṃhitās of the Black Yajurveda, besides the Mantras, contain a presentation of the sacrificial rites belonging to them, as well as discussions on the same. That is to say, in the Saṃhitās of the Black Yajurveda there is that which

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[1]) See L. v. *Schroeder*, WZKM, 12, 362 f.

[2]) Edited by L. v. *Schroeder*, Leipzig, 1881-1886. Numerous passages from this Saṃhitā have been translated into German by L. *v. Schroeder*, Indiens Literatur und Kultur, Leipzig 1887, pp. 110-162. See also Schroeder, ZDMG, 33, 1879, 177 ff.; *Caland*, ZDMG, 72, 1918, 6 ff.

[3]) Edited by A. *Weber* in Ind. Stud. Vols. 11 and 12, 1871-72; with Sâyaṇa's commentary in Bibl. Ind., 1860-1899, and in Ān SS Nr. 42; translated into English by A. B. *Keith*, HOS, Vols. 18, 19, 1914.

[4]) Ed. by A. *Weber* (The White Yajurveda, Part I, The Vâjasaneyi-Saṃhitâ..... with the Commentary of Mahîdhara, Berlin-London 1852). Translated into English by R. T. H. *Griffith* (The Texts of the White Yajurveda), Benares, 1899.

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is called "Brāhmaṇa" or "theological discussion," and which forms the contents of the Brāhmaṇas to be discussed in the next chapter, mixed with the Mantras. Now it is easily conceivable that in the prayer-books intended for the use of the Adhvaryus, the sacrificial rites themselves too were discussed, for these priests had above all to perform the separate sacrificial acts, and the muttering of prayers and formulas in the closest connection with these acts formed only a small part of their duties. It can therefore hardly be doubted that the Saṃhitās of the Black Yajurveda are *older* than the Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā. Only later systematizers among the Yajurveda-theologians probably felt the necessity of having a Saṃhitā consisting only of Mantras analogous to the other Vedas, as well as a Brāhmaṇa separate from it.[1]

Significant, however, though the differences between the single Saṃhitās of the Yajurveda may have been for the priests and theologians of ancient India, yet for us they are quite inessential; and also as to time the various Saṃhitās of the Black and White Yajurveda are probably not very distant from each other. If, therefore, in the following lines I give a short description of the contents of the Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā, then this is quite sufficient to give the reader an idea of the contents and character of the Saṃhitās of the Yajurveda in general.

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[1]) It is usually assumed that the name "White" Yajurveda means "clear, well-arranged" Yajurveda, and that it indicates the clear distinction between sacrificial utterances and explanations of ritual in the same, while "black" Yajurveda means "unarranged" Yajurveda. This explanation, emanating from Indian commentators, seems very improbable to me. But already in Śatap. Br. XIV, 9, 4, 33 (*cf.* IV, 4, 5, 19) the "white sacrificial utterances" (Śuklāni yajūṃṣi) are called *ādityāni*, "revealed by the *sun*"; and the Purāṇas, too, relate that Yājñavalkya received new sacrificial utterances from the *sun* (Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, III, 5). I believe that the "*white* Yajurveda" owes its name to this connection with the sun. In contrast to this the older Yajurveda was then called the "black" one. It is most improbable "that the Saṃhitā of the white Yajurveda is most closely related to the original form of the Veda of the Adhvaryu," as Pischel thinks, KG, 172. *Cf. Keith*, HOS, Vol. 18, pp. lxxxv ff, on the mutual relationship of the Saṃhitās of the Yajurveda.

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The Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā consists of 40 sections, of which, however, the last 15 (perhaps even the last 22) are of later date. The first 25 sections contain the prayers for the most important great sacrifices. The first two sections give the prayers for the New and Full Moon sacrifices (Darśapūrṇamāsa) with the oblation to the Fathers (Piṇḍapitṛyajña) belonging to them. In the third section follow the prayers for the daily fire-cult, the laying of the fire, and the fire-sacrifices which have to be offered every morning and evening (Agnihotra), and the Sacrifices of the Seasons (Cāturmāsya) which take place every four months. The prayers for the Soma-sacrifice in general,[1] including the animal-sacrifice belonging to it, are to be found in sections IV to VIII. Among the Soma-sacrifices there are such as last *one* day, and such as last several days. To the one-day sacrifices belongs the Vājapeya or "Drink of Strength," a sacrifice offered originally probably only by warriors and kings, which was connected with a chariot-race, and at which, besides Soma, brandy (surā) also was offered, a drink otherwise proscribed according to brahmanical law.[2] Intended exclusively for kings is the "King's inauguration sacrifice" or Rājasūya, a sacrificial feast connected with many a popular usage: a symbolical military expedition, a play at dice, and all sorts of magic rites. The prayers for these two kinds of Soma-sacrifices are contained in sections IX and X. Then in sections XI to XVIII follow the numerous prayers and sacrificial formulæ for the Agnicayana or the "Building of

[1]) The sacrifices of the Ancient Indians fall into two great sub-divisions: *food sacrifices* (in which principally milk, butter, cake, pulp and grain were offered) and *Soma sacrifices* (whose chief component part is the soma-libations). The separate sacrifices may be classed under these two chief groups. The *animal sacrifice* is connected with sacrifices of the first division, as well as those of the second. In connection with every kind of sacrifice is the *fire-cult*, which is, to a certain extent, the preliminary of every kind of worship of the gods.

[2]) According to the law books, the drinking of brandy is as great a sin as the murder of a Brahman.

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the Fire Altar," a ceremony which extends over a whole year, and to which a deep mystical-symbolical meaning is ascribed in the Brāhmaṇas. The fire-altar is named no other than "Agni" and is looked upon throughout as identical with the fire-god. It is built of 10,800 bricks, in the form of a large bird with outspread wings. In the lowest stratum of the altar the heads of five sacrificial animals are immured, and the bodies of the animals are thrown into the water out of which the clay for the manufacture of the bricks and the fire-pan is taken. The modelling and baking of the fire-pan and the separate bricks, many of which have special names and a symbolical significance of their own, is executed with much ceremoniousness accompanied by the continuous recitation of spells and prayer-formulæ. The following sections XIX to XXI give the prayers for the Sautrāmaṇī celebration, a remarkable sacrificial ceremony at which again, instead of the drink of soma, brandy is used and sacrificed to the Aśvins, to the goddess Sarasvatī and to Indra. The ceremony is recommended for one who has drunk too much Soma or with whom the Soma does not agree—and that may have been its original purpose—but also for a Brahman who desires success for himself, for a banished king who desires to regain his throne, for a warrior who desires victory, and for a Vaiśya who wishes to attain great riches. Many of the prayers belonging to this sacrifice refer to the legend of Indra, who was indisposed through intoxication from excessive enjoyment of Soma and had to be cured by the Aśvins and by Sarasvatī.[1] Finally, sections XXII to XXV, with which the old part of the Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā ends, contain the prayers for the great Horse sacrifice (Aśvamedha), which only a powerful king, a mighty conqueror or "world-ruler," might offer. Old legends and epic poems tell of primeval kings, who performed this sacrifice, and it is looked upon as

[1]) *Cf.* above, p. 85.

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the highest glory of a ruler, if it can be said of him: "He offered the Horse-sacrifice." The purpose of this great sacrifice is expressed very beautifully in the prayer Vāj. Saṃh., XXII, 22:

"O Brahman! May in this kingdom the Brahmin be born who shines through sacred knowledge! May the warrior who is a hero, a skilful shot, a good marksman, and a powerful chariot-fighter, be born here! Also the cow which yields good milk, the ox which draws well, the swift horse, the good housewife! May to this sacrificer a hero-son be born who is victorious, a mighty chariot-fighter and eloquent in the assembly! May Parjanya send us rain according to our desire! May our fruit-bearing plants ripen! May happiness and prosperity fall to our share!"

That the last fifteen sections are of later origin is not to be doubted. Sections XXVI to XXXV are designated even by Indian tradition itself as Khilas, *i.e.* "appendices," "supplements." Actually XXVI to XXIX contain only appendices to the prayers of the preceding sections. Section XXX is shown to be an addition even through the fact that it contains no prayers, but only an enumeration of the people who are to be sacrificed at the Puruṣamedha or "Human sacrifice" to the most diverse divine beings or to beings and powers for the moment elevated to divinity. No less than one hundred and eighty-four persons are to be slaughtered at this Puruṣamedha, there being offered, to give only a few examples, "to Priestly Dignity a Brahmin, to Royal Dignity a warrior, to the Maruts a Vaiśya, to Asceticism a Śūdra, to Darkness a thief, to Hell a murderer, to Evil a eunuch.....to Lust a harlot, to Noise a singer, to Dancing a bard, to Singing an actor.....to Death a hunter.....to the Dice a gambler .....to Sleep a blind man, to Injustice a deaf man.....to Lustre a fire-lighter.....to Sacrifice a washerwoman, to Desire a female dyer.....to Yama a barren woman.....to the Joy of Festival a lute-player, to Cry a flute-player... to

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Earth a cripple.....to Heaven a bald-headed man," and so on. Surely it is hardly conceivable that all these classes of people should have been brought together and killed. We have to deal here probably only with a symbolical rite representing a kind of "human sacrifice" by which even the great horse-sacrifice was to be outdone, but which probably existed only as part of sacrificial mysticism and theory, and in reality hardly occurred.[1] With this agrees also the fact that section XXXI contains a version of the Puruṣasūkta, known to us from the Ṛgveda—*i.e.* of the hymn Ṛv. X, 90, in which the origin of the world through the sacrificing of the Puruṣa and the identification of the world with the Puruṣa are taught, Puruṣa, "Man," being conceived as the Highest Being,—and that this section, which the Brahman is to recite at the Puruṣa-medha, is also called an Upaniṣad, *i.e.* a secret doctrine. Section XXXII, too, is in form and contents nothing but an Upaniṣad. The Creator Prajāpati is here identified with the Puruṣa and the Brahman. The first six verses of section XXXIV are similarly counted amongst the Upaniṣads, with the title Śivasaṃkalpa-Upaniṣad.[2] The prayers of sections XXXII to XXXIV are to be employed at the so-called Sarvamedha or "All-sacrifice." This is the highest sacrifice which exists at all, and which ends with the sacrificer's presenting the whole of his possessions to the priests as sacrificial fee and then retiring as a hermit into the forest there

[1]) So also *Oldenberg*, Religion des Veda, 2nd Ed., pp. 362 f. and *Keith*, HOS., Vol. 18, pp. cxxxviii, who says: "There can be no doubt that the ritual is a mere priestly invention to fill up the apparent gap in the sacrificial system which provided no place for man." *Hillebrandt* (Rituallitteratur, Grundriss III, 2, pp.153), however, considers the Puruṣamedha to be a real human sacrifice. There can be no doubt that human sacrifices occurred in ancient India, though not in the Brahmanical cult—only survivals of it can be traced in the rite of building the brick-altar for the fire, and in the Śunaḥśepa legend—, just as cruel human sacrifices occurred even in modern times among certain sects. But this does not prove that the Puruṣamedha was such a sacrifice.

[2]) Vāj. Saṃh. 34, 1-6, is found as an Upaniṣad in the Oupnekhat of Duperron, and translated by *Deussen*, Sechzig Upanishads des Veda, p. 837. See above pp. 19 f.

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to spend the rest of his days. Section XXXV contains a few funeral verses, which are mostly taken from the Ṛgveda. Sections XXXVI to XXXIX contain the prayers for the ceremony called Pravargya, at which a cauldron is made red-hot on the sacrificial fire, to represent symbolically the sun; in this cauldron milk is then boiled and offered to the Aśvins. The whole celebration is regarded as a great mystery. At the end of it the sacrificial utensils are so arranged that they represent a man: the milk-pots are the head, on which a tuft of sacred grass represents the hair; two milking-pails represent the ears, two little gold leaves the eyes, two cups the heels, the flour sprinkled over the whole the marrow, a mixture of milk and honey the blood, and so on. The prayers and formulae naturally correspond with the mysterious ceremonies.[1] The XL and last section of the Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā again contains an Upaniṣad, the very important Īśā-Upaniṣad, occurring in all Upaniṣad-collections, to which we shall have to refer in the chapter on the Upaniṣads.

If it is already clear from the contents of the last sections that they are of a later date, it is confirmed still more by the fact that the prayers contained in the Saṃhitās of the *Black Yajurveda* only correspond to those of the first half of the Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā.[2]

Now as regards the prayers and sacrificial formulae themselves, which form the principal contents of the Yajurveda-Saṃhitās, they consist partly of verses (ṛc), partly of prose sentences. It is the latter which are called "Yajus," and from which the Yajurveda takes its name. The prose of these prayers is occasionally rhythmical and here and there

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[1]) For details about all these sacrifices and festivals see *Hillebrandt*, "Ritual-literatur (Grundriss, III, 2), pp. 97-166; H. *Oldenberg*, Religion des Veda, 2nd Ed., pp. 437-474; E. *Hardy*, Die vedisch-brahmanische periode der Religion des ältesten Indiens, Münster i. W., 1893, pp. 154 ff. and *Keith*, HOS., Vol. 18, pp. ciii ff.

[2]) Only the first 18 Adhyāyas of the Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā are completely given, word for word, and explained, in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa of the White Yajurveda.

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even rises to poetical flight.[1] The verses which occur are mostly found also in the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā. The various readings, however, which the Yajurveda often presents, are not indeed more ancient than the text found in the Ṛgveda, but they are mostly intentional alterations which were made in the verses, in order to bring them more into line with the sacrificial acts. Only rarely were whole hymns of the Ṛgveda included in the Yajurveda-Saṃhitās; mostly they are only single verses, torn from their context, which just appeared suitable to some sacrificial ceremony or other, and were therefore included in the Veda of prayers. Therefore these verses are of less interest to us. The characteristic element of the Yajurveda is the prose formulae and prayers.[2]

The simplest prayer that we can imagine is the dedication of a sacrificial gift with the mere utterance of the name of the deity to which it is offered. Formulae of this kind are very numerous in the Yajurveda. "Thee for Agni," "thee for Indra," or "this for Agni," or also "for Agni Hail!" "for Indra Hail!" etc.—with such words the gift is laid down or thrown into the sacred fire. A shorter and simpler song of praise to a god can hardly be imagined than the words with which every morning and every evening the fire-sacrifice consisting of milk (Agnihotra) is offered: "Agni is Light, Light is Agni, Hail!" (in the evening), and "Sūrya is Light, Light is Sūrya, Hail!" (in the morning). In equally brief words the purpose of a sacred act is often indicated, when, for instance, the sacrificial priest cuts off the branch with which the calves are driven from the cows, and says at the same time: "Thee for juice, thee for

[1]) See *Keith*, HOS., Vol. 18, pp. cxl ff., and H. *Oldenberg*, Zur Geschichte der altindischen Prosa (AGGW. N.F., Bd. 16, Berlin, 1917), pp. 2 ff. On the language of the Yajns.

[2]) We also take no account here of the Brāhmaṇa-like theological explanations which the Saṃhitās of the *Black* Yajurveda contain besides the prayers and formulæ. What is said in the following chapter about the Brāhmaṇas is applicable to these too.

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strength!" or the utensil which served for a sacred act is briefly named and a wish attached to it, when, for instance, the piece of wood with which the sacrificial fire is to be kindled, is dedicated with the words: "This, Agni, is thy igniter; through it mayst Thou grow and thrive. May we also grow and thrive!" If one apprehends evil or bad magic from an object used at the sacrifice, a short spell serves to avert it. The halter with which the sacrificial animal is bound to the stake, is addressed thus: "Become no snake, become no viper!" The razor with which the sacrificer, when he is consecrated for the sacrifice, has his beard shaved, is thus addressed by the priest: "O Knife, do not injure him!" At the consecration of a king, the king looks down upon the ground and prays: "Mother Earth, mayest Thou not injure me, nor I Thee!"[1]

The deities are not always invoked or praised in these sacrifice-formulæ, but in the most diverse ways sacrificial utensils and sacrificial acts are brought into relation to deities. Thus, for example, the priest binds with a rope the sacrificer's wife who takes part in the sacrifice, saying: "A girdle thou art for Aditi." At the consecration for the Soma-sacrifice the sacrificer binds himself with a girdle of hemp and reed-grass with the words: "Thou art the strength of the Aṅgiras,[2] soft as wool; lend me strength!" Then he makes a knot in his under-garment and says: "The knot of the Soma art thou." Hereupon he enwraps his head in his turban (or in his upper garment) muttering: "Thou art Viṣṇu's protection, the protection of the sacrificer." To the horn of a black antelope, which he wraps up in the hem of his garment he says: "Thou art Indra's womb." The priest takes the sacrificial food from the car with the words: "Thou art the body of Agni, thee for Viṣṇu. Thou art the body of

[1]) Vāj. IV, 1. VI, 12. 11, 14. I, 1. III, 9. X, 23.

[2]) The ancient fire and magic-priests, conceived as semi-divine beings.

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the Soma, thee for Viṣṇu." When the priest takes any sacrificial utensil into his hand, he does it with the oft-recurring formula: "At the god Savitar's instigation I take thee with the arms of the Aśvins, with the hands of Pūṣan." [1]

The sacred sacrificial fire must be twirled in the ancient manner with the fire-drill; [2] and the producing of the fire is already in the Ṛgveda compared with the process of procreation, the lower small board being regarded as the mother, and the upper friction-stick as the father of the child Agni (the fire).[3] Thus are explained the formulæ with which the fire-twirling is performed at the Soma-sacrifice, in which the two friction-sticks are addressed as the pair of lovers, Purūravas and Urvaśī,[4] already known to us, who bring forth Āyu. The priest takes the lower friction-stick with the words: "Thou art the birth-place of Agni," lays two blades of sacred grass upon it, and says: "You are the two testicles." Then he lays the small board down with the words: "Thou art Urvaśī," touches the frying pan with the twirling-stick, saying: "Thou art Āyu," and with the words: "Thou art Purūravas" places the twirling-stick into the lower friction-stick. Thereupon he twirls with the formula: "I twirl thee with the Gāyatrī metre, I twirl thee with the Triṣṭubh metre, I twirl thee with the Jagatī metre." [5]

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[1]) Vāj. I, 30. IV, 10. V, 1. VI, 30.

[2]) This consists of the two "Araṇis" or friction-sticks, of which the one is a small board, the other a pointed stick which is turned round in the small board until a flame results. This is the fire-producing implement still used at the present day by many primitive peoples, *e.g.* the Eskimos,—doubtless one of the most primitive utensils of mankind.

[3]) The Malays of Indonesia still to-day call the small wooden board in which the fire drill is turned, "mother" or "woman," while the twirling-stick itself is called "man." The ancient Arabs, too, had two sticks for producing fire by friction, one of which was conceived as female, and the other as male.

[4]) See above, pp. 103 f.

[5]) Vāj., V. 2. Śatapaṭha-Br. III, 4, 1, 20 ff. *Cf.* Śatapaṭha Br., VIII, 5, 2, 1; *Weber*, Ind. Stud., 8, 1863, pp. 8 ff., 28 ff., and above, pp. 61 f.

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Formula-like turns of this kind, which often convey little or no meaning, are extremely numerous in the Yajur-veda. Comparatively rarely do we come across long prose prayers, in which the sacrificer expresses his desires to the deity in simple words, as in the above-quoted beautiful prayer, which was spoken at the horse-sacrifice. More frequent are the formula-like prayers, which, however, still convey a reasonable meaning, as the following:

"Thou, Agni, art the protector of bodies; protect my body! Thou, Agni, art the giver of life; give me life! Thou, Agni, art the giver of strength, give me strength! Thou, Agni, make complete that which is incomplete in my body." (Vāj, III, 17.)

"May life prosper through the sacrifice! May breath prosper through the sacrifice! May the eye prosper through the sacrifice! May the ear prosper through the sacrifice! May the back prosper through the sacrifice! May the sacrifice prosper through the sacrifice!" (Vāj. IX, 21.)

But still more frequently we find endless formulæ, the meaning of which is very doubtful, for example:

"Agni has gained breath with the mono-syllable; may I gain it! The Aśvins have gained the two-footed people with the two-syllabic, may I gain them! Viṣṇu has gained the three worlds with the three-syllabic, may I gain them! Soma has gained the four-footed cattle with the four-syllabic; may I gain them! Pūṣan has gained the five regions of the world with the five-syllabic; may I gain them! Savitar has gained the six seasons with the six-syllabic; may I gain them! The Maruts have gained the seven tamed animals with the seven-syllabic; may I gain them! Bṛhaspati has gained the Gāyatrī with the eight-syllabic; may I gain it!... ..Aditi has gained the sixteen-fold Stoma with the sixteen-syllabic; may I gain it! Prajāpati has gained the seventeen-fold Stoma with the seventeen-syllabic; may I gain it!" (Vāj., IX, 31-34.)

However, one of the chief causes of the fact that these prayers and sacrifice-formulæ often appear to us to be nothing but senseless conglomerations of words, is the identification and combination of things which have nothing at all to do with

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each other, so very popular in the Yajurveda. For instance, a cooking-pot is placed on the fire with the words:

"Thou art the sky, thou art the earth, thou art the cauldron of Mātariśvan." [1] (Vāj., I, 2.)

Or the cow with which the Soma is bought, is addressed by the priest in the words:

"Thou art thought, thou art mind, thou art intelligence, thou art the priestly fee, thou art suitable for mastery, thou art suitable for the sacrifice, thou art the double-headed Aditi." (Vāj., IV. 19.)

To the fire which is carried about in the pan at the building of the fire-altar the following prayer is addressed:

"Thou art the beautiful-winged bird, the song of praise Trivṛt is thy head, the Gāyatra melody thine eye, the two melodies Bṛhat and Rathantara are thy wings, the song of praise is thy soul, the metres are thy limbs, the Yajus-formulæ thy name, the Vāmadevya-Melody thy body, the Yajñāyajñiya-melody thy tail, the fire-hearths are thy hoofs; thou art the beautiful-winged bird, go to heaven, fly to the light!" (Vāj., XII, 4.)

Then the priest takes three steps with the fire-pan, and says:

"Thou art the rival-slaying stride of Viṣṇu, mount the Gāyatrī metre, stride along the earth! Thou art the foe-slaying stride of Viṣṇu; mount the Triṣṭubh metre, stride along the air! Thou art the hater-slaying stride of Viṣṇu; mount the Jagatī Metre, stride along the sky! Thou art the hostile-slaying stride of Viṣṇu; mount the Anuṣṭubh metre, stride along the regions of the world!" (Vāj., XII, 5.)

With reference to this kind of prayer Leopold von *Schroeder* says: "We may indeed often doubt whether these are the productions of intelligent people, and in this connection it is very interesting to observe that these bare and

[1] Mātariśvan is here the wind-god, hence "the cauldron of M." meaning "atmosphere."

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monotonous variations of one and the same idea are particularly characteristic of the writings of persons in the stage of *imbecility*." He then gives a few examples of notes written down by insane persons which have been preserved by psychiaters, and these do indeed show a striking similarity with many of the prayers of the Yajurveda.[1] We must not forget that here we are not dealing with very ancient popular spells, as we find them in the Atharvaveda and in some cases even still in the Yajurveda, but with the fabrications of priests who had to furnish the countless sacrificial rites subtilised by themselves with equally countless spells and formulæ.

Some prayer-formulæ of the Yajurveda are indeed nothing but magic spells in prose. Even exorcisms and curses, quite similar to those with which we have become acquainted in the Atharvaveda, confront us also among the prayers of the Yajurveda. For there exist also sacrificial acts by which one can injure an enemy. Thus the priest says to the yoke of the car on which the sacrificial utensils are kept: "A yoke thou art, injure the injurer, injure him who injures us, injure him whom we injure." (Vāj., I, 8.)[2]

The following examples of such sacrificial prayers are given by L. von Schroeder,[3] from the Maitrāyaṇī-Saṃhitā:

"Him who is hostile to us, and him who hates us, him who reviles us and him who wishes to injure us, all those shalt thou grind to dust!"

"O Agni, with thy heat, glow out against him who hates us and whom we hate! O Agni, with thy flame, burn against him who hates us and whom we hate! O Agni, with thy ray, radiate against him who hates us and whom we hate. O Agni, with thy powerful strength, seize him who hates us and whom we hate!"

"Death, Destruction, shall seize the rivals!"

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[1]) L. v. *Schroeder*, ILC., pp. 113 f.

[2]) At the same time an example of the play of words, which is very popular in the Yajus-formulæ. The text reads: dhūr asi, dhūrva dhūrvantam, dhūrva taṃ yo'smān dhūrvati, taṃ dhūrva yaṃ dhūrvāmaḥ.

[3]) ILC., p. 122.

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Just as these exorcism-formulæ have a primitive and popular air, so we find among the riddles, which have come down to us in the Yajurveda, besides genuinely theological riddles which well deserve the technical name "Brahmodya," as they presuppose an acquaintance with Brahman or sacred knowledge, also a few old popular riddles.[1] We have already become acquainted with this certainly very ancient literary type in the Ṛgveda and in the Atharvaveda. In the Yajurveda we also learn of the occasions at which the riddle-games were customary, indeed, even formed a part of the cult. Thus we find in the Vājasaneyi-Samhitā in section XXIII,[2] a number of riddles with which the priests amused themselves at the renowned ancient horse sacrifice. A few of these remind us of our juvenile riddles, while others refer to the sacrificial mysticism of the Brāhmaṇas and the philosophy of the Upaniṣads. As examples the riddles of Vāj. XXIII, 45-48, 51, may be quoted:

The Hotar: "Who wanders lonely on his way?
Who is constantly born anew?
What is the remedy for cold?
What is the great corn-vessel called?"

The Adhvaryu: "The sun wanders lonely on its way,
The moon is constantly born anew,
Fire is the remedy for cold,
The earth is the great corn-vessel."

The Adhvaryu: "What is the sun-like light?
What is the ocean-like flood?

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[1]) On the Brahmodyas see *Ludwig*, Der Rigveda. *Koegel*, III, 390 ff. Rud *Kœgel*, Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur, I. 1, 1894, pp. 5, 64 ff includes the Brahmodyas, with which he compares the Old Germanic riddle poetry, in the poetic heritage of the Indo-European period.

[2]) Similarly also in Taittirīya-Saṃhitā, VII, 4, 18.

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And what is greater than the earth ?
What is that of which no measure is known ? "

The Hotar : " Brahman[1] is the sun-like light,
The sky is the ocean-like flood,
And greater than the earth is God Indra,
But it is the cow, of which no measure is known."

The Udgātar : " Into what things has the Puruṣa penetrated ?
And what things are contained in the Puruṣa ?
This riddle, Brahman, I give thee to solve ;
What answer hast thou now to make ? "

The Brahman : " The five, it is, into which the Puruṣa has penetrated,
And these are they which are contained in the Puruṣa.[2]
That is the answer I have thought out for thee ;
In the magic strength of knowledge thou art not above me."

These riddle games form an equally important part of the worship of the gods as the prayers and sacrificial formulæ. However, the term " worship " of the gods expresses but inadequately the purpose of the prayers and formulæ, indeed, of the sacrifices themselves. The majority of the sacrificial ceremonies, as also the Yajus formulæ do not aim at " worshipping " the gods, but at influencing them, at compelling them to fulfil the wishes of the sacrificer. The gods too, love " panem et circenses," they, too, wish to be not only fed, but entertained as well : the Vedic texts very frequently assure us that the gods take a particular pleasure in the mysterious, the enigmatic, the barely hinted-at.[3]

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[1]) This ambiguous word here probably means " the priest-hood," perhaps " the sacred knowledge."

[2]) Puruṣa means " human being," " person " and also " spirit," " universal spirit." " The five " are the five senses, which are contained in the Puruṣa, *i.e.* in the " human being " and are permeated by the Puruṣa, *i.e.* the " universal spirit."

[3]) " The gods love that which is hinted at, the mysterious," is a sentence often recurring in the Brāhmaṇas, *e.g.*, Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, VI, 1, 1, 2 ; 11 ; 2, 3 ; 7, 1, 23, VII, 4.

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In the Yajurveda we find besides, already a mode of influencing the gods which prevailed very largely at later periods, and which consists of enumerating as many names and epithets as possible pertaining to a certain god and of worshipping him under all these names, in order to obtain something from him. Thus, in the later literature we find texts which enumerate a thousand names of Viṣṇu or a thousand names of Śiva, the recital of which is regarded as a particularly effective and meritorious work of devotion. The first beginnings of this kind of prayers we find in the Satarudriya, the enumeration of the hundred names of the god Rudra, in Section XVI of the Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā and in the Taittirīya-Saṃhitā, IV, 5.

Finally, there is yet another kind of "prayers," as we cannot help calling them, with which we meet already in the Yajurveda, and with which also, at later periods, much mischief was done. They are single syllables or words, which convey no meaning at all, or whose meaning has been lost, which are pronounced in the most solemn manner at certain places in the act of sacrifice, and are regarded as immensely sacred. There is, first of all, the sacrificial cry *svāhā*, which we usually translate by "hail," with which every gift for the gods is thrown into the fire, while the cry *svadhā* is employed in the case of sacrificial gifts to the fathers. Other quite unintelligible ejaculations of the kind are *vaṣat*, *veṭ*, *vāt*, but above all the most sacred syllable *om*. This syllable, originally nothing but an expression of assent,[1] was regarded by the Indians for thousands of years, and still to the present

1, 10, etc. Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad, IV, 2. 2. "The gods love that which is hinted at darkly, and hate that which is uttered directly."

[1]) According to Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa VII, 18, *om* means, in the language used for the gods, that which is expressed among human beings by *tathā*, "so be it," "yes." In the same way Chāndogya-Upaniṣad I, 1, 8: "This syllable *om* expresses assent, for when a person agrees to something, he says: 'om'! It is probably purely a coincidence that the syllable *om* partly agrees with the Hebrew "amen" in meaning as well as in sound.

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day is regarded, as inordinately sacred and full of mystical significance. In the Upaniṣads it is identified with Brahman, the world-soul, and recommended to the wise man as the highest subject of meditation. The Kaṭha-Upaniṣad (II, 16) says of it: "This syllable is indeed Brahman, this syllable is the Highest; for he who knows this syllable will have all his wishes, whatever they may be, fulfilled." To this syllable "*om*" are added the three "great words," namely *bhūr, bhuvaḥ, svar* (explained by the Indians as "earth, air, sky," which, however, is doubtful) of which it is said in an old text:[1] "This is indeed Brahman, this Truth, this Right; for without these there is no sacrifice."

Centuries later, in the Tantras, the religious books of more recent Indian sects, the use of such mystical syllables and words has become prevalent to such an extent that we frequently find nothing for pages, but inarticulated sounds such as uṃ, āṃ, hṛīṃ, ūṃ, eṃ, kroṃ, phaṭ, aḥ, and so on. It is significant too, that the word *mantra*, which originally designated the verses and prayers (ṛc and yajus) of the Vedic Saṃhitās, later on had only the meaning of "magic formula." Already in the Yajurveda we can trace quite clearly the transition from prayer to magic formula—the two had, in fact, never been very strictly separated.

However bare and tedious, unedifying the Yajurveda-saṃhitās are if we want to *read* them as literary works, so supremely important, indeed, interesting are they for the student of religion, who *studies* them as sources not only for the Indian, but also for the general science of religion. Whoever wishes to investigate the origin, the development, and the significance of *prayer* in the history of religion—and this is one of the most interesting chapters of the history of religion—should in no case neglect to become acquainted with the prayers of the Yajurveda.

[1]) Maitrāyaṇī-Saṃhitā, I, 8, 5.

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For the understanding of the whole of the later religious and philosophical literature of the Indians, too, these Saṃhitās are indispensable. Without the Yajurveda we cannot understand the Brāhmaṇas, and without these we cannot understand the Upaniṣads.

The Brāhmaṇas. [1]

Of the Brāhmaṇas, the second great class of works belonging to the Veda, Max Müller once said: "However interesting the Brāhmaṇas may be to students of Indian literature, they are of small interest to the general reader. The greater portion of them is simply twaddle, and what is worse, theological twaddle. No person who is not acquainted beforehand with the place which the Brāhmaṇas fill in the history of the Indian mind, could read more than ten pages without being disgusted." [2]

Indeed, it is even truer of these works than of the Yajurveda, that they are unpalatable as reading, but indispensable to the understanding of the whole of the later religious and philosophical literature of the Indians, and highly interesting for the general science of religion. The Brāhmaṇas are as invaluable authorities to the student of religion, for the history of sacrifice and of priesthood, as the Saṃhitas of the Yajurveda are for the history of prayer.

The word Brāhmaṇa [3] (neut.) means first a single

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[1]) Cf. L. von *Schroeder*, I.L.C., pp. 127-167, 179-190. Sylvain *Lévi*, La doctrine du sacrifice dans les Brāhmaṇas (Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études), Paris, 1898. H. *Oldenberg*, Vorwissenschaftliche Wissenschaft, die Weltanschauung der Brāhmaṇa-Texte, Göttingen, 1919, endeavours to do justice to the thoughts contained in the Brāhmaṇas. What *Oldenberg* calls "pre-scientific knowledge," should, however, be more correctly called "priestly pseudo-science." For the prose of the Brāhmaṇas, s. *Oldenberg*, Zur Geschichte der altindischen Prosa, pp. 13 ff., 20 ff.

[2]) Max Müller, Chips from a German Workshop, Vol. 1.

[3]) The derivation of the word is doubtful. It can be derived either from brāhman

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"explanation or utterance of a learned priest, of a doctor of the science of sacrifice, upon any point of the ritual." Used collectively, the word means, secondly, a collection of such utterances and discussions of the priests upon the science of sacrifice. For although the Brāhmaṇas fortunately contain much that has only a distant reference to the sacrificial cult, for instance, cosmogonic myths, ancient legends and narratives, yet the sacrifice is the one and only theme from which all the discussions start, on which everything hinges. For the Brāhmaṇas deal consecutively with the great sacrifices, with which we have become acquainted above in the contents of the Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā,[1] and give instructions on the separate rites and ceremonies, attaching to them observations upon the relations of the separate sacrificial acts to each other and to the spells and prayers, partly quoted literally and partly quoted in abbreviated form.[2] To these are added symbolical interpretations and speculative reasons for the ceremonies and their connection with the prayer formulæ. Where, as is often the case, the views of the learned men differ on certain points of ritual, the one view is defended and the other rejected. Also there is sometimes talk of differences of the ceremonies in different districts, also of modifications of certain sacrificial rites in particular circumstances. The mention of what exactly constitutes the priests' payment, the dakṣiṇā, at every sacrificial act, is never omitted. In the same way it is explained to the sacrificer what advantages, whether in this life or in the life beyond, he can gain by means of the

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(neut.) in the sense of "sacred speech, prayer, sacred knowledge," or from brahmān (masc.) "priest" in general or "Brahman priest," or also from brāhmaṇa (masc.) "the Brahman, the member of the priestly caste, the theologian."

[1]) Pp. 172-176

[2]) In several places in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, the word bandhu, "connection, relationship," *i.e.* "explanation of the deeper connection, the actual significance," occurs, whereas in later passages the word brāhmaṇa is used in the same sense. *Cf. Weber*, HIL., p. 11; Ind. Stud., 5, 60; 9, 351; *Oldenberg*, Vorwissenschaftl. Wissenschaft, p. 4.

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various sacrificial rites. In short, if the use of the word "science" may be permitted with reference to theological knowledge then we can best designate the Brāhmaṇas as texts which deal with the "science of sacrifice."

Very many such texts must have existed. Of this we are assured by the Indians themselves, and it is also confirmed by the many quotations from lost Brāhmaṇas, which we find in our texts. However the number of even those Brāhmaṇas which are still preserved is by no means small, and moreover, all of them should be classed among the more extensive works of Indian literature. According to the four Vedic Saṃhitās with which we have become acquainted, the four Vedas, as we know, were distinguished, and to each of the latter several Brāhmaṇas usually belong, which issued from various schools (śākhās). We have seen that the Saṁhitās of the Black Yajurveda already contained, besides the mantras or prayers, also declarations of opinions and discussions on the purpose and meaning of the sacrifice. In these Brāhmaṇa-like parts of the Yajurveda-Saṃhitās we shall see the beginning of the Brāhmaṇa-literature. It was these very directions for the performance of the sacrificial ceremonies and the discussions on the meaning of the ritual, which in the Saṃhitās of the Black Yajurveda were directly connected with the Mantras themselves, it was just these which one Vedic school after another made the subject of individual works. Soon it was regarded as a rule that every Vedic school must possess a Brāhmaṇa. This explains on the one hand the large number of Brāhmaṇas, and on the other hand the circumstance that some works were designated as Brāhmaṇas, which deserve this name neither for their contents nor for their extent, and which belong to the latest productions of Vedic literature. Of this type are many so-called 'Brāhmaṇas' of the Sāmaveda, which are nothing but Vedāṅgas,[1] also the

[1] See Chapter on the Vedāṅgas.

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Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa of the Atharvaveda. The latter is one of the latest works of the whole of Vedic literature. There was obviously no Brāhmaṇa at all belonging to the Atharvaveda in early times. It was not until a later period, when a Veda without a Brāhmaṇa could not be imagined, that an attempt was made to fill this gap.[1]

The most important of the old Brāhmaṇas may here be enumerated.

To the Ṛgveda belongs the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa. It consists of forty Adhyāyas or "lessons," which are divided into eight Pañcakas or "fifths." Tradition names Mahidāsa Aitareya as the author of the work. In reality he was probably only the compiler or editor of it. This Brāhmaṇa deals chiefly with the Soma-sacrifice, besides which with only the fire-sacrifice (Agnihotra) and the feast of the consecration of a king (Rājasūya). It is supposed that the last ten sections are of later origin.[2]

In the closest relationship with this Brāhmaṇa is the Kauṣītaki or Sāṅkhāyaṅa-Brāhmaṇa, also belonging to the Ṛg-veda, and consisting of thirty Adhyāyas or "lessons." The first six Adhyāyas deal with the food-sacrifice (fire-laying, fire-sacrifice, new and full moon sacrifices and the sacrifices of the seasons), while Adhyāyas VII to XXX deal with the Soma-sacrifice fairly agreeing with the Aitareya-

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[1]) For detailed treatment of the Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa see M. *Bloomfield*, The Atharvaveda ("Grundriss," II. I B.), pp. 101-124. The Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa has been edited by D. *Gaastra*, Leyden, 1919. Whilst *Bloomfield* considers the Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa later than the Vaitānasūtra (Der Atharvaveda, 101 ff., GGA. 1912, No. 1), *Caland* (WZKM 18, 1904, 191 ff.) and Keith (JRAS, 1910, 934 ff.) consider it earlier.

[2]) Edited and translated into English by Martin *Haug*, Bombay, 1863. A much better edition with extracts from Sāyaṇa's commentary by Th. *Aufrecht*, Bonn, 1879. Edited with Sāyaṇa's commentary in ĀnSS No. 32. Translated into English by A. B. *Keith*, HOS, Vol. 25, 1920. According to Keith (l. c., pp. 44 ff.) the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa is probably older than the Brāhmaṇa parts of the Taittirīya-Saṃhitā, and certainly older than the Jaiminīya-and Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa. On the language of the Ait-Br. see *Liebich*, Panini, pp. 23 ff. On Mahidāsa Aitareya s. *Keith*, Aitareya Āraṇyaka, Introd., pp. 16 f.

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Brāhmaṇa.[1] The Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa is later than the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa. However, while the latter is not the work of one hand and of one period, the Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa is a uniform work.

To the Sāmaveda belongs the Tāṇḍya-Mahā-Brāhmaṇa,[2] also called Pañcaviṃśa, *i.e.* "Brāhmaṇa consisting of twenty-five books." This is one of the oldest Brāhmaṇas and contains some important old legends. Of special interest are the Vrātyastomas, and the description of sacrificial ceremonies by means of which the Vrātyas were received into the community of the Brahmans.[3] The Ṣaḍviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa, *i.e.* "the twenty-sixth Brāhmaṇa,"[4] is only a completion of the Tāṇḍya which consists of twenty-five books. The last part of the Ṣaḍviṃśa is the so-called "Adbhuta-Brāhmaṇa," a Vedāṇga-text on miracles and omens.[5] The Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa of the Sāmaveda is even older than the Tāṇḍya-Mahā-Brāhmaṇa. This work is of special interest for the history both of religion and legend, but unfortunately the manuscript material is so fragmentary that it

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[1]) The Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa is edited by B. *Lindner*, Jena, 1887, also in ĀnSS No. 65, translated into English by A. B. *Keith*, HOS, vol. 25, 1920; chapter X translated into German by R. *Löbbecke*, Ueber das Verhältnis von Brāhmaṇas und Śrautasūtren, Leipzig, 1908. Āpastamba mentions the Kauṣītakins, but his quotations from a "Bahvṛca-Brāhmaṇa," that is "a Brāhmaṇa of the Ṛgvedins" do not occur either in the Aitareya or in the Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa; they must therefore refer to another Ṛgveda-Brāhmaṇa which has not come down to us (Keith, l. c., p. 48). For critical and exegetical notes on Ait. Br. and Kauṣ. Br. see W. *Caland*, ZDMG 72, 1918, 23 ff.

[2]) Edited in Bibl. Ind. 1870-1874. An analysis of it has been given by E. W. *Hopkins*, "Gods and Saints of the great Brāhmaṇa" (Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, vol. 15, 1909, pp. 20-69). Critical notes on it by *Caland*, ZDMG 72, 1918, 19 ff.

[3]) See above p. 154, and Weber, HIL, pp. 67 f.

[4]) Edited by H. F. *Eelsingh*, Leyden, 1908, and the first Prapāṭhaka by Kurt *Klemm*, with extracts from Sāyaṇa's commentary, and a German translation (Gütersloh 1894). *Liebich* (Indogermanische Forschungen, Anzeiger, 1895, pp. 30 f.) has shown that the language of the Ṣaḍviṃśa is pre-pāṇinean.

[5]) Edited and translated into German by A. *Weber*, "Zwei vedische Texte über Omina und Portenta," ABA 1858.

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cannot be edited. Hitherto only portions of it have been made known.[1]

The Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa of the Black Yajurveda is nothing but a continuation of the Taittirīya-Saṃhitā,[2] for the Brāhmaṇas were already included in the Saṃhitās of the Black Yajurveda. The Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa, therefore, contains only later additions to the Saṃhitā. We find here only a description of the Puruṣamedha, the symbolical "human sacrifice;"[3] and the fact that the sacrifice is missing in the Saṃhitā is one of the many proofs that it is only a rather late production of the science of sacrifice.

To the white Yajurveda belongs the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, "the Brāhmaṇa of the Hundred Paths," so called because it consists of one hundred Adhyāyas or "lessons." This is the best known, the most extensive, and doubtless, also on account of its contents the most important of all the Brāhmaṇas.[4] As in the case of the Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā, there are two recensions of this Brāhmaṇa, that of the Kāṇvas and that of the Mādhyandinas. In the latter the hundred Adhyāyas are distributed among 14 books (Kāṇḍas). The first nine books are simply a continuous commentary on the first eighteen sections of the Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā. They

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[1]) A selection from the Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa, texts with German translations, has been edited by W. *Caland* (Verhandeligen der kon. Akad. van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afd. Lett. Deel I, N. R. D. XIX, No. 4) 1919. Legends from the Jaim. Br. have been made known before by A. C. *Burnell* and W. D. *Whitney*, Ind. Ant. 13, 1884, 16 ff., 21 ff., and by H. *Oertel* in JAOS, vols. 14, 15, 18, 19, 23, 26, 28, in OC XI, Paris 1897, I, 225 ff. and in Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, vol. 15, 1909. See also *Caland*, WZKM 28, 1914, 61 ff. and "Over en uit het Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa" (Verslagen en Mededeclingen der kon. Akademie van Wetensch., Afd-Lett., 5, 1) Amsterdam, 1914. The Śaṭyāyana-Brāhmaṇa of the Sāmaveda is only known by quotations (especially in Sāyaṇa's Ṛgvedabhāṣya), see H. *Oertel*, JAOS 18, 1897, pp. 15 ff.

[2]) Editions in Bibl. Ind. 1855-1890, and ĀnSS No. 37. For the contents of the Taitt. Br., see *Keith*, HOS, vol. 18, pp. lxxvi ff.

[3]) See above, pp. 174 f.

[4]) The text was published by A. *Weber* (The White Yajurveda, Part II. The Çatapatha-Brāhmaṇa. Berlin and London, 1855). There is an excellent English translation

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are decidedly older than the last five books. Probably also Books I to V are more closely connected. In them Yajñavalkya, who at the end of Book XIV is called the author of the whole Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, is often mentioned as the teacher whose authority is conclusive. On the other hand, in Books VI to IX, which deal with the fire-altar building (Agnicayana), Yajñavalkya is not mentioned at all. Instead of him another teacher, Śāṇḍilya, is quoted as an authority; and the same Śāṇḍilya is also regarded as the proclaimer of the Agnirahasya, *i.e.* of the "fire-altar mystery," which forms the contents of Book X. Books XI to XIV, besides appendices to the preceding books, also contain a few interesting sections on subjects which are otherwise not dealt with in the Brāhmaṇas, thus upon the Upanayana, the initiation of a pupil or the taking of the pupil to the teacher who is to instruct him in the sacred texts (XI, 5, 4), upon the daily Veda study (svadhyāya),[1] which is looked upon as a sacrifice to the god Brahman (XI, 5, 6-8), and upon the death-ceremonies and the raising of a burial mound (XIII, 8). The horse-sacrifice (Aśvamedha), the "human sacrifice (Puruṣamedha) and the "sacrifice of all" (Sarvamedha) are dealt with in Book XIII, and the Pravargya ceremony in Book XIV. At the close of this extensive work

with important introductions and notes, by Julius *Eggeling* in five volumes. (SBE, Vols. 12, 26, 41, 43 and 44). The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa is generally considered as one of the latest Brāhmaṇas; see *Keith*, HOS, Vol. 18, pp. cii f. According to P. *Oltramare* "L'histoire des idées théosophiques dans l'Inde," I, p. 96, many passages in the Śatapatha-Br. show the trace of the influence of the doctrines of the Upaniṣads. *Wackernagel*, Altind. Grammatik I, p. xxx declares that as to language, the Śatapatha-Br. and the Aitareya-Br. too is "comparatively modern," whilst he considers the Pañcaviṃśa-Br. and the Taittiriya-Br. as the most ancient Brāhmaṇas. (For the opposite view, see *Keith*, HOS, Vol. 25, pp. 46 f.). *Oldenberg*, "Zur Geschichte der altindischen Prosa," pp. 20 ff., gives the examples illustrating the "earlier" Brāhmaṇa period from the Taittirīya-Saṃhitā, and those for the "later" period from the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa.

[1]) The "learning" or reciting of the Veda by the Indians as a religious duty has an exact parallel in the Thora-reading or "learning" of the Jews.

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is the old and important Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad with which we shall become acquainted in the next chapter.

The difference between the Brāhmaṇas which belong to the separate Vedas lies chiefly in the fact that the Brāhmaṇas of the Ṛgveda, in the presentation of the ritual, emphasize that which is of importance to the Hotar-priest, who has to recite the verses and hymns of the Ṛgveda, while the Brāhmaṇas of the Sāmaveda are chiefly concerned with the duties of the Udgātar, and those of the Yajurveda with the sacrificial acts to be performed by the Adhvaryu. In the essentials of their contents the Brāhmaṇas all agree fairly well with one another. In the main the same subjects are always dealt with; and all these works bear the same stamp. This is the more noticeable, as we are compelled to assume a period of several centuries for the origin and propagation of this literature. If we could believe the tradition which, in the so-called Vaṃśa[1] or "Genealogies," specifies genealogical trees of teachers with fifty to sixty names, then not even a thousand years would suffice to locate all the generations of teachers whose names are mentioned. These genealogies have indeed the object of tracing back the origin of the sacrifice theory to some deity or other—Brahman, Prajāpati or the Sun—but they also contain so many names which have certainly the appearance of being genuine family-names, that it is difficult

[1]) Connected with the Sāmaveda, there is a special so-called "Brāhmaṇa," the Vaṃśa-Brāhmaṇa (edited and explained by A. *Weber*, Ind. Stud. 4, 371 ff.) which contains only a list of 53 teachers, the last of whom, Kaśyapa, is said to have received the tradition from god Agni. There are four different Vaṃśas in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. The one given at the conclusion of the work begins with the words: "We have this from the son of Bhāradvājō, the son of Bhāradvāji from the son of Vātsīmāṇḍavī," etc. Then follow 40 teachers, all only mentioned by their *maternal* names. Only as the 45th in the list does Yājñavalkya appear. Uddālaka, who is known to us from the Upaniṣads, being mentioned as his teacher. The last (55th) human teacher is Kaśyapa Naidhruvi, to whom the Brāhmaṇa is said to have been revealed by Vāc (the goddess of speech). She is said to have received it from Ambhṛṇī (the voice of thunder) and the latter from Āditya (the sun).

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to look upon them as pure fiction. However, even quite apart from these lists of teachers, there still remain the numerous names of teachers who, in the Brāhmaṇas themselves, are quoted as authorities, and the fact remains that the collectors and compilers of the Brāhmaṇas shift the beginnings of the science of sacrifice as laid down in them, back to a far-distant past. This sacrifice-science itself, however, requires centuries for its development.

If we ask in which period we are to locate these centuries of the development of the Brāhmaṇa literature, there can be as little question of any definite dates as there is in determining the period of the Saṃhitās. The only certainty is, that the Saṃhitā of the Ṛgveda was already concluded and that the hymn-poetry already belonged to a far-distant past, when prayers and sacrifices were first made the subject of a special "science." It is probably certain, too, that the great majority of magic incantations, spells and formulae of the Atharvaveda and of the Yajurveda, as well as the melodies of the Sāmaveda, are much older than the speculations of the Brāhmaṇas. On the other hand it is likely that the final *compilation* of the Saṃhitās of the Atharvaveda and of the liturgical Saṃhitās was about contemporaneous with the beginnings of the Brāhmaṇa literature, so that the latest portions of these Saṃhitās might be of the same date as the earliest portions of the Brāhmaṇas. At least the geographical and cultural conditions indicate this, as they are represented to us on the one hand in the Saṃhitās of the Atharvaveda and Yajurveda, and on the other hand in the Brāhmaṇas, in comparison with those of the Ṛgveda. We have seen how, in the period of the Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā, the Aryan tribes of the Indus land, the home of the Ṛgveda, had already spread themselves further east into the region of the Ganges and the Jamnā. The region which is indicated by the Saṃhitās of the Yajurveda as well as by all the Brāhmaṇas, is the land of the *Kurus* and *Pañcālas*, those two tribes whose mighty

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battles form the nucleus of the great Indian epic, the Mahābhārata. *Kurukṣetra*, "the land of the Kurus," in particular, is regarded as a holy land, in which, as it is frequently put, the gods themselves celebrated their sacrificial feasts. This land Kurukṣetra lay between the two small rivers Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī in the plain to the west of the Ganges and Jamnā: and the neighbouring region of the Pañcālas stretched from the north-west to the south-east between the Ganges and Jamnā. This part of India, the Doab between Ganges and Jamnā from the neighbourhood of Delhi to as far as Mathurā, is still in a later period, regarded as the actual "Brahman land" (Brahmāvarta), whose customs according to the brahmanical law-books should be adopted for the whole of India. This region is not only the land of the origin of the Saṃhitās of the Yajurveda and of the Brāhmaṇas, but also the home of the whole of brahmanical culture, which first spread from here over the whole of India.

The religious and social conditions have changed very much since the time of the Ṛgveda. The old gods of the Ṛgveda still appear in the Yajurveda-Saṃhitās and in the Brāhmaṇas, just as in the Atharvaveda. But their significance has wholly faded, and they owe all the power they possess to the sacrifice alone. Furthermore, some gods who still play a subordinate part in the Ṛgveda, step into far greater prominence in the liturgical Saṃhitās and in the Brāhmaṇas, as *Viṣṇu*, and especially *Rudra* or *Śiva*. Paramount importance now also attaches to *Prajāpati*, "the lord of creatures," who is regarded as the father of the gods (devas) as well as of the demons (asuras). The word *Asura*,[1] which, corresponding to the Avestic Ahura, in the Ṛgveda still has the meaning of "endowed with miraculous powers" or "God," and appears especially often as an epithet of the god Varuṇa, henceforth has exclusively the meaning of "demon" which it always has

[1] See above, p. 78.

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in later Sanskrit, and again and again mention is made in the Brāhmaṇas of the battles between Devas and Asuras. Yet there is nothing titanic about these battles, as, for instance, the battle between Indra and Vṛtra in the Ṛgveda, but the gods and Asuras exert themselves to surpass each other by means of sacrifices. For in these Brāhmaṇas the gods actually have to make sacrifices if they wish to accomplish anything. Nothing is more significant for the Brāhmaṇas than the tremendous importance which is ascribed to the sacrifice. The sacrifice is here no longer the means to an end, but it is an aim in itself, indeed, the highest aim of existence. The sacrifice is also a power which overwhelms all, indeed, a creative force of Nature. Therefore the sacrifice is identical with Prajāpati, the creator. "Prajāpati is the sacrifice" is an oft-repeated sentence in the Brāhmaṇas. "The soul of all beings, of all gods is this, the sacrifice." "Truly, he who consecrates himself for the sacrifice, he consecrates himself for the All, for only after the sacrifice follows the All; in making the preparations for the sacrifice, for which he consecrates himself, he creates the All out of himself.[1]) Equally endowed with magic power and equally significant is everything which is connected with the sacrifice, the sacrificial utensils no less than the prayers and formulae, the verses and their metres, the chants, and their melodies. Every single sacrificial act is treated with the greatest circumstantiality: enormous importance is attached to the most trivial circumstances, to the least details. Whether an action is to be performed to the left or to the right, whether a pot is to be put in this or in that spot on the place of sacrifice, whether a blade of grass is to be laid down with the point to the north or to the north-east, whether the priest steps in front of the fire or behind it, in which direction he must have his face turned, into how many parts the sacrificial cake is to be divided,

[1]) Śat., XIV, 3, 2, 1. III, 6, 3, 1.

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whether the ghee is to be poured into the northern or the southern half or into the centre of the fire, at which instant the repetition of a certain spell, the singing of a certain song has to take place,[1]—these are questions upon which generations of masters of the art of sacrifice have meditated, and which are treated in the most searching manner in the Brāhmaṇas. Upon the correct knowledge of all these details does the weal and woe of the sacrificer depend. "Such, indeed, are the wilds and ravines of sacrifice, and they (take) hundreds upon hundreds of days' carriage-drives; and if any venture into them without knowledge, then hunger or thirst, evil-doers and fiends harass them, even as fiends would harass foolish men wandering in a wild forest; but if those who know this do so, they pass from one deity to another, as from one stream into another, and from one safe place to another, and obtain well-being, the world of heaven." [2]

But "'those who know," the guides through the wilderness of sacrificial art, are the priests, and it is no wonder that the claims of the *priestly caste*—for of such a caste we must now speak, as the caste system is already fully developed—in the Brāhmaṇas (as already in some parts of the Atharvaveda) exceed all bounds. Now the Brahmans are frequently declared to be gods. "Yes, they are the very gods, the Brahmans." [3] One Brāhmaṇa states plainly enough:

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[1]) *Eggeling* (SBE., Vol. 12, p. X) recalls the fact that among the Ancient Romans, too, the *Pontifices* gained their power and influence through being the only people who understood all the details of the sacrificial ceremonial, which details, though small, had yet been declared tremendously important. It happened in Ancient Rome, that a sacrifice had to be repeated thirty times, because some little mistake had been made at one of the ceremonies; and in Ancient Rome, too, a ceremony was regarded as null and void, if a word was mispronounced or an act was not performed quite correctly, or if the music did not cease playing at the right moment. *Cf. Marquardt* and *Mommsen*, Handbuch der römischen Altertümer, VI, pp. 172, 174, 213.

[2]) Śat. XII, 2, 3, 12. Translated by J. *Eggeling*, SBE., Vol. 44, p. 160.

[3]) Taittirīya-Saṃhitā, I, 7, 3, 1.

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"Two kinds of gods there are, indeed, namely the gods are the gods, and the learned and studying [1] Brahmans are the human gods. Between these two is the sacrifice divided: the sacrificial gifts are for the gods, the presents (Dakṣiṇās) for the human gods, the learned and studying Brahmans: by means of sacrificial gifts he pleases the gods, by presents he pleases the human gods, the learned studying Brahmans: these *two* kinds of gods transfer him, when they are satisfied, into the blessedness of heaven." [2]

Four duties has the Brahman: Brahmanic descent, corresponding conduct, fame (attained through erudition) and "ripening of the people" (*i.e.* offering of sacrifices, by means of which people are made ripe for the Beyond). But the "ripened" people also have four duties towards the Brahmans: They must show them honour, give them presents, may not oppress and not kill them. The property of a Brahman may under no circumstances be touched by the king; and if a king gives his whole country with all that is in it, to the priests as a sacrificial fee (dakṣiṇā), then it is always understood that the property of Brahmans is excepted. A king can certainly oppress a Brahman, but if he does so, evil will befall him. At the consecration of a king the priest says "this man, ye people, is your king; Soma is the king of us Brahmans," to which the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa observes: "By this formula he makes the whole nation as food for the king; [3] the Brahman alone he excepts; therefore the Brahman must not be utilised as food; for he has Soma as his king." [4] Only the murder of a Brahman is real murder. In a quarrel between a Brahman and a non-Brahman the judge must always decide in favour of the Brahman, for the Brahman may not be contradicted. [5]

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[1]) Literally :—"who have heard and who repeat (recite what they have heard)."
[2]) Śat. II, 2, 2, 6; IV, 3, 4, 4.
[3]) *i.e.* the king lives by the people, who have to pay him taxes.
[4]) Śat. XI, 5, 7, 1; XIII, 5, 4, 24; XIII, 1, 5, 4; V, 4, 2, 3.
[5]) Śat. XIII, 3, 5, 3; Taittirīya-Saṃhitā, II, 5, 11, 9.

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Everything which for some reason or another is taboo, which one may not touch, and cannot use otherwise, as, for example, the stone and earthenware vessels of a deceased person or a cow (intended for the Agnihotra milk) which becomes stubborn or ill, must be given to the Brahman, especially the remains of sacrifices and food which are taboo for others, for "nothing injures the stomach of a Brahman." [1]

Thus, at last, the conclusion is arrived at, that the Brahman is no longer a "human god" *by the side* of the heavenly gods, but that he raises himself *above* the gods. Already in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa [2] it is said: "The Brahman descended from a Ṛṣi indeed *is* all deities," *i.e.* in him all deities are incorporated. This presumption on the part of the priests, the beginnings of which we meet with in the Brāhmaṇas, is not only of the greatest interest for the history of culture as an example of priestly arrogance, but it is also the precursor of a phenomenon which we can trace through the whole of Indian antiquity, and which, I think, is deeply rooted in the life of the Indo-European mind. While, for instance, the Hebrew poet says: "What is man, that Thou art mindful of him, and the son of man that Thou visitest him?" and adds "Man is like unto nothingness," a *Greek* poet uttered the great saying: "There is much that is powerful, but the most powerful is man." And a *German* poet—the same who created the super-man [3] Faust, who knocks violently

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[1]) Taittirīya Saṃhitā II, 6, 8, 7. *Cf.* Goethe, Faust:

"The Church has a good digestion,
Has eaten up whole lands
And yet never over-eaten herself."

[2]) XII, 4, 4, 6. Later it is said in the law-book of Manu: "A Brahman, be he learned or unlearned, is a great deity," and immediately afterwards, "The Brahman is the highest deity." Manu, IX, 317, 319.

[3]) "What awful horror seizes thee, O Super-man!"

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at the gates of the spirit-world—has sung the song of Prometheus, who calls to the gods:

"I know nothing poorer
Under the sun, than ye, O gods!"

And in India we see how, already in the Brāhmaṇas, the priest exalts himself over the gods through the *sacrifice*; in the epics we read countless stories of ascetics who, through *asceticism* attain to such ascendancy that the gods tremble upon their thrones. In Buddhism, however, the divine beings, with Indra the prince of gods, have fully dwindled into quite insignificant beings, who differ from ordinary mortals only in that they are somewhat better situated, and even that only so long as they remain devout Buddhists; and infinitely high above these gods stands not only the Buddha himself, but every man who, through *love for all beings* and through renunciation of the world, has become an Arhat or saint.[1]

Thus already in the Brāhmaṇas the way is prepared for that great movement to which Buddhism owes its origin: for it cannot be questioned that the old and genuine Brāhmaṇas belong to the Pre-Buddhist period. While in the Brāhmaṇas not the least trace is shown of any acquaintance with Buddhism,[2] the Buddhist texts pre-suppose the existence of a Brāhmaṇa literature. We can therefore say upon good grounds that the centuries in which the Liturgical Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas originated, must fall into the period *after* the conclusion of the hymn-composition and the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā and *before* the appearance of Buddhism.

As regards the actual contents of these works, a few examples will suffice to give the reader an idea. The

[1]) See A. *Weber*, SBA. 1897, 1, 594, ff.

[2]) It is significant that, in the list of human sacrifices in the Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā, XXX (*cf.* above, pp. 147 f.) there is no mention of either monks or nuns, or of Buddhists at all. And yet this list is probably later than the oldest Brāhmaṇas.

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Indians themselves usually arrange the contents of the Brāhmaṇas in two principal categories, which they call *Vidhi* and *Arthavāda*. Vidhi means "rule, precept," Arthavāda "explanation of meaning." For the Brāhmaṇas first give rules for the performance of the single ceremonies, and to these the interpretations and explanations of the purpose and meaning of the sacrificial acts and prayers are afterwards attached. Thus, for example, the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa begins with the precepts upon the vow of abstinence, which the sacrificer has to make on the day before the new-moon and full-moon sacrifice. There we read:

"He who is about to enter on the vow, touches water, whilst standing between the Ahavanīya and Gārhapatya fires, with his face turned towards east. The reason why he touches water is, that man is (sacrificially) impure on account of his speaking untruth; and because by that act an internal purification (is effected),—for water is indeed (sacrificially) pure. 'After becoming sacrificially pure, I will enter on the vow,' thus (he thinks); for water is indeed purifying. 'Having become purified through the purifying one, I will enter on the vow,' thus (he thinks, and) this is the reason why he touches water." [1]

To such simple explanations there are often attached discussions of the views of various teachers upon some question of ritual. Thus here the controversy is raised whether, at the making of the vow in question, one should fast or not, and it is said:

"Now then of the eating (or) fasting. And on this point Āshāḍha Sāvayasa, on the one hand, was of opinion that the vow consisted in fasting. For assuredly (he argued), the gods see through the mind of man; they know that, when he enters on this vow he means to sacrifice to them next morning. Therefore all the gods betake themselves to his house, and abide by (him or the fires, upa-vas) in his house: whence this (day) is called upa-vasatha. [7]

Now, as it would even be unbecoming for him to take food, before

[1] Śat. I, 1, 1, 1. Translated by J. *Eggeling*, SBE. Vol. 12, pp. 2 f.

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men (who are staying with him as his guests) [1] have eaten; how much more would it be so, if he were to take food before the gods (who are staying with him) have eaten: let him therefore take no food at all. [8]

Yājñavalkya, on the other hand, said: "If he does not eat, he thereby becomes a sacrificer to the Fathers; [2] and if he does eat, he eats before the gods have eaten: let him therefore eat what, when eaten, counts as not eaten." For that of which no offering is made, even though it is eaten, is considered as not eaten. When he therefore eats, he does not become a sacrificer to the Fathers; and by eating of that of which no offering is made, he does not eat before the gods have eaten. [9]

Let him therefore eat only what grows in the forest, be it forest plants or the fruit of trees."[3]

Etymologies, such as that of Upavasatha in the above-quoted place, are exceedingly frequent in the Brāhmaṇas. Moreover, it is regarded as a special advantage if an etymology is not quite accurate, for "the gods love that which is hidden." Thus, for instance, the name of the god *Indra* is derived from *indh*, "to kindle," and it is said: he is, therefore, actually named *Indha*, and he is called "Indra" only because the gods love what is concealed. Or the word "*ulūkhala*," which means "mortar," is derived from *uru kavat*, "it shall make wide," and "ulūkhala" is declared to be a mystical designation for "urukara." [4] Like the etymologizing, *identifying* and *symbolizing* play an even greater part in the Brāhmaṇas than in the Yajurveda-Saṃhitās: [5] the most dissimilar things being put together and associated

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[1]) The sentences in brackets have been completed from the context. It is impossible to render the original accurately in English without such completions. The Brāhmaṇas are not *written for readers*, but *spoken* to hearers, hence much is omitted which the speaker can express by means of emphasizing certain words, manual gestures, and so on.

[2]) Because fasting is ordained for sacrifices to the fathers.

[3]) Śat. I, 1, 1, 1, 7-10. Translated by J. *Eggeling*, SBE., Vol. 12, pp. 4 f.

[4]) Śat. VI, 1, 1, 2; VII, 5, 1, 22, *cf.* above, p. 184.

[5]) See above, p. 181. On identifications in the Brāhmaṇas see *Oldenberg*, Vorwissenschaftliche Wissenschaft, pp. 110 ff.

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with one another. On every page of the Brāhmaṇas we find explanations like the following:

"He now strews sacrificial grass all round (the fires), and fetches the utensils, taking two at a time, *viz.* the winnowing basket and the Agnihotra ladle, the wooden sword and the potsherds, the wedge and the black antelope skin, the mortar and the pestle, the large and the small mill-stones. These are ten in number; for of ten syllables consists the Virâj (metre), and radiant (virâj) also is the sacrifice; so that he thereby makes the sacrifice resemble the Virâj. The reason why he takes two at a time is, because a pair means strength; for when two undertake anything, there is strength in it. Moreover, a pair represents a productive copulation, so that a productive copulation (of those respective objects) is thereby effected." [1]

"Now the sacrifice is the man. The sacrifice is the man for the reason that the man spreads (performs) it; and that in being spread it is made of exactly the same extent as the man: [2] this is the reason why the sacrifice is the man. [1]

The juhū [3] (spoon) further belongs to that (man-shaped sacrifice and so does the upabhṛt [3]; and the dhruvā [3]; represents its trunk. Now it is from the trunk that all these limbs proceed, and for this reason the entire sacrifice proceeds from the dhruvā. [2]

The dipping-spoon [4] (sruva, masc.) is no other than the breath. This breath passes through (or, goes to) all the limbs, and for that reason the dipping-spoon goes to all the offering-spoons (sruc, fem.). [3]

That juhū further is to him [5] no other than yonder sky, and the upabhṛt this atmosphere, and the dhruvā this same (earth). Now it is from this (earth) that all the worlds originate: and from the dhruvā, therefore, the whole sacrifice proceeds. [4]

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[1]) Śat. I, 1, 1, 22. Translated by J. *Eggeling*, SBE., Vol. 12, pp. 10 f.

[2]) Because, in measuring the sacrificial place, such measurements as "man's length," "arm's length," "span" and so on, are employed.

[3]) Names of different sacrificial spoons.

[4]) With this spoon (Sruva) the ghee is taken out of the ghee-pot and poured into the sacrificial spoons with which it is served.

[5]) "He" means Puruṣa, "man." But Puruṣa also means "spirit" and designates the "Great Spirit" too, which is one with Prajāpati, the creator of the universe. Hence the sacrifice is not only identified with man (the sacrificer) but also with the Universal Spirit and Prajāpati. *Cf.* above, p. 184, note 2.

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The dipping-spoon then is no other than that blowing one (the wind); it is this that sweeps across all these worlds: and for that reason the sruva goes to all the offering-spoons." [1] [5]

In countless places in the Brāhmaṇas the *sacrifice* is identified with the god *Viṣṇu* and equally frequently with the creator *Prajāpati*. But the *year*, too, is identified with Prajāpati countless times, while on the other hand *Agni*, as the fire-altar, is also regarded as the year, because the building of the fire-altar takes a whole year. Thus we read: "Agni is the year, and the year is these worlds," and immediately afterwards: "Agni is Prajāpati, and Prajāpati is the year.' Or, "Prajāpati, indeed, is the sacrifice and the year, the new moon night is its gate, and the moon is the bolt of the gate." [2] A prominent part is here played by the symbolism of figures. Thus we read, for example:

"With *four* (verses) he takes (some of the ashes); he thereby supplies him (Agni) with *four*-footed animals; and animals being food, it is with food he thus supplies him. With *three* (verses) he takes (the ashes) down (to the water),—that makes *seven*, for of seven layers consists the fire-altar, seven seasons are a year, and the year is Agni: as great as Agni is, as great as his measure, so great does this become." [3]

Here and there these barren explanations gain a little interest through the fact that they throw some light upon the moral views and social conditions of the period to which the Brāhmaṇas belong. Thus, for example, at the soma-sacrifice one of the soma-libations is dedicated to Agni Patnīvat, *i.e.* "Agni accompanied by his wives." [4] This libation differs in certain details from other soma-gifts, and these deviations in the offering of the same are explained by

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[1]) Śat. I, 3, 2, 1-5. Translated by J. *Eggeling*, SBE. Vol. 12, p. 78 f.
[2]) Śat. VIII, 2, 1, 17-18; XI, 1, 1, 1.
[3]) Śat. VI, 8, 2, 7. Translated by J. *Eggeling*, SBE., Vol. 41, p. 295.
[4]) *Cf.* above, p. 88.

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reference to the weakness and helplessness of the female sex:

"With the remains of ghee left over in the sacrificial spoon he mixes (the soma). Other soma-libations he makes strong, by mixing them, but he weakens this one; for ghee is indeed a thunderbolt, and with the thunderbolt, the ghee, did the gods beat and weaken their wives; and thus beaten and weakened they had no right whatever either to their own bodies or to an heritage. And likewise he now beats and weakens the wives with the thunderbolt, the ghee, and thus beaten and weakened, the wives have no right whatever either to their own bodies or to an heritage." (Śat. IV, 4, 2, 13.)

This, then, would be a ritual argument for the bondage of woman.[1] In another place the relationship of the wife to the husband appears in a slightly pleasanter light. Namely, at the Vājapeya-sacrifice, the following ceremony occurs. A ladder is leaned against the sacrificial stake, and the sacrificer, with his wife, ascends it:

"When he is about to ascend, he addresses his wife in the following words: 'Wife, let us ascend to heaven,' and the wife answers: 'Yes, let us ascend.' The reason why he addresses his wife thus is this: She the wife, is indeed his own half; therefore as long as he has no wife, so long he does not propagate his species, so long he is no complete individual; but when he has a wife, then he propagates his species, then he is complete. 'As a complete individual will I go this way (to heaven),' he thinks; therefore he addresses his wife in this manner." (Śat. V. 2, 1, 10.)

The place of sacrifice or the altar (Vedi, fem.) is represented in the symbolism of the Brāhmaṇas as a woman. The following rule for the erection of the altar gives us information upon the ancient ideal of feminine beauty:

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[1]) We also read in the Brāhmaṇas such sentences as: "Verily, the sacrifice is right and truth, woman is something wrong" (Maitrāyaṇīya-Saṃhitā. 1, 10, 11), "Nirṛti (i.e. Evil personified) is woman." (Maitr. 1, 10, 16), "Woman, the Śūdra, the dog, and the blackbird (the crow) are something wrong." (Śat. 14, 1, 1, 31), etc. See *Lévi*, La doctrine du sacrifice dans les Brāhmaṇas, pp. 156 ff.; *Oldenberg*, Vorwissenschaftliche Wissenschaft, pp. 44 f.; and *Winternitz*, Die Frau in den indischen Religionen, I, pp. 4 f., 10 ff., 43.

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"It (the altar) should be broader on the west side, contracted in the middle, and broad again on the east side; for thus shaped they praise a woman: 'broad about the hips, somewhat narrower between the shoulders, and contracted in the middle (or, about the waist).' Thereby he makes it (the altar) pleasing to the gods."[1]

A glaring light is thrown upon the sexual morality of that period by a brutal sacrificial custom which occurs at one of the sacrifices of the seasons, and is described as follows:

"Thereupon the Pratiprasthātṛ[2] returns (to where the sacrificer's wife is seated). When he is about to lead the wife away,[3] he asks her, 'With whom holdest thou intercourse?' Now when a woman who belongs to one (man) carries on intercourse with another, she undoubtedly commits a (sin) against Varuṇa. He therefore thus asks her, lest she should sacrifice with a secret pang in her mind; for when confessed the sin becomes less, since it becomes truth; this is why he thus asks her. And whatever (connection) she confesses not, that indeed will turn out injurious to her relatives."[4]

This, by the way, is one of the few places in the Brāhmaṇas where morality is thought of. It is only very occasionally that we come across moral reflections, as for instance, when the Asuras defeated the gods by falsehood, but the gods gained the ascendancy in the end, we are told that in like manner when men speak the truth, they may suffer adversity at first, but will prosper ultimately, while though the liars may have success for a time, they will surely perish in the end.[5] Generally speaking, however, it is very characteristic of these texts that there is hardly any mention of morality in them at all. The Brāhmaṇas are a splendid proof of the fact that an enormous amount of religion can be connected with

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[1]) Śat. I, 2, 5, 16. Translated by J. *Eggeling*, SBE., Vol. 12, p. 63.

[2]) One of the priests, an assistant of the adhvaryu.

[3]) Namely to the altar, where she is to offer a gift to Varuṇa.

[4]) Śat. II, 5, 2, 20. Translated by J. *Eggeling*, SBE, Vol. 12, pp. 396 f.

[5]) Śat. IX, 5, 1, 16 f. *Oldenberg* (Vorwissenschaftliche Wissenschaft, pp. 19 ff., 124 ff., 184 ff.) has taken great pains to collect all that can be found on ethical ideas in the Brāhmaṇas. It does not amount to much.

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infinitely little morality. Religious acts, sacrifices and ceremonies, are the one and only subject of all these extensive works, but morality is a thing with which these works have nothing to do.[1] On the contrary, sacrificial acts are not only performed in order that the gods may fulfil the very materialistic wishes of the sacrificer, but also very frequently in order to injure an enemy. Indeed, the Brāhmaṇas give directions for the priests, how, by means of the sacrifice, they can injure the sacrificer himself by whom they are employed, if, for instance, he does not give them enough presents. They need only perform the prescribed ceremonies in reverse order, or employ spells at the wrong place, and the fate of the sacrificer is sealed.

But enough of this intricate science of sacrifice which forms the chief contents of the Brāhmaṇas. Fortunately, *one* of the component parts of the Arthavāda or the "explanation of meaning," consists of the so-called *Itihāsas*, *Ākhyānas* and *Purāṇas*, *i.e.* narratives, myths and legends, which are narrated in order to explain the reason for some ritual act or other. As in the Talmud, to which the Brāhmaṇas have some similarity, the blooming garden of the Hagada (so beautifully described in song by Heine) stands beside the theological jugglery of the Halacha, so also in the Brāhmaṇas the desert of desolate theological speculation is now and then pleasantly relieved by an oasis, in which the flower of poetry, a poetical narrative or a deeply thoughtful legend of the creation, blossoms.

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[1]) "Morals have found no place in this system: the sacrifice which regulates the relationship of man with the gods is a mechanical operation which acts by its innermost energy; hidden in the bosom of nature, it only emerges under the magic action of the priest." "It is indeed difficult to conceive of anything more brutal or more material than the theology of the Brāhmaṇas; the notions, which custom has slowly refined and clothed with a moral aspect, surprise us by their savage realism." Sylvain *Lévi*, La doctrine du sacrifice, p. 9; *cf.* 164 ff.

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The very old myth, already known to the singers of the Ṛgveda, of Purūravas and Urvaśī, narrated in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa,[1] is such an oasis in the desert. It is there related how the nymph (Apsaras) Urvaśī loved the king Purūravas, how she stated her conditions when she became his wife, and how the Gandharvas caused him to violate one of these conditions. Then she eluded him, and Purūravas, wailing and lamenting, wandered throughout the whole of Kurukṣetra until he came to a lotus-pond, where nymphs were swimming about in the form of swans. Among them was Urvaśī and there ensued the dialogue which is already known to us from the dialogue verses of the Ṛgveda.

"Then her heart took pity on him. She said, 'Come here the last night of the year from now: then shalt thou lie with me for one night, and then this son of thine,[2] will have been born.' He came there on the last night of the year, and lo, there stood a golden palace! They then said to him only this (word), 'Enter!' and then they bade her go to him.

She then said, 'To-morrow morning the Gandharvas will grant thee a boon, and thou must make thy choice.' He said, 'Choose thou for me!' She replied, 'Say, "Let me be one of yourselves!"' In the morning the Gandharvas granted him a boon; and he said, 'Let me be one of yourselves!'" [3]

Thereupon, the Gandharvas taught him a particular form of fire-sacrifice, through which a mortal becomes changed into a Gandharva. To the description of this sacrifice we owe the insertion in the Brāhmaṇa of the old wonder-tale from which not even the doctors of the sacrificial art could strip all the magic of poetry.

In the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa we also find the Indian

[1]) XI, 5, 1. Translated by *Eggeling*, SBE, Vol. 44, pp. 68 ff., German translation by K. *Geldner*, Vedische Studien, I, 244 ff. See above, pp. 103 f.

[2]) Literally: "This thy son here." One of the many expressions which are only explicable in the *oral* presentation. Similarly, "this here" in the Brāhmaṇas often means "earth," "that yonder" means "sky," and so on.

[3]) Translated by J. *Eggeling*, SBE., Vol. 44, pp. 72 f.

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legend of the flood, which in all probability is derived from a Semitic source, in its oldest form :

" In the morning they brought to Manu water for washing just as now also they (are wont to) bring (water) for washing the hands. When he was washing himself, a fish came into his hands. (1)

It spake to him the word, ' Rear me, I will save thee ! ' ' Wherefrom wilt thou save me ? ' ' A flood will carry away all these creatures : from that I will save thee ! ' ' How am I to rear thee ? ' (2)

It said, ' As long as we are small, there is great destruction for us : fish devours fish. Thou wilt first keep me in a jar. When I outgrow that, thou wilt dig a pit and keep me in it. When I outgrow that, thou wilt take me down to the sea, for then I shall be beyond destruction.' (3)

It soon became a jhasha (a large fish) ; for that grows largest (of all fish). Thereupon it said, ' In such and such a year that flood will come. Thou shalt then attend to me (*i.e.* to my advice) by preparing a ship ; and when the flood has risen thou shalt enter into the ship, and I will save thee from it.' (4)

After he had reared it in this way, he took it down to the sea. And in the same year which the fish had indicated to him, he attended to (the advice of the fish) by preparing a ship ; and when the flood had risen, he entered into the ship. The fish then swam up to him, and to its horn he tied the rope of the ship, and by that means he passed swiftly up to yonder northern mountain. (5)

It then said, ' I have saved thee. Fasten the ship to a tree ; but let not the water cut thee off, whilst thou art on the mountain. As the water subsides, thou mayest gradually descend ! ' Accordingly he gradually descended, and hence that (slope) of the northern mountain is called ' Manu's descent.' The flood then swept away all these creatures, and Manu alone remained here.[1])

Thus far goes the old legend which must have related further how the human race was renewed through Manu. The Brāhmaṇa, however, related that Manu, in order to obtain descendants, offered a sacrifice ; out of this sacrifice arose a woman, and through her the human race was propagated. This daughter of Manu is called Iḍā—and the

[1]) Śat. I, 8, 1. Translated by *Eggeling*, SBE., Vol. 12, pp. 216 ff.

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narrative is inserted only to explain the significance of a sacrificial gift designated by the name of Iḍā.

These narratives are also of importance to us as the oldest examples of Indian narrative prose which we possess. It has already been mentioned that this prose of the oldest epic compositions frequently alternates with verses. But while in the story of Purūravas and Urvaśī the verses appear not only in the Ṛgveda-collection, but in language and metre belong to the oldest Vedic compositions too, we find in the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa an Ākhyāna in which the Gāthās or verses scattered among the prose approach the epic in language es well as in metre. This is the legend of Śunaḥśepa,[1] interesting in more ways than one. It begins as follows:

"Hariścandra, son of Vedhas, a king of the race of the Ikṣvākus, was childless. He had a hundred wives, but by none of them did he have a son. Once Parvata and Nārada[2] visited him, and he asked Nārada:

"As all men desire a son, wise men as well as fools,
Tell me, O Nārada, what a man gains by having
a son."

Asked thus in one verse, he replied with ten:

"The father, who looks upon the face of his son, born
living unto him,
Discharges his debt in him, attains to immortality
through him.[3]

[1]) Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa, VII, 13-18, English translation by *Max Müller*, "History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature," 2nd ed., London, 1860, pp. 408 ff., by M. *Haug*, and by A. B. *Keith* in their respective translations of the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa. German translation by R. *Roth*, Ind. Stud., I, 457 ff. See also Roth, Ind. Stud., 2. 112 ff.; A. *Weber*, SBA., 1891, pp. 776 ff.; *Keith*, HOS., Vol. 25, pp. 61 ff.; *Charpentier*, Die Suparṇasage, pp. 58 f. The story is called an "Ākhyāna" in the text itself.

[2]) Two Ṛṣis or saints, who dwell now in heaven, now on earth, and often serve the gods as messengers.

[3]) The best explanation of this verse is given in two Brāhmaṇa passages. Taittirīya-Saṃhitā, VI, 3, 10, 5: "From the moment of his birth the Brāhman is burdened with three debts: to the Ṛṣis he owes the vow of learning the Veda, to the gods he owes the

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Of all the joys there are for creatures on this earth,
In fire, and in water, greatest is the father's in his son.

Always through the son have fathers conquered
darkness;
He himself is again newly-born, the son is to him
a rescuing boat.

What avails the dirt, and what the goat-skin, what the
beard, and what asceticism! [1]
Brahmans, desire a son for yourselves: in him ye have
the blameless world of heaven.

Food is life, clothing is protection and gold ornaments
are beauty;
Marriage means cattle; [2] a friend [3] is the wife, a sorrow
the daughter,[4]
Light in the highest regions of heaven is the son to his father.

The husband entereth his wife, becomes the embryo
in her womb,
And is by her brought forth again, in the tenth moon,
as a new man."

...[5] After he had uttered the verses, he said to him! 'Approach King Varuṇa and say: 'May a son be born to me; I will sacrifice him to

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sacrifice and *to the Fathers, offspring*; he who begets a son, offers sacrifices and keeps the vow of learning the Veda, is freed from his debts;" and Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa I, 5, 5, 6: "In descendants dost thou propagate thy race; that, O mortal, is thy immortality." Already in the Ṛgveda V, 4, 10, it is said: "May I, O Agni, attain to immortality through descendants!"

[1]) The verse is directed against the forest-hermits and ascetics.

[2]) Because the purchase price for daughters was, among the ancient Indians as among the ancient Greeks, paid in cows. *Cf.* the "oxen-bringing maidens" in Homer.

[3]) At the marriage, in Ancient India, the bride and bridegroom took seven steps together, whereupon the bridegroom said: "At the seventh step become a *friend* (masc.)."

[4]) Female infanticide and child marriage have been the dismal consequences of the view that the birth of a daughter is a calamity. See *Winternitz*, Die Frau in den indischen Religionen, I, pp. 21 ff. The view that a daughter is "a misery" is, however, spread all over the world.

[5]) Here follow four verses more, in which the same ideas are varied.

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thee.' 'So be it,' he said, and went up to King Varuṇa, praying: 'May a son be born to me; I will sacrifice him to thee.' 'So be it' (said Varuṇa). Then a son was born to him, Rohita by name. And Varuṇa said to him: 'Now a son has been born to thee; sacrifice him to me.' He, however, said: "Not until an animal is over ten days old is it suitable for sacrifice. Let him become over ten days old; then I will sacrifice him to thee.' 'So be it.' And he became over ten days old. The former said to him: 'Now he has become over ten days old; sacrifice him to me.' But the latter said: 'Not until an animal has got teeth is it suitable for sacrifice. Let him get teeth; then I will sacrifice him to thee.' 'So be it.'

In a similar manner Hariścandra puts the god Varuṇa off until Rohita has attained the age of manhood. Then at last he desires to sacrifice him, but Rohita escapes into the forest, where he wanders about for a year. Thereupon Hariścandra is attacked by dropsy, the disease sent by Varuṇa as a punishment. Rohita hears of it and desires to return, but Indra confronts him in the form of a Brahman, extols the fortune of the wanderer and advises him to continue wandering on. A second, a third, a fourth, a fifth year does the youth wander about in the forest, again and again he wishes to return, and again and again Indra confronts him and urges him to further wanderings. As he was wandering about in the forest the sixth year, he met the Ṛṣi Ajīgarta, who, tortured by hunger, was wandering about in the forest. The latter had three sons, Śuṇaḥpuccha, Śuṇaḥśepa, Śunolāṅgūla[1] by name, Rohita offers him a hundred cows for one of his sons, in order to ransom himself through him, and, as the father does not wish to part with the eldest and the mother does not wish to part with the youngest son, receives the middle one, Śuṇaḥśepa. With the latter Rohita goes to his

[1]) These strange names, which mean "dog's hinder part," "dog's pizzle," and "dog's tail," are probably chosen for the purpose of making the Ṛṣi Ajīgarta—the name means "who has nothing to eat"—appear in the worst possible light. Nevertheless these names also prove the more popular than priestly character of the narrative

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father. And as Varuṇa agrees that Śuṇaḥśepa shall be sacrificed to him,—for "a Brahman is worth more than a warrior," said Varuṇa,—he is to be offered in the place of the sacrificial animal at the sacrifice of the consecration of the king (Rājasūya). Everything is prepared for the sacrifice, but no one is found who will undertake the binding of the sacrificial victim. Then said Ajīgarta, "Give me a second hundred, and I will bind him." And for a second hundred cows he binds his son Śuṇaḥśepa to the sacrificial stake; for a third hundred, however, he offers to slay him. The further hundred cows are given to him, and with a sharpened knife, he steps towards his son. Then thought the latter: "They want to slaughter me as though I were no human being; well, I will take refuge with the gods." And he praised in turn all the most prominent gods of the Vedic pantheon in a number of hymns which are found in our Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā. But when, finally, he glorified Uṣas, the Dawn, in three verses, one fetter after another fell from him, and the dropsical stomach of Hariścandra became smaller, and with the last verse he was free of his fetters and Hariścandra was well. Thereupon the priests received him into the sacrificial gathering, and Śuṇaḥśepa saw (by intuition) a particular kind of soma sacrifice. Viśvāmitra, however, the ṛṣi about whom there are so many legends, who occupied the position of hotar at the sacrifice of Hariścandra, adopted Suṇaḥśepa as his son, and neglecting his own hundred sons, solemnly appointed him as his heir. Finally it is said:

"That is the tale (ākhyāna) of Śuṇaḥśepa which contains over a hundred Ṛgveda-verses and also stanzas.[1]) This the hotar relates to the king, after he has been sprinkled with holy water at the Rājasūya. Seated on a golden cushion he tells the story. Seated on a golden cushion (the Adhvaryu) gives the responses. Gold, indeed, signifies glory. Thereby he causes his glory to increase. 'Om' is the response to a Ṛg-verse, 'yes'

[1]) "Gāthās," epic verses, as those quoted above.

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that to a Gāthā.[1] For "Om" is divine, and "yes" is human. In this way he releases him through the divine and the human word from misfortune and sin. Therefore a king who desires to be victorious, even though he be no sacrificer, may have the Śūṇaḥśepa legend related to him; then not the least sin remains attached to him. A thousand cows shall he give to the narrator, a hundred to the priest who makes the responses, and to each of the two the golden cushions upon which he sat; moreover, also a silver chariot harnessed with mules is due to the hotar. Those, too, who desire a son, shall cause the story to be related to them; then they will assuredly obtain a son."

But if this Śuṇaḥśepa legend was already a time-honoured ancient myth for the editors or compilers of the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa, and the narration of it at the consecration of the king[2] actually formed part of the ritual, how old must the legend itself be! It must be very old, also because in it is preserved the memory of human sacrifice, which must have been offered at the Rājasūya in pre-historic times, although nowhere else either in the Brāhmaṇas or in the ritual-manuals (Śrauta-sūtras) is there any mention of human sacrifices at the consecration of the king. Yet the Śuṇaḥśepa legend is late in comparison with the Ṛgveda. For the hymns,[3] which, according to the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa, Śuṇaḥśepa is said to have "seen" are partly such as possibly a Ṛṣi Śuṇaḥśepa might have composed as well as any other ṛṣi, although there is not the least matter contained in them which might relate

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[1]) *i.e.*, always when the Hotar recites a Ṛg-verse, the Adhvaryu cries at the conclusion of it: "Om;" when he has recited an epic verse, he cries "Yes." *Cf.* above, p. 185, note 1.

[2]) As an ākhyāna belonging to the Rājasūya it is also related in the Śāṅkhāyana-Śrautasūtra, 15, 17 ff. In the same Śrautasūtra, 16, 11, 1-3, it is mentioned as one of the ākhyānas to be told at the Puruṣamedha. It is also referred to in the Śrautasūtras of Kātyāyana, Āpastamba, and Baudhāyana. See *Keith*, HOS., Vol. 25, pp. 29 f., 40 f., 61 f., 67.

[3]) Namely Ṛv. I, 24-30 and IX, 3. The Gāthās of the Śunaḥśepa-Ākhyāna are, of course, much later than the verses of the Ṛgveda. Yet from the metre, it seems that they are older than the metrical portions of the Upaniṣads; see *Keith*, HOS., Vol. 25, p. 50.

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to our legend; partly, however, they are hymns which are not at all fitting for the lips of the Śuṇaḥśepa of the legend, as, for instance the song Ṛg-veda 1, 29, with the refrain; "Let us hope, O generously-giving Indra, for a thousand shining oxen and horses," or which like Ṛv. 1, 24, even contain verses which cannot possibly have been composed by the Śuṇaḥśepa of the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa. For it says here: "He whom Suṇaḥśepa invoked when he was seized, the king Varuṇa, may he deliver us!" and: "Śuṇaḥśepa, indeed, when he was seized and bound to three stakes, invoked the Āditya." These are verses which must refer to another much older Śuṇaḥśepa legend. If the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa places these hymns in the mouth of Śuṇaḥśepa, then it can only be because the same tradition, in nowise reliable, which we have in our Anukramaṇīs [1] at the time of the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa already ascribed those hymns to a Ṛṣi Śuṇaḥśepa. We have here again a proof of how much earlier the Ṛgveda hymns are, chronologically, than everything else which belongs to the Veda.

Unfortunately few narratives have come down to us in such entirety in the Brāhmaṇas as that of Śuṇaḥśepa. Mostly, the stories are prepared for the purpose which they are to serve, namely the explanation or justification of a sacrificial ceremony, and it is sometimes not easy to extract from them the nucleus of an old legend or an old myth. Moreover, by no means all the narratives which we find in the Brāhmaṇas are derived from old myths and legends, but they are often only invented for the explanation of some sacrificial ceremony. Sometimes, however, even these invented tales are not without interest. To explain, for instance, why, in the case of sacrificial gifts which are dedicated to Prajāpati, the prayers are only to be uttered in a low voice, the following pretty allegory is related:

[1]) See above, pp. 57 f. and below in the section on Exegetic Vedāṅgas.

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"Now a dispute once took place between Mind and Speech as to which was the better of the two. Both Mind and Speech said, 'I am excellent!' (8)

Mind said, 'Surely I am better than thou, for thou dost not speak anything that is not understood by me; and since thou art only an imitator of what is done by me and a follower in my wake, I am surely better than thou!' (9)

Speech said, 'Surely I am better than thou, for what thou knowest, I make known, I communicate.' (10)

They went to appeal to Prajâpati for his decision. He, Prajâpati, decided in favour of Mind, saying (to Speech), 'Mind is indeed better than thou, for thou art an imitator of its deeds and a follower in its wake; and inferior, surely, is he who imitates his better's deeds and follows in his wake.' (11)

Then Speech (vâc, fem.) being thus gainsaid, was dismayed and miscarried. She, Speech, then said to Prajâpati, 'May I never be thy oblation-bearer, I whom thou hast gainsaid!' Hence whatever at the sacrifice is performed for Prajâpati, that is performed in a low voice; for speech would not act as oblation-bearer for Prajâpati." [1] (12)

Vâc, speech, also forms the subject of many narratives, in which she is represented as the prototype of women. Thus we meet with her, for example, in the legend of the soma-theft, which frequently occurs in the Brāhmaṇas. The soma was in heaven, and Gāyatrī, in the form of a bird, fetched it down. But as she carried it away, it was stolen from her by a Gandharva. Now the gods took counsel together how they could get back the stolen soma.

"They said, 'The Gandharvas are fond of women: let us send Vâc (speech) to them, and she will return to us together with Soma.' They sent Vâc to them, and she returned to them together with Soma. (3)

The Gandharvas came after her and said, 'Soma (shall be) yours, and Vâc ours!' 'So be it!' said the gods; 'but if she would rather come hither, do not ye carry her off by force: let us woo her!' They accordingly wooed her. (4)

[1] Śat. I, 4, 5, 8-12. Translated by J. *Eggeling*, SBE., Vol. 12, pp. 130 f.

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The Gandharvas recited the Vedas to her, saying, 'See how we know it, see how we know it!' [1]

(5)

The gods then created the lute and sat playing and singing, saying, 'Thus we will sing to thee, thus we will amuse thee!' She turned to the gods; but, in truth, she turned to them vainly, since she turned away from those engaged in praising and praying, to dance and song. Wherefore even to this day women are given to vain things; for it was on this wise that Vâc turned thereto, and other women do as she did. And hence it is to him who dances and sings that they most readily take a fancy."[2]

Just as this little story is invented to *explain* an attribute of women, there are numerous narratives in the Brāhmaṇas which deal with the *origin* of some matter or some institution. Such legends of origin, to which also the creation-legends belong, the Indians designate as Purāṇas,[3] in order to distinguish them from the Itihāsas (or Ākhyānas), as the stories of gods and men are called. Among these narratives, too, there are such as were merely invented by Brāhmaṇa theologians, while others date back to old, popular myths and legends, or at least are founded upon a tradition independent of the sacrificial science. Thus, the origin of the four castes is frequently related in the Brāhmaṇas. Already in one of the philosophical hymns of the Ṛgveda, the Puruṣasūkta,[4] it is reported how the Brahman arose out of the mouth, the warrior out of the arms, the Vaiśya out of the thighs and the Śūdra out of the feet of the Puruṣa sacrificed by the gods. In the Brāhmaṇas it is Prajāpati who produced out of his mouth the Brahman together with the God Agni, out of his breast and his two arms the warrior as well as Indra, out of the middle of his body the Vaiśya and the All-gods, but out of his feet

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[1]) As the Veda is the knowledge *par excellence*. See above, p. 52.

[2]) Śat., III, 2, 4, 2-6. Translated by J. *Eggeling*, SBE., Vol. 26, p. 53. *cf.* Śat. III, 2, 1, 19 ff.

[3]) *Purāṇa* means "old," then "old legend," "old story," especially cosmogonic and cosmological myths. At a later period a peculiar class of works was designated as *Purāṇas*, with which we shall have to deal in a later section.

[4]) X, 90, 12, *cf.* above, p. 175. *Deussen*, AGPh., I, 1, pp. 150 ff.

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the Śūdra. With the Śūdra no deity was created; therefore he is incapable for sacrifice. In consequence of this kind of origin the Brahman performs his work with his mouth, the warrior with his arms; the Vaiśya does not perish, however much he is "consumed," *i. e.* exploited, by priests and warriors, for he is created out of the middle of the body, where the reproductive power reposes; but of religious ceremonies, the Sūdra can perform only the foot-washing of members of the higher castes, for he arose out of the feet.[1] The following two suggestive tales of the creation of the night and of the winged mountains, found in the Maitrāyanī-Saṃhitā, are more pleasing.

"Yama had died. The gods tried to persuade Yamī[2] to forget him. Whenever they asked her, she said: "Only to-day he has died." Then the gods said: "Thus she will indeed never forget him; we will create night!" For at that time there was only day and no night. The gods created night; then arose a morrow; thereupon she forgot him. Therefore people say: "Day and night indeed let sorrow be forgotten!" (Maitr. I, 5, 12.)

"The oldest children of Prajāpati were the hills, and they were winged. They flew away and settled down just where they wished. But at that time the earth still swayed to and fro. Then Indra cut off the wings of the hills and made the earth fast with them. But the wings became storm-clouds; therefore these always hover in the direction of the mountains." (Maitr. I, 10, 13.)[3]

The creation-legends are very numerous in the Brāhmaṇas. An example will show how metaphysical thought here unites with desultory explanations of sacrificial directions. The daily fire-sacrifice (Agnihotra)[4] consisting in the offering of a gift of milk to the fire every morning and every

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[1]) Taittirīya-Saṃhitā, VII. 1, 1, 4-6. Tāṇḍya-Brāhmaṇa, VI, 1. 6-11. *Cf. Weber*, Ind. Stud., X, 7-10.

[2]) Twin-sister of Yama. See above, pp. 105 ff.

[3]) The myth of the winged hills is already known to the singers of the Ṛgveda, and is still a favourite subject with later poets. *Cf. Pischel*, Vedische Studien, I, 174.

[4]) See above, p. 172.

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evening, is one of the most important sacrifices. Upon the origin and significance of this sacrifice a Brāhmaṇa [1] has the following to say:

In the beginning only Prajāpati was here alone. He thought to himself: 'How can I obtain descendants?' He tortured himself and mortified himself.[2] Out of his mouth he produced Agni. And because he produced him out of his mouth, therefore Agni is a consumer of food. And truly, he who knows that Agni is a food-consumer, he himself becomes a consumer of food. Him, then, he produced first, *agre*, among the gods, and therefore he is called *Agni*, for the name Agni is really *Agri*.[3] Now thought Prajāpati to himself: 'This Agni I have produced as a food-consumer. But there is indeed no other food here than myself, would that he may not eat me up!' For at that time this earth was quite bare; there existed neither plants nor trees. About this Prajāpati was troubled. Hereupon Agni turned to him with open (mouth) and from (Prajāpati), because he was afraid, his own greatness fled. But his own greatness was his speech, and this his own greatness fled from him.' (It is then further related that Prajāpati desires a sacrifice for himself, and through rubbing his hands obtains an offering of butter or of milk, out of which the plants arise. As the result of a second offering of butter or of milk, there arise Sūrya, the sun, and Vāyu, the wind.) "And Prajapāti, in offering sacrifice, on the one hand propagated his species, and on the other hand also saved himself from Agni, from death, when the latter was about to consume him. And he who, knowing this, offers the fire-sacrifice, on the one hand propagates his species by means of descendants as

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[1]) Sat. II, 2, 4.

[2]) Most of the creation-legends in the Brāhmaṇas begin in the same way. As the magician must prepare himself for his magic, and the priest must prepare himself for the sacrifice, by means of self-torture and mortification, so Prajapati, too, has to prepare himself in the same way for the great work of creation. From the root *śram* "to exert oneself," is derived the word *Śramaṇa* "the ascetic" which later occurs frequently, particularly in the Buddhist literature. The word *Tapas* actually means "heat," then "ascetic fervour," then asceticism itself. "In fact, if by the designation Tapas the manifold forms of mortification are understood, then, especially in the earlier periods, the reference to heat as the vehicle of mortification stands in the foreground." (Oldenberg, Religion des Veda, 2. Aufl., pp. 401 ff.) According to Śat. X, 4, 4. 1 f., Prajapati once mortified himself for a thousand years until, as a result of the "heat" of the mortification, lights issued from his pores,—and these became the stars.

[3]) See above, p. 203.

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Prajāpati did, and on the other hand saves himself from Agni, from death, when the latter is about to consume him. And when he dies, and he is laid upon the fire, he is born again out of the fire, the fire only consumes his body.[1] And as if he were born of his father and his mother, just so is he born of the fire. He, however, who does not offer the fire-sacrifice, never again arises to new life. Therefore one must of necessity offer the fire-sacrifice." (It is then further related very circumstantially how the gods Agni, Vāyu and Sūrya, brought forth by Prajāpati, themselves in their turn offer sacrifices, and how the cow was created.) "This cow, however, Agni, desired thinking: 'I would like to mate myself with her.' He united himself with her and poured forth his seed into her. This became milk. Therefore the latter is cooked, while the cow is raw, for the milk is Agni's seed; and therefore it is that milk, whether it is in a black cow or a red one, is always white and shining like fire, because it is Agni's seed. And therefore it is warm already at the milking, for it is the seed of Agni.")

Just as these creation-legends usually begin by relating that Prajāpati "torments and mortifies himself," so we often read also that, after the creation was accomplished, he was weak, exhausted and wearied, whereupon some sacrifice is described, through which his strength had to be restored. On one occasion it is the gods who offer this sacrifice, on another occasion Agni alone shows this favour to Prajāpati, and on yet another occasion he regains his strength, "after having sung hymns and tortured himself," by creating the sacrificial animals and sacrificing them.[3] It is indeed remarkable that this world-creator Prajāpati, who really is the highest god in the Brāhmaṇas, has nothing lofty about him and often plays a rather pitiful part. Once he is actually even offered as a sacrifice himself by the gods![4] In a legend which is referred to in several places, he is accused of incest, which he

[1]) One of the few places in the Brāhmaṇas where mention is made of life after death.

[2]) *Cf.* above p. 65.

[3]) Sat. IV, 6, 4, 1; VII, 4. 1, 16; and frequently. VI. 1, 2, 12 ff. III, 9, 1.

[4]) Sat. X, 2, 2.

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has committed with his daughter Dyaus (heaven) or Uṣas (dawn). In order to punish him for this sin, the gods, out of their most frightful forms, formed the god Rudra. The latter pierced Prajāpati with his arrow, whereat Orion and other constellations arose.[1] Very noteworthy, too, is the fact that in the Brāhmaṇas (and in the Veda generally) there is no *one* Indian creation legend, which, as for instance the biblical legend in Europe, has found more or less general recognition in India, but that we find a great number of creation-legends, containing the most diversified ideas and speculations, which cannot be made to harmonize with one other at all. Thus we find, for example, in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, soon after the above quoted legend, an entirely different account of the creation. Prajāpati, here too,[2] tortured and mortified himself, in order to produce beings. He brought forth creatures, first the birds, then the small creeping things, then the snakes. But no sooner had they been created than they all vanished again, and Prajāpati was once more alone. He thought diligently about the reason for this, and at last the idea came to him that the creatures perished for lack of food. So he created new beings, from whose breasts he let milk flow forth, and these remained alive. Again, in another place in the same work,[3] Prajāpati creates the animals out of his vital organs, out of his mind he created man, out of his eye the horse, out of his breath the cow, out of his ear the sheep, out of his voice the goat. Because man is created out of Prajāpati's mind, and the mind is the first of the vital organs, therefore man is the first and strongest of all animals. [4]

In the majority of the legends, Prajāpati is indeed the

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[1]) Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa III, 33. *Cf.* Śat. I, 7, 4, 1; II, 1, 2, 8; VI, 1, 3, 8.

[2]) Sat. II, 5, 1, 1-3.

[3]) Sat. VII, 5, 2, 6.

[4]) This refers to the sacrificial animals in particular.

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only Creator, from whom the world and beings derive their origin. But, already in the Brāhmaṇas, there are places where Prajāpati himself is regarded as created, and the creation begins with the primeval water or with the non-existing or with the Brahman. Thus there is the following creation-legend :

"In the beginning there existed here nothing but water, a sea of water. These waters desired to propagate their kind. They tortured themselves, they mortified themselves. And when they had mortified themselves [1] a golden egg originated in them. The year did not yet exist at that time ; but as long as the duration of a year, this golden egg swam about. After a year a man arose out of it ; that was Prajāpati. Therefore a woman or a cow or a mare gives birth within a year, for Prajāpati was born after a year. He broke the golden egg open. But at that time there did not yet exist any standing-place. So this golden egg, which bore him, swam about as long as the duration of a year. After a year he tried to speak, and he said: "*bhūḥ*," and this (word) became this earth; (he said:) "*bhuvaḥ*" and this became yonder atmosphere, (he said) "*suvar*" [2] and this became the sky yonder. Therefore, a child tries to talk after a year, for after a year Prajāpati spoke. When Prajāpati first spoke, he uttered monosyllabic and bi-syllabic words, therefore a child, when it first speaks, utters mono-syllabic and bi-syllabic words. Those (three words) form five syllables. Out of these he made the five seasons of the year, therefore there are five seasons here.[3] This Prajāpati rose up above the worlds created in this manner after a year; therefore, after a year, a child tries to stand, for after a year Prajāpati rose up. He was born with the life of a thousand years. As one perceives the other bank of a river from a distance, so he perceived the other bank of his life.[4] And, singing praises and torturing himself

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[1]) As the term *Tapas* not only means mortification, but also heat, it is possible, in the case of the words "when they had mortified themselves," which might also mean "when they had become heated," to think of "hatching-heat" and it is quite possible that there is an intentional ambiguity in the Sanskrit words. *Cf.* above p. 99. and 220, Note 2, and *Deussen*, AGPh., I, 1, p. 182; 2, pp. 60 ff.

[2]) *Cf.* above p. 186, on the three sacred words bhūḥ, bhuvaḥ, suvar (or svar).

[3]) Namely: Spring, summer, rainy season, autumn, and winter.

[4]) As Prajāpati was born, he must also be mortal.

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he lived on, as he desired to propagate his species. He placed reproductive energy into himself, and with his mouth he created the gods .....After he had created them, he saw that there was, as it were, daylight (*divā*) for him, and that is the divinity of the gods (*deva*), that after he had created them, he saw that there was, as it were, daylight for him. Now he created with the breath of life which is below, the Asuras (demons) ..... And after they were created, he saw that there was, as it were, darkness. He knew: "Truly, I have created evil for myself, as there was darkness as soon as I had created them." And even at this early stage he smote them with evil, and their day was then already done. Therefore it is said: "It is not true what is reported of the battles between gods and Asuras, partly in narratives (anvākhyāna), partly in legends (itihāsa),[1] for at that time already Prajāpati smote them with evil, at that time already their day was done."..... After he had created the gods, he made the day out of that which was light, and after he had created the Asuras, he made the night out of that which was dark. So there now existed day and night." (Śat. XI, 1, 6, 1-11.)

Another creation-legend is still more remarkable, though also much less clear (Sat. VI, 1, 1), beginning with the words: "In the beginning there was here only the non-existent (Asat)." But it is at once added that this non-existent was really the Ṛṣis, for these, by means of self-torture and self-mortification have brought forth everything. These Ṛṣis, however, were the Prāṇas or life-spirits, and these—how they did this is quite unintelligible—created first seven Puruṣas or "persons" and then united these to a single puruṣa, to Prajāpati.

"This puruṣa (person) Prajāpati desired to multiply himself, to propagate his species. He tortured himself, he mortified himself. After he had tortured and mortified himself, he created first the Brahman, namely, the three-fold knowledge (trayī vidyā). This was the foundation for him. Therefore it is said: 'The Brahman is the foundation of the All.' Therefore one stands firm, when one has learnt the Veda; for this, the Brahman (*i.e.* the Veda) is the foundation."

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[1]) This is tantamount to declaring all the numerous legends of the Brāhmaṇas, which tell of the battles between gods and Asuras, to be lies!

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It is then further related how Prajāpati, "standing firm upon this foundation," mortified himself, and then first created the water. With the aid of the Veda he brought forth an egg; out of the egg arose Agni, and the egg-shell became the earth, and so on. It is a very prolix and confused account. It is, however, important to see that the *Brahman*, originally signifying prayer or magic spell, then sacred knowledge or Veda, was here already made the foundation of all existence. From this only a step remained to the doctrine of the Brahman itself as a creative principle. This doctrine too is already found in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (XI, 2, 3, 1) where it says:

"In the beginning there was here only the Brahman. This created the gods, and after it had created the gods, it gave them these worlds as dwellings,[1] (namely), this earth-world to Agni, the atmosphere to Vāyu and the heaven to Sūrya."

Thus we see how in the Brāhmaṇas—and therein lies their great significance for the history of Indian thought—all those ideas were already in the making, which attained their full development only in the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads. Even the fundamental doctrine of the Upaniṣads, as *Śaṇḍilya* enunciated it, is already found in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa.[2]

Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.

When R. Garbe[3] calls the sacrificial science of the Brāhmaṇas "the only literary production of these barren centuries preceding the awakening of philosophical speculation," he gives expression to a universal, but in my opinion erroneous, view. It would be too terrible to think that, with such a gifted people as the Indians must have been,

[1] Literally "it made them ascend these worlds."
[2] X, 6, 3. *Cf.* below, pp. 249 f.
[3] Beiträge zur indischen Kulturgeschichte (Berlin, 1903), p. 6.

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even on the evidence of the Ṛgvedic hymns, the futile hair-splittings on the purpose and meaning of sacrificial ceremonies should have occupied the entire thought even of the priests, to say nothing of the warriors and the remaining classes of the people. As a matter of fact we do find in the Brāhmaṇas themselves, as Sāyaṇa has already emphasized, and as we have partly seen above, beside ritual-precepts (Kalpa) and the discussions on the same, also myths and legends (itihāsa), cosmogonic myths (purāṇa), epic song verses (gāthā) and songs in praise of heroes (nārāśaṃsī.[1]) In other words: the beginnings of epic poetry reach back into the period of the Brāhmaṇas. It is a matter of course that the great and costly sacrifices, with which the Brāhmaṇas deal, were only possible on the supposition of an active and industrious people; and it is unthinkable that the warriors and merchants, the farmers and herd owners, the craftsmen and labourers of that time should have sung no songs, related no stories. A little of what was sung and narrated in India at that early period, is preserved in the Vedic texts themselves (as, for example, the legend of Śunaḥśepa), but much is preserved in the later epics and Purāṇas. Moreover, the Brāhmaṇas presuppose the beginnings of grammar, phonetics, astronomy, *i.e.*, of those sciences which were later on pursued more independently as Vedāṅgas[2]; neither does the "awakening of philosophical speculation" come *after* the period of the Brāhmaṇas: It comes *before* this period. We have seen how in some hymns of the Ṛgveda doubts and scruples already arose concerning the popular belief in gods and the priestly cult.

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[1]) *Max Müller*, "History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature," 2nd ed., London, 1860, p. 344. *Cf.* Śat. XI, 5, 6, 8: 7, 9. "Knowers of the narratives" (Ākhyānavidas) are mentioned, in the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa, III, 25, as a special class of literary men.

[2]) On the beginnings of the Vedāṅgas in the Brāhmaṇas, *cf. Max Müller*, "History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature," pp. 110 ff.

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These sceptics and thinkers, these first philosophers of ancient India certainly did not remain isolated. That they, too, founded schools of thought, that their teachings were diffused, is proved by the "philosophical" hymns of the Atharvaveda and isolated portions of the Yajurveda-Saṃhitās, in which, it is true, the teachings of the philosophers often appear only in caricature.[1] But even these caricatures prove that philosophical speculation was further pursued also during the centuries in which the sacrificial science flourished.

We are not, however, likely to find these oldest philosophers of ancient India among the priests, who were engaged in the science of sacrifice. For their teachings, which were directed against the plurality of gods, were in obvious contradiction to the interest of these priests. We can scarcely imagine that the Brahmans, who lived by the sacrifices, had many men amongst them who doubted the existence of Indra himself, and raised the question whether there were any sense in sacrificing to the gods.[2] It is much more probable that such sceptics and thinkers were to be found among those who were the most obnoxious to the priests, among the "misers," who did not *believe*, *i.e.*, who did not sacrifice and gave no gifts to the priests.

The fact that the warrior-caste was closely connected with the intellectual life and the literary activity of ancient times, is proved by numerous passages in the Upaniṣads, in fact already in the Brāhmaṇas. In the Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa (XXVI, 5) a king Pratardana converses with the priests concerning the sacrificial science. In Book XI of the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa there is repeated mention of King Janaka of Videha, who confounded all priests by his knowledge. The passage in which Janaka questions the priests Śvetaketu,

[1]) *Cf.* above pp. 98 ff., 149 ff., 183 f.
[2]) *Cf.* above, p. 98.

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Somaśuṣma and Yājñavalkya as to how they perform the fire-sacrifice (Agnihotra) is particularly instructive. None of them gives a satisfactory answer. But Yājñavalkya receives a gift of a hundred cows, because he has inquired the most deeply into the meaning of the sacrifice, although, as King Janaka remarks, even upon him the true meaning of the Agnihotra has not yet dawned. After the king has departed, the priests say to one another: "Truly, this warrior has confounded us by his speech. Well! We will challenge him to a theological debate (Brahmodya)." Yājñavalkya, however, dissuades them, saying: "We are Brahmans, but he is only a warrior. If we overcome him, whom shall we say that we have overcome? But if he should overcome us, the people would say of us: 'A warrior has overcome the Brahmans'; do not think of such a thing!" The two other priests agreed with him, but Yājñavalkya betakes himself to King Janaka and begs to be instructed by him.[1] Ayasthūṇa, too, the sacrificer, who instructs his priest Śaulvāyana,[2] can hardly be a Brahman, although Sāyaṇa declares him to be a Ṛṣi. According to tradition, even the Ṛṣis or composers of the hymns of the Ṛgveda were by no means always members of the priesthood. Thus it is said of a Ṛṣi Kavaṣa, that he was the son of a female slave, a non-Brahman. When he wanted to participate in a great sacrifice, the priests drove him away, to die of hunger and thirst in the desert. But the waters and the goddess Sarasvatī take pity on him, he 'sees' a hymn, whereupon the priests recognise him as a Ṛṣi and receive him back.[3]

In the Upaniṣads, however, we find not only kings, but also women and even people of dubious descent, taking an active part in the literary and philosophical aspirations and

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[1]) Śat. XI, 6, 2; *cf.* XI, 3, 1, 2-4; XI, 6, 3.
[2]) Śat. XI, 4, 2, 17-20.
[3]) Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa, II, 19.

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often possessors of the highest knowledge. Thus in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad, *Gārgī*, the daughter of Vacaknu, questions Yājñavalkya at great length upon the origin of all existence, until the latter says: "Ask not too much, Gārgī, that thy head may not burst. Truly, concerning divinity one must not ask too much. Thou dost ask too much, Gārgī; ask not too much!" And in another place the same Gārgī, in the midst of an assembly of disputative scholars, advances towards the famous teacher Yājñavalkya with the words: "I arise against thee, Yājñavalkya! As a hero's son from Benares or from Videha strings the slackened bow and arises with two foe-piercing arrows in his hand, so I arise against thee with two questions—answer me those!" In the same Upaniṣad Yājñavalkya instructs his wife Maitreyī in the highest knowledge of the Ātman.[1] How little this highest knowledge was the sole privilege of the priests, is again proved by the amusing story of Raikva with the bullock-team,[2] who is sitting under his cart and scratching the itch, but who, in the possession of the highest wisdom is proud as a king. Humbly the wealthy donor Janaśruti approaches him in order to be instructed by him. Raikva calls him a śūdra[3] and laughs at the presents which the rich man offers him. Only when the latter gives him his beautiful daughter in marriage, does he condescend to instruct him.[4] The following story is also delightfully ingenuous:

"1. Satyakāma, the son of Jabālā, addressed his mother and said: 'I wish to become a Brahmacārin (religious student), mother. Of what family am I?'

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[1]) Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad, III, 6; III, 8; II, 4 and IV, 5.

[2]) The meaning of *sayugvan* translated by "with the bullock-team," is not certain. But other explanations (s. H. *Lüders*, SBA., 1916, pp. 278 ff.) are not satisfactory. Raikva is called a "Brāhmaṇa" in the sense of "one who knows the Brahman," not in the sense of "a member of the priestly class."

[3]) The word is here used as a term of abuse.

[4]) Chāndogya-Upaniṣad, IV, 1-3.

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2. She said to him: 'I do not know, my child, of what family thou art. In my youth when I had to move about much as a servant (waiting on the guests in my father's house), I conceived thee. I do not know of what family thou art. I am Jabālā by name, thou art Satyakāma (Philalethes). Say that thou art Satyakāma Jābāla.'

3. He going to Gautama Hāridrumata said to him, 'I wish to become a Brahmacārin with you, Sir. May I come to you, Sir?'

4. He said to him: 'Of what family are you, my friend?' He replied: 'I do not know, Sir, of what family I am. I asked my mother, and she answered: "In my youth when I had to move about much as a servant, I conceived thee. I do not know of what family thou art. I am Jābāla by name, thou art Satyakāma," I am therefore Satyakāma Jābāla, Sir.'

5. He said to him: 'No one but a true Brāhmaṇa would thus speak out. Go and fetch fuel, friend, I shall initiate you. You have not swerved from the truth.'"[1]

The passage proves how lightly brahmanical descent was treated at that ancient period, while later—in the law-books—it is again and again emphasized that only the Brahman may teach the Veda, and only a member of the three highest castes may be instructed in the Veda. In the Upaniṣads, however, we are repeatedly told that kings or warriors are in possession of the highest knowledge, and that Brahmans go to them for instruction. Thus the Brahman Gautama, father of Śvetaketu, goes to King Pravāhaṇa in order to be instructed by him concerning the Beyond. And it is related that the desire of Gautama was very awkward for the king: for the doctrine which he had to proclaim, had never before penetrated to the Brahmans, "and therefore it is that in all the worlds the mastery has fallen to the share of the warrior-class." Finally, however, the king does

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[1]) Chāndogya-Upaniṣad, IV, 4. Translated by *Max Müller*, SBE., Vol. I, p. 60. In the Vaṃśas or lists of teachers of the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa numerous teachers are only mentioned by their *maternal name*. *Cf.* above, p. 194 Note 1. Satyakāma means: "truth-loving." The passage has also been translated (into German) and explained by *H. Lüders*, SBA., 1922, pp. 227 ff.

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impart the doctrine to him,—and it is the doctrine of *transmigration*, which here, where for the first time it appears clearly and distinctly, proves to be a doctrine which emanated from the warrior-class, and was originally foreign to brahmanical theology.[1] Another passage proves that the chief doctrine of the Upaniṣads, too, the doctrine of the *Ātman*, the All-One, originated in non-brahmanical circles. Here five highly learned Brahmans betake themselves to the wise Uddālaka Āruṇi, in order to learn from him the doctrine of the Ātman. He, however, thought to himself: "These great and learned scholars will question me, and I shall not be able to reply to everything. Well! I will direct them to some one else." And he directed them to *King* Aśvapati Kaikeya, to whom they actually went for instruction.[2]

While, then, the Brahmans were pursuing their barren sacrificial science, other circles were already engaged upon those highest questions which were at last treated so admirably in the Upaniṣads. From these circles, which originally were not connected with the priestly caste, proceeded the forest-hermits and wandering ascetics, who not only renounced the world and its pleasures, but also kept aloof from the sacrifices and ceremonies of the Brahmans. Different sects, more or less opposed to Brahmanism, were soon formed from these same circles, among which sects the Buddhists attained to such great fame. The extensive propagation of these sects, particularly of Buddhism, proves on what fruitful soil the doctrines of those ancient philosophers must have fallen, and how much response the doctrines which were opposed to the sacrifice found among the cultured classes.

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[1]) Chāndogya-Upaniṣad, V, 3. Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Up., VI, 2. In the Kauṣitaki-Up., I, 1 the Kṣatriya Citra instructs the "first of the priests," Āruṇi, about the Beyond.

[2]) Chāndogya-Up., V, 11 ff. A version of this narrative is already to be found in Śat., X. 6. 1.

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This is, however, by no means tantamount to saying that the Brahmans took no part in philosophical speculation; for warriors and members of the higher castes in general were educated in the Brahmans' schools, and there must have been a brisk exchange of philosophical ideas between the Brahmans and the other educated classes at all times.[1] Moreover, not every Brahman was a priest or an adept in the art of the sacrifice. There were Brahmans, both rich and poor, who pursued worldly professions,[2] and there must have been many of these who sympathised with the sceptics and the exponents of new doctrines. Lastly, as has so often been the case in the history of Indian thought, the Brahmans had the knack of bringing into line with their own priestly wisdom and orthodoxy even such ideas as were in opposition to them. They succeeded in doing this by means of the doctrine of the four Aśramas (stages of life),

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[1]) *Cf.* A. *Hillebrandt*, Aus Brahmanas und Upanisaden, pp. 10 ff., with whom I quite agree when he says that the philosophy of the Upaniṣads should be called neither a "Brahmanical" nor a "Kṣatriya philosophy." But it should not be doubted that non-Brahmans, especially Kṣatriyas, had a considerable share in the spiritual and intellectual life of ancient India. See P. *Deussen*, System des Vedanta, Leipzig, 1883, pp. 18 f., AGPh. I, 1, 166; 1, 2, 17 ff.; R. *Garbe*, Beiträge Zur indischen Kulturgeschichte, Berlin, 1903, pp. 1 ff.; R. *Pick*. The Social Organisation in North-East India in Buddha's Time, transl. by S. *Maitra*, Calcutta, 1920, pp. 90 ff. The view that the Kṣatriyas had an essential share in the development of the Upaniṣad ideas, has been contested by H. *Oldenberg*, Die Lehre der Upanishaden und die Anfänge des Buddhismus, Göttingen, 1915, pp. 166 f.; P. *Oltramare*, L'histoire des iddes théosophiques dans I, Inde, 1, 96 f.; A. B. *Keith*, Aitareya Āranyaka, p. 50 and JRAS., 1915, p. 550; also by S. *Dasgupta*, A History of Indian Philosophy, I Cambridge, 1922, pp. 33 ff., though he admits (p. 31) "that among the Kṣatriyas in general there existed earnest philosophic enquiries which must be regarded as having exerted an important influence in the formation of the Upaniṣad doctrines." The fact is that the ancient Upaniṣads as literary compositions were arranged in the Brahmanic schools and were "Brahmanical" in this sense. But it does not follow from this, that all or even the most essential *ideas* contained in these texts were first *conceived* in priestly circles. It is worth mentioning that even the Āpastambīya-Dharmasūtra (II, 2, 4, 25) permits a Brahman to learn under a Kṣatriya or a Vaiśya teacher "in time of need" (āpadi).

[2]) *Cf. Oldenberg*, Die Lehre der Upanishaden, etc., p. 5.

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whereby the ascetic and hermit life was made an essential part of the brahmanical religious system. This doctrine consists of the principle that every "Aryan," *i.e.*, every man belonging to one of the three highest castes, who wishes to lead an ideal life, must pass through four stages of life. First, as a pupil (Brahmacārin), he must live with a teacher and learn the Veda; when his period of training is accomplished, he must found a household, and as a householder (Gṛhastha) beget children and offer the prescribed sacrifices to the gods, or have them offered. On approaching old age, however, he should quit his house, and, as a forest-hermit (Vānaprastha) henceforth perform only limited sacrificial service, but meditate the more upon the mystical and symbolical significance of the sacrifice. But only when he feels his end approaching, shall he give up this sacrifice and meditation also, renounce all good works, and as an ascetic fleeing from the world (Sannyāsin) henceforth ponder only over Brahman, the highest world-principle, and strive for union with it.[1]

In the Brāhmaṇas or as appendices to them we find texts which were known as Āraṇyakas or "forest texts." These texts comprised everything which was of a secret, uncanny character, and spelt danger to the uninitiated, and which, for that reason, might only be taught and learnt in the forest, and not in the villages. The main contents of these Araṇyakas are no longer rules for the performance of the sacrifices and the explanation of ceremonies, but the mysticism and symbolism of sacrifice, and priestly philosophy. After the doctrine of the Āśramas had been set up as the

[1]) In the oldest Upaniṣads (Chāndogya-Up. II, 23; VIII, 1) three branches of an ideal life are spoken of, but there is no mention yet of three or four successive stages of life. Only in later Upaniṣads (Maitr. IV, 3; Āśrama-Up.), in the Mahābhārata and in the Dharmaśāstras the Āśrama theory is fully developed. See Deussen, Sechzig Upanishads, pp. 96 f.; ERE., II, 128 ff.; and *Jacobi*, ERE., II, 502.

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brahmanical ideal of life, these "forest texts" naturally came to be the prescribed portions of the Veda to be studied by forest-hermits.[1] Now, the oldest *Upaniṣads* are in part included in these "forest texts," and in part appended to them; and it is often difficult to draw the line between the Āraṇyakas and the Upaniṣads. These texts formed, in more senses than one, the *Vedānta*, *i.e.*, "the end of the Veda."[2] Firstly most of these texts are of later origin, and fall chronologically into the *end* of the Vedic period. Further, we must never forget that the whole of this Vedic literature did not consist of written books, but was only transmitted by word of mouth. What we find in the individual Brāhmaṇas, therefore, and usually call "works" or "books" is nothing but the subject of instructions of various priests' schools. The subject was taught to the pupils within a certain period embracing a number of years during which the pupil had to live with the teacher and serve him. The teaching of that which was the most difficult to understand, the mysteries, the mystical and philosophical doctrines, as they are contained in the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads, naturally fell into the *end* of this period of instruction. These texts form the *end*, too, of the Veda-recital, as a sacred act and religious duty. The later philosophers, lastly, saw in these doctrines of the Upaniṣads not the *end*, but the *final aim* of the Veda.[3]

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[1]) *Cf. Oldenberg*, Die Hymnen des Rigveda, I, Berlin, 1888, p. 291 and NGGW., 1915, 382 ff. Rāmānuja (SBE., Vol. 48, p. 645) states that certain mantras and sacrificial rites are discussed at the beginning of Upaniṣads "owing to their having, like the latter, to be studied in the forest." In the Āruṇi-Upaniṣad, 2 (The Minor Upaniṣads, ed. F. O. *Schrader*, I, p. 7; *Deussen*, Sechzig Upanishads des Veda, p. 693) it is said that the hermit should study of all the Vedas only the Āraṇyaka and the Upaniṣad. Manu, VI, 29, says that the hermit should learn "the Upaniṣad texts" (aupaniṣadīḥ śrutīḥ). Strict rules of austerity are prescribed at the reading of the Upaniṣads, s. Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra, II, 10, 18, 15 ff. *Cf.* also *Max Müller*, History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, pp. 313 ff.

[2]) "Vedānta" means originally only the Upaniṣads. The word was only later used to mean the system of philosophy based on the Upaniṣads.

[3]) *Cf.* P. *Deussen*, System des Vedanta, pp. 3 f. AGPh., 1, 2, p. 5.

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As Vedānta or "Veda-end," the Āraṇyakas, as well as the older Upaniṣads, belong to the various Vedic schools; they form, in fact, only component parts of the Brāhmaṇas. Thus an Aitareya-Araṇyaka, in which the Aitareya-Upaniṣad is included, is tacked on to the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa of the Ṛg-veda. The Kauṣitaki-Brāhmaṇa, which also belongs to the Ṛg-veda, ends with the Kauṣitaki-Āraṇyaka, of which the Kauṣītaki-Upaṇiṣad (also called the Kauṣitaki-Brāhmaṇa-Upaniṣad) forms only a part.[1] In the Black Yajurveda the Taittirīya-Araṇyaka[2] is only a continuation of the Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa, and the conclusion of the Araṇyaka is formed by the Tattirīya-Upaniṣad and the Mahā-Nārāyaṇ-Upaniṣad. In the great Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa of the White-Yajurveda, the first third of Book XIV is an Araṇyaka, while the end of the book is formed by the greatest and most important of all Upaniṣads, the Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad. The Chāndogya-Upaniṣad, the first section of which is nothing but an Āraṇyaka, belongs to a Brāhmaṇa of the Sāmaveda—probably the Tāṇḍya-Mahā-Brāhmaṇa. The so-called Jaiminīya-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa[3] is an Araṇyaka of the Jaiminīya- or Talavakāra-school of the Sāmaveda, and the Kena-Upaniṣad, also called Talavakāra-Upaniṣad, forms a part of it.

With the exception of the Mahā-Nārāyaṇa-Upaniṣad, which was only added to the Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka at a later

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[1]) The Aitareya-Âraṇyaka has been published and translated into English by A. B. *Keith* (Anecdota Oxoniensia, Aryan Series, Part IX, Oxford 1919) and as an appendix to it a portion of the Śāṅkhāyana-Āraṇyaka (VII-XV). Adhyāyas—I and II of this Āraṇyaka are published and translated by W. *Friedländer*, Der mahâvrata Abschnitt des Çâṅkhāyana-Āraṇyaka, Berlin 1900, Adhyāyas III to VI, by *Cowell*, Calcutta 1901. On the title, antiquity and contents of the Śāṅkhāyana- or Kauṣītaki-Āraṇyaka. S. *Keith*, JRAS., 1908, 363 ff. The Sāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka, with an Appendix on the Mahāvrata, (translated) by A. B. *Keith*, OTF., London, 1908.

[2]) Ed. with Sâyaṇa's Comm. in Bibl. Ind. and in An. SS. No. 36.

[3]) The Jaiminīya or Talavakāra Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa, Text, Translation and Notes by Hanns *Oertel*, in JAOS., Vol. XVI, 1896.

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period, all the above-named Upaniṣads belong to the oldest works of this kind. In language and style they resemble the Brāhmaṇas, component parts of which they are, or to which they are immediately attached. It is the same simple, slightly clumsy *prose*, but—especially in the narrative portions—by no means lacking in beauty. Only half of the Kena-Upaniṣad is metrical, and it is the latest of the Upaniṣads enumerated. Although each one of the great Upaniṣads contains, as Deussen [1] says, "earlier and later texts side by side, hence the age of each individual piece must be determined separately," yet even the later portions of the above-mentioned Upaniṣads may claim great antiquity, if only on linguistic grounds.[2] We may take it that the greater Upaniṣads, like the Bṛhadāraṇyaka- and the Chāndogya-Upaniṣad, originated in the *fusion* of several longer or shorter texts which had originally been regarded as separate Upaniṣads. This would also explain the fact that the same texts are sometimes to be found in several Upaniṣads. The individual texts of which the greater Upaniṣads are composed, all belong to a period which cannot be very far removed from that of the Brāhmaṇas and the Āraṇyakas, and is before Buddha and before Pāṇini. For this reason the six above-mentioned Upaniṣads,—Aitareya, Bṛhadāraṇyaka, Chāndogya, Taittirīya, Kauṣītaki and Kena—undoubtedly represent the earliest stage of development in the literature of the Upaniṣads. They contain the so-called Vedānta doctrine in its pure, original form.

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[1]) AGPh., 1, 2, p. 22.

[2]) On the language of the Upaniṣads see B *Liebich*, Panini, Leipzig, 1891, p. 62 ff.; Otto *Wecker*, Der Gebrauch der Kasus in der Upaniṣadliteratur, Göttingen 1905 (Bezz Beitr.); W. *Kirfel*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Nominalkomposition in den Upaniṣads und im Epos. Diss, Bonn, 1908; A. *Fürst*, Der Sprachgebrauch der älteren Upaniṣads verglichen mit dem der früheren vedischen Perioden und des klassischen Sanskrit, Diss. (Tübingen), Göttingen, 1915; also *Oldenberg*, Zur Geschichte der altindischen Prosa, pp. 28 ff.

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A few Upaniṣads which are written entirely or for the most part in *verse*, belong to a period which is somewhat later, though still early, and probably pre-Buddhistic. These, too, are assigned to certain Vedic schools, though they have not always come down to us as portions of an Araṇyaka. In this category we may include the Kaṭha- or Kāṭhaka-Upaniṣad,[1] the very name of which points to its connection with a school of the Black Yajurveda (see above p. 169). The Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad,[2] and the Mahā-Nārāyaṇa-Upaniṣad which has come down to us as an appendix to the Ṭaittirīya-Āraṇyaka, are also counted among the texts of the Black Yajurveda. The short, but most valuable Īṣā-Upaniṣad,[3] which forms the last section of the Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā, belongs to the White Yajurveda. The Muṇḍaka-Upaniṣad,[4] and the Praśna-Upaniṣad,[5] half of which is in prose, half in verse, belong to the Atharvaveda. Though these six Upaniṣads, too, contain the Vedānta doctrine, we here find it interwoven to a great extent with Sāṃkhya and Yoga doctrines and with monotheistic views. We must, however, leave it to future scholars to decide to what degree the various philosophical doctrines mingled, and to what degree this mingling

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[1]) Edited with Śaṅkara's commentary by Śrīdhara-Śāstrī *Pāthaka*, Poona, 1919; translated by W. D. *Whitney*, Transactions of the American Philological Association, Vol 21. On text-criticism s. R. *Fritzsche*, ZDMG., 66, 1912, 727 f.; *Hillebrandt*, ZDMG., 68, 1914, 579 ff.; and *Hertel*, Die Weisheit der Upanischaden, pp. 42 ff.

[2]) On this Up. see *Weber*, Ind. Stud I, 420 ff. and R. G. *Bhandarkar*, Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems (Grundriss III, 6, 1913), pp. 106 ff.

[3]) Translation (with text) and analysis by Aurobindo *Ghose*, Calcutta (Ideal and Progress Series, No. 5). Metrical translation by H. *Baynes*, Ind. Ant., 26, 1897, 213 ff. On text criticism s *Raynes*, l. c., and *Hertel*, Die Weisheit der Upanischaden, pp. 25 ff.

[4]) J. *Hertel* (Muṇḍaka-Upaniṣad, kritische Ausgabe, Leipzig, 1924) has tried to restore the original text of this Upaniṣad. Its connection with the Atharvaveda (X, 7 and 8) has been pointed out by *Hertel*, l. c., pp. 45 ff. The title probably means "the Upaniṣad of the bald-headed," that is, of some sect of ascetics with shaven heads. *Hertel* (l. c., pp. 64 ff.) suggests some connection between the Muṇḍ.-Up., and the Jainas.

[5]) In this Upaniṣad the sage Pippalāda, the founder of the Paippalāda school of the Atharvaveda, appears as teacher. On text criticism s. *Hillebrandt*, ZDMG., 68, 1914, 581 f.

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was consequent upon retouched versions of the text; for all these texts show distinct signs of having been touched up. There are for instance, as many as three separate recensions of the Mahā-Nārāyaṇa-Upaniṣad, and this shows how uncertain the text is.[1]

The Maitrāyaṇīya-Upaniṣad,[2] which, by reason of its title, is attributed to a school of the Black Yajurveda,[3] belongs to a considerably later period which must have been post-Buddhistic. It is again written in *prose*, like the earliest Upaniṣads. This prose, however, no longer shows any Vedic traces. On the grounds of language, style and contents, we may place the work in the period of classical Sanskrit literature. The Māṇḍūkya-Upaniṣad[4] of the Atharvaveda probably also belongs to this same later period. Śaṅkara, who quotes the twelve Upaniṣads previously enumerated as sacred and authoritative texts in his commentary on the

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[1]) *Cf.* R. *Zimmermann*, Die Quellen der Mahā-nārāyaṇa-Upaniṣad und das Verhältnis der verschiedenen Rezensionen zu einander, Diss., Berlin, 1913, and Ind. Ant., 44, 1915, 130 ff., 177 ff.; *Barth.*, RHR. 19, 1889, 150 f. = Oeuvres, II, 23. Edition by G. A. *Jacob*, BSS Nr. 35, 1888.

[2]) Other titles are: Maitrāyaṇa-Brāhmaṇa-Up., Maitrāyaṇa-Up., Maitrāyaṇī-Up., and Maitri-Up., s. *Max Müller*, SBE., Vol. 15, pp. xliii ff. There are several recensions of the text. The text (ed., with the commentary of Rāmatīrtha, by E. B. *Cowell*, 2nd ed. revised by Satischandra *Vidyabhusan*, Bibl. Ind., 1913 ff.) which has hitherto been translated consists of 7 Prapāṭhakas. But the two last Prapāṭhakas (declared to be supplementary by *Deussen*, Sechzig Upanishads, p. 330) are missing in the edition of Mahadeva *Sastri* (Sāmānya Vedānta Upanishads, pp. 388 ff.), where Prap., IV, 5 corresponds to the 5th Prapāṭhaka of the older editions. A different work is the metrical Maitreya-Upaniṣad (Minor Upaniṣads, ed. *Schrader*, I, pp. 105 ff.), which only in the prose introduction partly agrees with our Maitrāy.-Up.

[3]) In some MSS. it is given as part of the Maitrāyaṇīya-Saṃhitā.

[4]) On this Upaniṣad s. H. *Baynes*, Ind. Ant., 26, 1897, 169 ff. The Gauḍapādīya-Kārikās, one of the most important works of Indian philosophy, is based on the Māṇḍ.-Up. Pandit *Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya* (Sir Asutosh Mukherjee Silver Jubilee Volume, pp 103 ff.) has proved that Śaṅkara is not the author of the commentary ascribed to him on this Up. The same learned Pandit thinks, as he writes to me (in a letter dated 27th August, 1924) and as he intends to prove, that the Māṇḍūkya-Up. is later than Gauḍapāda's Kārikās, and was even unknown to Śaṅkara.

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Brahmasūtras, mentions neither the Maitrāyaṇīya- nor the Māṇḍūkya-Upaniṣad.[1]

Though the two last-named texts must be among the latest offshoots of Vedic literature, they too may still be classed together with the twelve earlier texts as *Vedic Upaniṣads*; and these fourteen Upaniṣads only can be used as sources for the history of the earliest Indian philosophy.

Though the remaining Upaniṣads—and there are over 200 texts which have come down to us either independently as Upaniṣads or in larger collections—are also attributed by tradition to one or other of the Vedic schools, only a few of them have any real connection with the Veda. Most of them are religious rather than philosophical works, and contain the doctrines and views of schools of philosophers and religious sects of a much later period. Many of them are much more nearly related to the Purāṇas and Tantras chronologically as well as in content, than to the Veda. This latest Upaniṣad literature may be classified as follows, according to its purpose and contents: (1) those works which present Vedānta doctrines,[2]

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[1]) *Cf. Deussen*, System des Vedânta, pp. 32 f., on the Upaniṣads quoted by Śaṅkara. As regards the chronological order of the fourteen Vedic Upaniṣads, absolute certainty cannot be obtained. *Keith* (The Aitareya Āraṇyaka, pp. 45 ff.) has tried to prove that the Aitareya-Upaniṣad is the oldest, dating back to about 700-600 B.C. Others consider the Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Up. to be the oldest. S. *Radhakrishnan*, Indian Philosophy, I, pp. 141 f., says that "the accepted dates for the early Upaniṣads are 1000 B.C. to 300 B.C." By whom are these dates "accepted"? *Cf. Deussen* in Transactions of the 3rd International Congress for the History of Religion, Oxford, 1908, II, pp. 19 ff.; *Oldenberg*, Die Lehre der Upanishaden, pp. 288 f., 341; *Hillebrandt*, Aus Brahmanas und Upanisaden, p. 170. *Benimadhab Barua*, A History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy, Calcutta, 1921) has made a remarkable and creditable, though not always successful, attempt at establishing a chronology of the philosophical ideas contained in the Upaniṣads, apart from the chronology of the literary works. But his designation of the philosophy of the Upaniṣads as "post-Vedic" (pp. 39 ff.) is very confusing.

[2]) The Sāmānya Vedānta Upanishads with the commentary of Sri Upanishad-Brahma-Yogin, ed. by Pandit A. Mahadeva *Sastri*. Adyar Library (Theosophical Society), 1921.

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(2) those which teach Yoga,[1] (3) those which extol the ascetic life (sannyāsa),[2] (4) those which glorify Viṣṇu,[3] and (5) those which glorify Śiva as the highest divinity, and (6) Upaniṣads of the Śāktas and of other more insignificant sects.[4] These Upaniṣads are written partly in prose, partly in a mixture of prose and verse, and partly in epic Ślokas. Whilst the latter are on the same chronological level as the latest Purāṇas and Tantras, there are some works among the former which may be of greater antiquity, and which might consequently still be associated with the Veda. The following are probably examples of such earlier Upaniṣads: the Jābāla-Upaniṣad[5] which is quoted by Śaṅkara as an authority, and which closes with a beautiful description of the ascetic named Paramahaṃsa; the Paramahaṃsa-Upaniṣad,[6] describing the path of the Paramahaṃsa still more vividly; the very extensive Subāla-Upaniṣad,[7] often quoted by Rāmānuja, and dealing with cosmogony, physiology, psychology and metaphysics;

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[1]) The Yoga Upanishads with the Commentary of Sri Upanishad-Brahma-Yogin, ed. by A. Mahadeva *Sastri*. Adyar, 1920. The Cūlikā-Up., and Amṛtanāda-Up. have been edited and translated into German by A. *Weber*, Ind. Stud., 9, pp. 10ff., 23 ff.

[2]) The Minor Upaniṣads critically edited by F. Otto *Schrader*, Vol. I: Saṃnyāsa-Upaniṣads. The Adyar Library, Madras, S. 1912. The Mṛtyulāṅgala-Up. (ed. by A.C. *Burnell*, Ind. Ant., 2, 1873, pp. 265 f.) is a purely Tantric work.

[3]) The Vaishnava-Upanishads with the Commentary of Sri Upanishad-Brahma-Yogin, ed. by A. Mahadeva *Sastri*, Adyar 1923. The Rāma-Tāpaniya-Upaniṣad, text and German translation by A. *Weber*, ABA., 1864, pp. 271 ff.; the Nṛsiṃha-Tāpaniya-Up. by the same scholar, Ind. Stud., 9, 53 173. On Niralamba-Up. and Garuḍa-Up. s. *Weber*, Ind. Stud., 3, 324 ff.; 17, 36 ff., 161 ff.

[4]) Edition of the Śaiva and Śākta Upaniṣads by Pandit Mahadeva *Sastri* of the Adyar Library are in preparation. This classification of the non-Vedic Upaniṣads was first proposed by *Deussen*, Sechzig Upanishads, pp. 542 f., and then adopted by F. O. *Schrader*. Minor Upaniṣads, pp. ii f. in an amplified form. It is useful for practical purposes, though not always strictly applicable. For some Upaniṣads teach brahmavidyā by means of Yoga, and might be classified as well with the Vedānta as with the Yoga Upaniṣads; and some Yoga Upaniṣads might as well be classified as Vaiṣṇava, etc.

[5]) Minor Upaniṣads, ed. F. O. *Schrader*, I, pp. 57 ff. *Deussen*, Sechzig Upanishads, pp. 706 ff.

[6]) Minor Upaniṣads, I, pp. 43 ff.; *Deussen*, l. c., pp. 703 ff.

[7]) Sāmānya Vedānta Upanishads, ed. Mahadeva *Sastri*, pp. 460 ff.

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the Garbha-Upaniṣad,[1] part of which reads like a treatise on embryology, but which is obviously a meditation on the embryo with the aim of preventing rebirth in a new womb; and the Śivaite Atharvaśiras-Upaniṣad,[2] which is already mentioned in the Dharmasūtras[3] as a sacred text, and by virtue of which sins can be washed away. The Vajrasūcikā-Upaniṣad,[4] which teaches that only he who knows the Brahman as the One without a second, is a Brahmin, is not of very late origin. Another factor which makes it difficult to determine the date of these Upaniṣads is the fact that they are often to be found in various recensions of very uneven bulk.[5]

These *non-Vedic Upaniṣads*, as we may call them, have come down in large collections[6] which are not ancient as such. For the philosopher Śaṅkara (about 800 A.D.) still

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[1]) Sāmānya Vedānta Upanishads, pp. 168 ff.; *Deussen*, Sechz ig Upanishads, pp. 605 ff.

[2]) *Deussen*, l. c., pp. 716 ff. See also *Bhandarkar*, Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, etc., pp. 111 f.

[3]) Gautama XIX, 12; Baudhāyana, III, 10, 10: Vāsiṣṭha, XXII, 9; XXVIII, 14 Viṣṇu, 56, 22.

[4]) Sāmānya Vedānta Upanishads, p. 416 ff. In some MSS. this Upaniṣad is ascribed to Śaṅkara. One version of it, expanded into an attack on the caste system, is ascribed to the Buddhist poet Aśvaghoṣa. Cf. A. *Weber*, ABA. 1859, 259 ff.

[5]) Thus *Deussen*, Sechzig Upanishads, pp. 743 ff., translates a Mahā-Upaniṣad which is so short, that it does not deserve its name "the Great Upaniṣad" at all, while in the South-Indian recension (Sāmānya Vedānta Upanishads, pp. 234 ff.) it is indeed one of the longest Upaniṣads.

[6]) The collection translated into Persian in 1656, called Oupnek'hat (s. above, p. 19) contains 50 Upaniṣads. An analysis of these Upaniṣads from Duperron's Latin translation has been given by A. *Weber*, Ind. Stud., Vols. 1, 2 and 9. On a list of 52 Upaniṣads of the Atharvaveda s. *Colebrooke*, Misc. Essays, I, pp. 93 ff., and *Bhandarkar*, Report, 1883-84, pp. 24 f. For another list s. *Weber*, HSS., Verz., p. 95. Editions: Eleven Ātharvaṇa-Upanishads, ed. by G. A. *Jacob*, BSS. Nr. 40, 1891. At the NSP., Bombay, a collection of 108 Upaniṣads has been published in 1913, one of 112 Upaniṣads in 1917, one of 28 Upaniṣads in 1918, the eleven (principal) Upaniṣads (Ekādaśopaniṣadaḥ), with commentaries, by Swami Achintya *Bhagawan*, ib. 1910. The most important Upaniṣads have been edited, with Śaṅkara's commentaries, in the Bibl. Ind. and in ĀnSS, Nos. 5-17, 29-31, 62-64. Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Up. and Chāndogya-Up. have been critically edited and translated into German by O. *Böhtlingk*, St. Petersburg and Leipzig, 1889, the Katha-, Aitareya-, and Praśna-Up. by the same scholar in BSGW., 1890, and critical notes on these Upaniṣads by the same scholar in BSGW., 1891. Kena-Up. with comm. ed. by Śrīdhara-śāstrī Paṭhaka,

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quotes the Upaniṣads as parts of the Veda texts to which they belong; and even Rāmānuja (about 1100 A.D.) speaks of the "Chandogas," the "Vājasaneyins" or the "Kauṣitakins" when quoting the Upaniṣads of the schools in question; the Subāla-Upaniṣad is the only one which he quotes by this title. In the Muktikā-Upaniṣad, which is certainly one of the latest, we read that salvation may be attained by the study of the 108 Upaniṣads, and a list of 108 Upaniṣads is set forth, classified according to the four Vedas: 10 Upaniṣads coming under the Ṛgveda, 19 under the White Yajurveda, 32 under the Black Yajurveda, 16 under the Sāmaveda and 31 under the Atharvaveda. This classification, however, can scarcely be based on an ancient tradition.[1] All these Upaniṣads which are, properly speaking, non-Vedic, are generally called "Upaniṣads of the Atharvaveda." They were associated with the Atharvaveda, because the authority of this Veda as sacred tradition was always dubious and it was therefore no difficult matter to associate all kinds of apocryphal texts with the literature belonging to the Atharva-

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Poona, 1919. Translations: (Twelve principal) Upaniṣads translated by *Max Müller*, SBE, Vols. 1 and 15. The Thirteen Principal Upanishads translated by R. E. *Hume*, Oxford, 1921. Sechzig Upanishads des Veda übersetzt von P. *Deussen*, Leipzig, 1897. Selections in German translation by A. *Hillebrandt*, Aus Brahmanas und Upaniṣaden, Jena, 1921, and J. *Hertel*, Die Weisheit der Upanischaden, München, 1921. Translations of Iśā-, Kena-, and Muṇḍaka-, and of Kaṭha- and Praśna-Up. with Śaṅkara's commentary by S. *Sitaram Sastri*, Madras, 1898; the Chāndogya-Up. with Śaṅkara's Comm. translated by *Ganganath Jhā*, Madras, 1899; Aitareya-Up. with Śaṅkara's Comm. transl. by H. M. *Bhadkamkar*, Bombay, 1899. Amritabindu and Kaivalya-Upanishads with Comm. transl. by A. *Mahadeva Sastri*; 2nd ed., Madras, 1921. The principal Upaniṣads with Madhva's commentary transl. by Rai Bahadur Śrîśa Chandra *Vidyārnava*, Iśā and Kena according to Śaṅkara by the same, and Śvetāśvatara transl. by Siddheśvarī *Prasad Varmā Śāstri* appeared in the Sacred Books of the Hindus, Paniṇi Office, Allahabad. A useful help for the study of the Upaniṣads is G. A. *Jacob's* Concordance, BSS., 1891. A selected and classified bibliography of the Upaniṣads is given by R. E. *Hume*, *l. c.*, pp. 459 ff.

[1]) Rāmānuja quotes the Garbha-Up. and the Mantrikā- (=Cūlikā-) Up. as Atharvaveda-Upaniṣads, although the list in the Muktikā-Up. counts the one as belonging to the Black, and the other to the White Yajurveda.

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veda. Furthermore, the Atharvaveda, as we have seen, was above all the Veda of magic and the secretiveness connected with it.[1] The real meaning of "Upaniṣad"—and this meaning has never been forgotten—was "secret doctrine." What was more natural than that a large class of works which were regarded as Upaniṣads or secret doctrines, should be joined to the Atharvaveda, which itself was indeed nothing but a collection of secret doctrines!

The word "*Upaniṣad*" is, in fact, derived from the verb "upa-ni-sad," "to sit down near some one," and it originally meant the sitting down of the pupil near the teacher for the purpose of a confidential communication, therefore a "confidential" or "secret session." Out of thus idea of the "secret session," the meaning "*secret doctrine*" that which is communicated at such a confidential session—was developed.[2] The Indians generally give as a synonym of the word "*upaniṣad*" the word "*rahasyam*," which means "mystery, secret." In the Upaniṣad texts themselves the expressions "*iti rahasyam*" and "*iti upaniṣad*"

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[1]) See above, p. 149 f.

[2]) See *Deussen*, AGPh. I, 2, pp. 14 ff., with whom I fully agree in rejecting Oldenberg's explanation of *Upaniṣad* (ZDMG. 50, 1896, 458 ff.; 54, 1900, 70 ff.; Die Lehre der Upanishaden, etc., pp. 36 f., 155 ff., 348 f) as "a form of worship." *Upaniṣad* is used frequently enough as a synonym of *rahasyam*, but never synonymous with *upāsanā*. Besides, E. *Senart* (Florilegium Melchior de Vogüé, Paris, 1909, pp. 575 ff.) has shown that even the verb *upās* in the Upaniṣads does not mean "to worship," but "to have a profound knowledge, to know or to believe for certain." But even his translation of *upaniṣad* by "knowledge, belief" ("connaissance, croyance") does not hit the meaning of the word as well as "secret doctrine." M. *R. Bodas* (JBRAS., 22, pp. 69 f.) takes the original meaning of *upaniṣad* to be "sitting down near the sacrificial fire," as the conversations contained in the Upaniṣads are said to have taken place at the great sacrifices. This is not more probable than the explanation of J. W. *Hauer* (Anfänge der Yoga-praxis, p. 27), who gives "mysterious wisdom obtained by Tapas and meditation" as the original meaning of *upaniṣad*, connecting it with the quiet sitting as part of the Yoga practice. Nārāyaṇa in his commentary on Manu, VI, 29, defines upaniṣad as "that which is recited seated near," *i.e.* "(a text) which is recited (while the pupils are) seated near (the teacher)"; s. *Bühler*. SBE., Vol. 25, pp. 203 n. *Cf.* also *Macdonell* and *Keith*, Vedic Index, I, pp. 91 f.

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are frequently used side by side in the sense of "thus says the secret doctrine." Often enough we find in the Upaniṣads themselves the warning against communicating some doctrine to an unworthy one. "This doctrine of Brahman," it is said for example,[1] "may a father impart to his eldest son or to a trusted pupil, but not to another, whoever he may be, even if the latter should give him the whole earth, surrounded by the waters and filled with treasures." Very frequently it is also related in the Upaniṣads how a teacher is entreated to communicate some knowledge or other, but only after repeated entreaty and urging of the pupil, gives way and reveals his doctrine to him.[2]

According to this original meaning of the word "*Upaniṣad*," the oldest Upaniṣads already contain very heterogeneous matters. An Upaniṣad was above all else a "mystery," and every doctrine which was not intended for the masses, but was only communicated within a narrow circle of privileged persons—be it a profound philosophical doctrine or some futile symbolism or allegory, a symbolical sacrifice serving as magic, puzzled out by a Brahman, or some would-be wisdom serving as a magic formula—was called Upaniṣad. All this we actually find already in the *old* Upaniṣads side by side and jumbled up but particularly so in the so-called "Atharvaveda-Upaniṣads."[3]

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[1]) Chāndogya-Upaniṣad, III, 11, 5 f. *Cf. Deussen, loc. cit.*, pp. 12 f.

[2]) The word *upaniṣad* occurs in the Upaniṣads themselves in three senses; it means:—(1) "mystic sense," *e.g.*, the secret significance of the syllable Om; (2) "secret word," certain expressions and formulæ which are intelligible only to the initiated, as tajjalan, "in him growing, passing away, breathing," or satyasya satyam, "the truth of truth," as designation of the highest being; (3) "secret text," *i.e.*, "esoteric doctrine" and "secret knowledge," *cf. Deussen, loc. cit.*, pp. 16 f.

[3]) According to Āśvalāyana-Gṛhyasūtra, 1, 13, 1, certain rites connected with conception, procreation of male children, etc., are taught in an "Upaniṣad." The charm in Ṛv. 1, 191 is called an "Upaniṣad" by Kātyāyana in his Sarvānukramaṇikā. In the manual of politics (Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra, XIV) all kinds of magic rites for the purpose of arson, assassination, blinding, etc., and in the manuals of erotics all sorts of secret prescriptions relating to sexual intercourse and to cosmetics are taught in an "Upaniṣadic chapter."

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Thus the *Kauṣītaki-Upaniṣad* contains, besides psychological and metaphysical expositions and a detailed eschatology,[1] also descriptions of sacrificial rites, by which one can attain some good or other, or effect a love charm, ceremonies for the prevention of the death of children, and even an "Upaniṣad," *i.e.*, a secret doctrine, the knowledge of which serves as magic for the annihilation of enemies. Similarly the *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad* contains deep philosophical thoughts upon the creation, the universe and the soul, but among these also mystical speculations upon the syllable Om, secret rites for the healing of diseases and so on. In the Atharvaveda-Upaniṣads, indeed, we find for instance a whole Upaniṣad—"the *Garuḍa-Upaniṣad*,"[2]—which is nothing but a snake charm that might just as well be included in the Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā.

This should be borne in mind when a "philosophy of the Upaniṣads" or even a "system of the Upaniṣads" is spoken of. A philosophy of the Upaniṣads exists only in so far as, in these collections of all sorts of mysteries, the teachings of the philosophers were also included. A system of the Upaniṣad philosophy can only be said to exist in a very restricted sense.[3] For it is not the thoughts of one single philosopher or of one uniform *school* of philosophers, that might be traced back to one single teacher, which are before us in the Upaniṣads, but it is the teachings of various men,[4] even of various

(s. Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra, XIV; Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra, VII; and R. *Schmidt*, Beiträge zur indischen Erotik, Leipzig 1902, pp. 817 ff.). Rāmānuja (on Brahmasūtra II, 2, 43, s. SBE.; Vol. 48, p. 528) calls the Pāñcarātraśāstra "a great Upaniṣad."

[1]) On this chapter of the Kauṣītaki-Up. compared with another version of it in the Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa. s E. *Windisch*, BSGW., 1907, 111 ff.

[2]) *Deussen*, Sechzig Upanishads des Veda, pp 627 f.

[3]) "That the Upaniṣads teach not one but various systems, must follow from the fact that they are compilations just as the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā is, "R. G. *Bhandarkar*, Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, etc., p. 1. *Cf.* G. *Thibaut*, SBE, Vol. 34, pp. ci ff.

[4]) How far the persons mentioned by name in the Upaniṣads, such as Yājñavalkya, Śāṇḍilya, Bālāki, Śvetaketu and others, were really the teachers of the doctrines ascribed

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periods, which are presented in the single sections of the Upaniṣads.

There are, it is true, a few *fundamental doctrines*, which lend an appearance of uniformity to the philosophical thoughts which stand out in the genuine Upaniṣads, and it is only of these that we wish to speak here: with respect to these fundamental doctrines alone is it possible to speak (as Deussen does)—though always with reserve—of a "system of the Upaniṣads." We must therefore not seek deep wisdom in every chapter of the Upaniṣads, or expect a Platonic dialogue in every Upaniṣad. It is indeed remarkable enough that in the very oldest and most beautiful portions of the Upaniṣads we find the same form of *dialogue* as in the works of the great Greek philosopher.[1] And just as Plato's dialogues reveal to us a wonderfully life-like picture of the life and doings of the Ancient Greeks, so the dialogues of the older Upaniṣads frequently afford us a surprising insight into life at the ancient Indian princely courts, where priests and famous wandering teachers, including learned women, flocked together, in order to hold their disputations before the king, who not infrequently entered into the theological and philosophical conversations and confounded the learned Brahmans by his knowledge; as well as insight into the school-life of those ancient times, when travelling scholars undertook long journeys in order to "hear" some famous teacher, to whom pupils came from all sides "as waters precipitate themselves

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to them (as *Barua* in his "Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy" takes them to be), is not quite certain. Yājñavalkya is said to be the author of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Up., as of the whole White Yajurveda (s. Bṛh.-Up., VI, 5, 3 and Yājñavalkya-Smṛti III, 110); but in the Bṛh.-Up. itself other teachers also are mentioned. Besides, so many different doctrines both of ritual and of metaphysics are ascribed to Yājñavalkya, that it seems difficult to credit him with all of them. On the other hand it is quite possible that Śāṇḍilya for instance was really the teacher of the famous doctrine ascribed to him.

[1]) On the dialogues of the Upaniṣads, *cf. Oldenberg*, Die Lehre der Upanishaden, pp. 160 ff.

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into the abyss and months sink into the year."[1] But besides sections of deep philosophical content, and portions which very well bear comparison with Plato's dialogues, we also find in the Upaniṣads much that is inferior as philosophy or literature.

The Fundamental Doctrines of the Upaniṣads.[2]

That which is of the greatest value in the Upaniṣads is those fundamental thoughts, on the basis of which we can speak of a "philosophy of the Upaniṣads," above all, the fundamental doctrine which pervades all the genuine Upaniṣads, and which can be summed up in the sentence: "*The universe is the Brahman, but the Brahman is the Atman,*" which in our mode of philosophical expression would be equal to: "The world is God, and God is my soul."

The entire thought of the Upaniṣad philosophers revolves around the two conceptions of *Brahman* and *Ātman*; and it is necessary to get a clear idea of these conceptions, in order to be able to understand the philosophy of the Upaniṣads. The etymology of the word "*Brahman*" is doubtful.[3] If we

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[1]) Taittirîya-Upaniṣad, I, 3.

[2]) See A. E. *Gough*, The Philosophy of the Upanishads, London, 1882; P. *Deussen*, The Philosophy of the Upanishads. Authorised English Translation by A. S. *Geden*, Edinburgh, 1919 (from AGPh., I, 2); G. *Thibaut*, SBE., Vol. 34, pp. cxv ff.; P. *Oltramare* L'histoire des idées théosophiques dans l'Inde, t. I, Paris, 1906, pp. 63 ff.; H. *Jacobi*, ERE., II, p. 801; H. *Oldenberg*, Die Lehre der Upanishaden und die Anfänge des Buddhismus, Göttingen 1915; B. *Barua*, A History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy, Calcutta, 1921; R. E. *Hume*. The Thirteen Principal Upanishads, Introduction; S. *Dasgupta*, A History of Indian Philosophy, I, Cambridge, 1922, pp. 28 ff.; S. *Radhakrishnan*, Indian Philosophy, I, London, 1923, pp. 137 ff.

[3]) The most probable etymology is that suggested by H. *Osthoff* (Bezz. Beitr., 24, 1899, 113 ff.) who connects *brahman* with Old Irish *bricht*, "magic, magic formula." *Oldenburg* (Lehre der Upanishaden, pp. 44 ff., and "Zur Geschichte des Worts *brâhman*," NGGW., 1916, pp. 715 ff.) and *Hillebrandt* (ERE., II. pp. 796 ff.) have also accepted this etymology. An older etymology is that from the root *bṛh* "to grow" (M. *Haug*). *Hillebrandt* and *Dasgupta* (*l. c.*, p. 36) follow M. Haug in explaining *brahman* as "the

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turn to the St. Petersburg Sanskrit Dictionary we find "Brahman" explained as "the devotion which appears as the craving and fulness of the soul," and strives after the gods, while according to Deussen,[1] the Brahman is supposed to be "the will of man, striving upwards to that which is sacred and divine." These explanations may correspond to Jewish-Christian ideas of divinity, but are diametrically opposed to the *Indian* conception of the relationship between gods and men, as we know it in the Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas.[2] What the word signifies etymologically is not certain. But in the Veda itself "Brahman" occurs countless times in the meaning of "prayer" or "magic formula"; there is nowhere any thought of devotion or exaltation to the divine, but it always means mere formulae and verses containing secret magic power, by which man desires to influence divine beings, or to obtain, or even to force something from them. When a later period united these magic formulae and prayers in "books" or school texts as the three Vedas these were called *trayi vidyā* or "threefold knowledge," also briefly "the Brahman." But as divine origin was ascribed to this Veda or Brahman—the two words being used with exactly the same meaning—and as the sacrifice, which, as we have seen, was itself conceived as a superhuman, nay superdivine power, was, according to the Indian view, derived from the Veda or contained in the Veda,[3] so at last this Brahman or sacred knowledge, came to be called the first created thing (brahma

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magical force which is derived from the orderly co-operation of the hymns, the chants, and the sacrificial gifts." J. *Hertel* ("Das Brahman" in Indogerman. Forschungen, 41, 1923, pp. 185 ff.) connects *brahman* etymologically with Greek θλεχμα, Latin flagro, and tries to prove that the original meaning of *brahman* was "fire," *viz.*, both the internal fire in man and the cosmic fire. I, however, am not convinced by his arguments.

[1]) System des Vedanta, p. 128. AGPh., 1, 1, pp. 241 f.

[2]) *Cf.* above, pp. 79 f., 200 f., 221.

[3]) Śat. V, 5, 5, 10; "The whole sacrifice is as great as the three-fold Veda." Accord-ing to Chāndogya-Up VII, 4, 1. "the sacrificial acts are contained in the mantras (*i.e.* in the Veda)."

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prathamajam), and finally even to be made into the creative principle, the cause of all existence (brahma svayambhu). Thus the Brahman as divine principle is a conception of the priestly philosophy, and quite explicable in the light of the brahmanical views upon prayer and sacrifice.[1]

The history of the word "*Ātman*" is simpler. The etymology of this word, too, is uncertain. Some derive it from the root *an* "to breath" (German "atmen") and explain it as "exhalation, breath, soul, self." Others, like Deussen,[2] derive it from two pronominal roots, so that it would originally mean "This I." However that may be, Ātman is not only a philosophical conception, but a word which frequently occurs in Sanskrit, and whose meaning is perfectly clear. It signifies "self," is often used as a reflexive pronoun, and as a substantive denotes one's own person, one's own body in contrast to the outside world, sometimes the trunk in contrast to the limbs, but most frequently the *soul*, the true *self*, in contrast to the body.[3]

These two conceptions Brahman and Ātman have become united in the philosophy of Upaniṣads. Thus the famous *doctrine of Śāṇḍilya* begins with the words: "Truly, this All is Brahman," and ends, after a description of the

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[1]) *Cf.* above, pp. 224 f. A. *Weber* already has compared Brahman with the logos-idea in Neo-Platonism and in Christianity. Thus also *Deussen*, System des Vedanta, p. 51 and Max F. *Hecker*, Schopenhauer und die indische Philosophie (Cologne, 1897), p. 3. Deussen desires to bring Brahman into accord with the "will" of Schopenhauer, but, as Hecker (p. 82) mildly expresses it, is forced "to offer some violence to the conception of Brahman." A comparison which is more justifiable is that with the "*mana*" of the Melanesians, which has been emphasised by N. *Söderblom*, in his "Das Werden des Götterglaubens," 1916, pp. 270 ff.

[2]) AGPh., I, 1, p. 285.

[3]) On the term Ātman s. *Deussen*, ERE. II, 195 ff.; *Jacobi*, ERE. II, 801; *Dāsgupta*, History of Indian Philosophy, I, 25 f. According to Deussen, Ātman is "the most abstract, and therefore the best name which philosophy has found for its sole and eternal theme." Schopenhauer named his white poodle "Ātman," whereby, following the Vedantic doctrine, he desired to acknowledge the inner being as equal in man and beast." (*Hecker*, *loc. cit.*, p. 8.)

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Atman, with the statement that Brahman and Ātman are one:

"This my Ātman in my inmost heart is smaller than a grain of rice, or a barley-corn, or a mustard seed, or a millet grain. .....This my Ātman, in my inmost heart is greater than the earth, greater than the sky, greater than the heavens, greater than all spheres. In him are all actions, all wishes, all smells, all tastes; he holds this All enclosed within himself; he speaks not, he troubles about nothing;—*this my Ātman in my inmost heart is this Brahman*. With him, when I depart out of this life, shall I be united. For him to whom this knowledge has come, for him, indeed, there exists no doubt. Thus spake Sāṇḍilya yea Śāṇḍilya."[1]

Deussen expresses this fundamental idea of the Upaniṣads briefly and pertinently in the words: "The *Brahman*, the power which presents itself to us materialised in all existing things, which creates, sustains, preserves, and receives back into itself again all worlds, this eternal infinite divine power is identical with the *Ātman*, with that which, after stripping off everything external, we discover in ourselves as our real most essential being, our individual self, the soul."[2] This doctrine has found expression most pointedly and clearly in the Upaniṣad dictum which later became the confession of faith of millions of Indians, in the "*tat tvam asi*" (so often quoted by Schopenhauer), "that art thou," *i.e.*, the universe and the Brahman, that art thou thyself, or in other words: The world exists only in so far as thou thyself art conscious of it. Let us hear in what manner the poet-philosophers of the Upaniṣads endeavour to make clear this doctrine of the unity of the world with the Brahman and of the Brahman with the Ātman:[3]

"Śvetaketu was the son of Uddālaka Āruṇi. To him said his father: 'Śvetaketu, betake thyself as a Veda-student to a teacher. For, my dear

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[1]) Chāndogya-Upaniṣad, III, 14. *Cf.* above, p. 225.

[2]) *Deussen*, "The Philosophy of the Upaniṣhads," translated by A. S. *Geden*, Edinburgh, 1906, p. 39.

[3]) Chāndogya-Upaniṣad, VI, 1 ff.

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one, in our family it is not customary to be a Brahmin in name only, without having learnt the Veda.' So at the age of twelve years he was initiated as a pupil. And at twenty-four years of age, after he had learnt everything in all the Vedas he came home—proud, haughty, and regarding himself as a learned man. Then said his father to him: 'As thou art now, my dear Śvetaketu, so proud and haughty, and regardest thyself as a learned man, tell me, hast thou also inquired into that doctrine by which that which is unheard becomes heard, that which is unthought becomes thought, that which is unknown becomes known?' 'Venerable one, of what does this doctrine consist?' 'Just as, my dear one, through *one* lump of clay everything that is of clay is known and the difference lies only in the word, is merely a name—but in truth it is clay—; and just as, my dear one, through *one* copper trinket everything which is of copper is known and the difference lies only in the word, is merely a name—but in truth it is copper—; and just as, my dear one, through *one* pair of nail scissors everything which is of iron is known and the difference lies only in the word, is merely a name—but in truth it is iron—; so, my dear one, it is with this doctrine.' 'Surely my honourable teachers did not know this; for if they had known it, why should they not have told it to me? Then, venerable one, do thou expound it to me.' 'Very well, my dear one,' said his father.

'Only the *existent*, my dear one, was here in the beginning, and this only as One without a Second. To be sure, some people have said: Only the non-existent was here in the beginning, and this only as One without a Second, and out of this non-existent arose the existent. But how, my dear one, could this be so? How could the existent arise out of the non-existent? Only the existent, my dear one, was here in the beginning, and this only as One without a Second!' (He then demonstrates further, how this *existent* had created heat, which had created water, which, in its turn, had created food; and how the existent, penetrating those three elements, developed the material world out of itself. In the phenomena of sleep, of hunger and of thirst, he then explains how everything leads back to the three elements, heat, water, food—or, as we would say: fire, water, earth—while these three elements in their turn rest only upon the existent. But as this *existent* has, with the Ātman, its soul, penetrated into all beings, so it is also the soul in us. When, therefore, a man dies, he becomes again that which he originally was; he unites again with the existent, out of which he was produced. Now follow a number of similes which are all intended to

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illustrate the doctrine of the oneness of the world with the Alone-existing and the human soul.) 'As, my dear one, the bees, when they are preparing honey, collect the juices of the most diverse trees and then combine the juice in one unity;—as in this unity those juices do not retain any difference, so that they could say: I am the juice of this tree, I am the juice of that tree—so, my dear one, all these creatures here, when they have become absorbed in the *existent* have no consciousness of the fact that they have become absorbed in the existent. Whatever they may be here, whether tiger or lion, wolf or boar, worm or bird, fly or gnat,—*this* (namely, the *existent*) they become. And it is this very minute thing which constitutes the being of the All, that is the truth, that is the Ātman, *that art thou*, O Śvetaketu.' 'Venerable one, instruct me yet further.' 'Very well, my dear one.....'

'Fetch me a fruit from yonder fig-tree!' 'Here it is, venerable one.' 'Split it.' 'It is split, venerable one.' 'What dost thou see therein?' 'Very tiny grains, venerable one!' 'Split one of these!' 'It is split.' 'What seest thou therein?' 'Nothing, venerable one.' Then said the father to him: 'My dear one, it is as a result of that very quintessence which thou dost not perceive, that this big fig-tree stands here. Believe me, my dear one, it is this very minute thing which constitutes the being of the All, that is the truth, that is the Ātman, *that art thou*, O Śvetaketu!' 'Venerable one, instruct me yet further.' 'Very well, my dear one.'

'Place this piece of salt in water and come to me again to-morrow morning.' He did so. Then his father said to him: 'Bring me the salt which thou didst place in water last night.' He felt for it, but did not find it; it had vanished. 'Just taste the water from one side. How does it taste?' 'Salty.' 'Taste from the middle. How does it taste?' 'Salty.' 'Taste from the other side. How does it taste?' 'Salty.' 'Eat something with it and then return to me.' He did so, but the salty taste still remained. Then his father said to him: 'Truly, my dear son, here also (in the body) thou dost not perceive the *existent*, and yet it is there. And this very minute thing it is which constitutes the being of the All, that is the truth, that is the Ātman, *that art thou*, O Śvetaketu.'"

What inspires us with the highest respect for these ancient thinkers of India is the earnestness and the enthusiasm with which they endeavoured to fathom the divine principle, or what Kant would call the thing-in-itself whether

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they called it "the one" or "the existent," Brahman or Ātman. Thus we read in a dialogue, which recurs in two Upaniṣads in two different versions,[1] how Gārgya Bālāki, a proud and learned Brahman, comes to Ajātaśatru, the King of Benares, and pledges himself to explain the Brahman to him. One after another he explains the Puruṣa, *i.e.*, the personal spirit, in the sun, in the moon, in the lightning, in the ether, in the wind, in the fire, in the water, then the spirit which appears as a reflected image or shadow, in the echo, in sound, in dreams, in the human body, or in the eye, as the Brahman. Ajātaśatru, however, is not satisfied with any of these explanations, so that finally, the learned Brahman himself goes for instruction to the king, who then explains to him that the true Brahman is to be sought only in the *intelligent spirit* (Puruṣa) in man, *i.e.*, in the Ātman, in the self. "As a spider spins her web out of herself, as out of a fire the little sparks fly in all directions, so out of this Ātman emanate all vital breaths, all worlds, all gods and all beings."

Similarly, in a famous Upaniṣad passage, the difference between the true and the false Ātman is shown. There we read:

"'The Ātman, from which all evil has fled, which is free from old age, free from death and free from care, which is without hunger and without thirst, whose wishes are the true, whose intentions are the true, that Ātman should one investigate, that Ātman should one endeavour to know: he who has found and known this Ātman, attains to all worlds and the fulfilment of all wishes.' Thus spake Prajāpati. This was heard by the gods, as well as the demons, and they said: 'It is well, we will investigate this Ātman—the Ātman, through the investigation of which one obtains all worlds and the fulfilment of all desires.' From among the gods, Indra arose, and from among the demons Virocana arose, and both, without having communicated with each other, came

[1]) Kauṣītaki-Up. IV and Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Up. II, 1.

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to Prajāpati with firewood in their hands.[1] They stayed with him as pupils for thirty-two years. Then said Prajāpati to them: 'What is your desire in living here as pupils?' and they said: 'The Ātman, from which all evil has fled, which is free from old age, free from death and free from care, which is without hunger and without thirst, whose wishes are the true, whose intentions are the true, that Ātman shall one endeavour to know: he who has found and known this Ātman, gains all worlds and the fulfilment of all desires. This thy speech, venerable one, we have heard. Our desire is for this Ātman; therefore we have lived with thee here as pupils. (Prajāpati now first explains to them that the Puruṣa in the eye or in the reflected image is the Ātman. Virocana is satisfied with this, returns to the demons and proclaims to them the doctrine that the body is the Ātman, and that one has only to please and care for the body in order to obtain all worlds. Indra, however, soon understands that the explanation given by Prajāpati cannot have been meant seriously. Dissatisfied he returns and again stays with Prajāpati as his pupil for thirty-two years.) Then the latter said to him: 'He (the spirit) who roams about blithely in dreams,[2] he is the Atman, that is the Immortal, the dangerless, that is the Brahman.' Then Indra departed thence with a quiet heart." (But even before he had reached the gods he comprehended that the vision in dream could not be the true Ātman, either. Once again he returns to Prajāpati and stays with him as a pupil for thirty-two years. Now Prajāpati declares the soul in dreamless, profound sleep to be the true Ātman. With that also Indra is not satisfied, he returns, and Prajāpati suffers him to live with him for another five years, when at last he reveals to him the doctrine of the true Ātman.) 'O Indra, mortal indeed is this body, of which death takes possession. It is the dwelling-place of that immortal, incorporeal Ātman. Possessed by pleasure and pain is the (Ātman) which

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[1]) The pupil has to live with the teacher and serve him, and especially tend the sacred fire. "To come with wood in one's hand" therefore means "to go to someone as a pupil for instruction."

[2]) As in the Upaniṣads the development of the Ātman conception is traced to the true Ātman through the preliminary steps of the puruṣa in the eye, in the reflected image, in the shadow and in the dream-picture, to which the prāṇa or breath of life is often added, so we find in remarkable agreement also among the primitive races, the breath, the "little dweller in the eye," the reflected image, the shadow, and visions, as preliminary steps to the *belief in a soul*. (*Cf.* E. B. *Tylor*, "Primitive Culture," London, 1903. I, pp. 430 ff. Fritz *Schultze*, Psychologie der Naturvölker. Leipzig, 1900, pp. 254 ff.)

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is united with the body, for so long as he is united with the body, there is no defence for him against pleasure and pain. But when he is incorporeal, then certainly pleasure and pain do not touch him.....Now when the eye is directed to yonder ether, then *he* is the spirit (Puruṣa) in the eye, but the eye serves only for seeing. And it is the Ātman who *knows*: "this I will smell"; the organ of smell serves only for smelling. And it is the Ātman who *knows*: "this will I speak"; the voice serves only for speaking. And it is the Ātman who *knows*; "this will I hear"; the organ of hearing serves only for hearing. And it is the Ātman who *knows*: "this will I think"; the organ of thought is his divine eye. He it is who is pleased when, with the organ of thought, this divine eye, he sees the objects of his desires. *Him*, indeed, *this* Ātman, do the gods worship in the Brahman-world; therefore do they possess all worlds and all their desires are fulfilled. And he obtains all worlds and the fulfilment of all desires, who has found and recognises this Ātman.' Thus spake Prajāpati, so spake Prajāpati." [1]

Thus here again the true Ātman is explained as the knowing and intelligent spirit in man. But the doctrine that this Ātman is one with the universe and that everything exists only in so far as it is in the cognitive self, is taught by the beautiful conversation between Yājñavalkya and Maitreyī. Yājñavalkya is about to leave home in order to conclude his life as a hermit in the forest. So he wishes to make a settlement between his two wives, and tells this to the one, Maitreyī.

"Maitreyī said: 'My Lord, if this whole earth, full of wealth, belonged to me, tell me, should I be immortal by it?'

'No,' replied Yājñavalkya; 'like the life of rich people will be thy life. But there is no hope of immortality by wealth.'

And Maitreyī said: 'What should I do with that by which I do not become immortal? What my Lord knoweth (of immortality), tell that to me.'

Yājñavalkya replied: 'Thou who art truly dear to me, thou speakest dear words. Come, sit down, I will explain it to thee, and mark well what I say.'

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[1]) Chāndogya-Upaniṣad, VIII, 7-12.

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And he said: 'Verily, a husband is not dear, that you may love the husband; but that you may love the Self, therefore a husband is dear.

'Verily, a wife is not dear, that you may love the wife; but that you may love the Self, therefore a wife is dear.

'Verily, sons are not dear, that you may love the sons; but that you may love the Self, therefore sons are dear.....

'Verily, the Devas are not dear, that you may love the Devas; but that you may love the Self, therefore the Devas are dear.

'Verily, creatures are not dear, that you may love the creatures; but that you may love the Self, therefore are creatures dear.

'Verily, everything is not dear that you may love everything; but that you may love the Self, therefore everything is dear.

'Verily, the Self is to be seen, to be heard, to be perceived, to be marked, O Maitreyī! When we see, hear, perceive, and know the Self, then all this is known!"[1])

One of the most frequent appellations of the Ātman in the Upaniṣads is the word "prāṇa," *i.e.*, "breath of life, life, life-principle." And numerous portions of the Upaniṣads deal with this Prāṇa, which is one with the intelligent self; or with the relations of the same to the organs of the soul, the so-called Prāṇas (prāṇāḥ, plural of prāṇa). These organs—speech, breath, sight, hearing and the organ of thought—correspond to five forces of Nature in the universe: fire, wind, the sun, the quarters of heaven and the moon. And the Upaniṣads often talk of the reciprocal action between the organs and the forces of Nature. That is to a certain extent the psychology, which indeed cannot be separated from the metaphysics, of the Upaniṣads. The oft-related "psychological fable" of the dispute of the vital organs about rank, is very popular. It is there told how the Prāṇas, or vital organs, once fought for precedence. They went to the father Prajāpati, that he might settle their dispute.

"He said to them: 'That one of you after whose going off the body appears as if it were the very worst off—he is the most superior of you.'

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[1]) Bṛhadāranyaka-Up, II, 4. Translated by *Max Müller*, SBE., Vol. 15, pp. 108-110.

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8. Speech went off. Having remained away a year, it came around again, and said: 'How have you been able to live without me?'

'As the dumb, not speaking, but breathing with the breath, seeing with the eye, hearing with the ear, thinking with the mind. Thus.'

Speech entered in.

9. The Eye went off. Having remained away a year, it came around again, and said: 'How have you been able to live without me?'

'As the blind, not seeing, but breathing with the breath, speaking with speech, hearing with the ear, thinking with the mind. Thus.'

The Eye entered in.

10. The Ear went off. Having remained away a year, it came around again, and said: 'How have you been able to live without me?'

'As the deaf, not hearing, but breathing with the breath, speaking with speech, seeing with the eye, thinking with the mind. Thus.'

The Ear entered in.

11. The mind went off. Having remained away a year, it came around again, and said: 'How have you been able to live without me?'

'As simpletons, mindless, but breathing with the breath, speaking with speech, seeing with the eye, hearing with the ear, Thus.'

The Mind entered in.

12. Now when the Breath was about to go off—as a fine horse might tear out the pegs of his foot-tethers all together, thus did it tear out the other Breaths all together. They all came to it, and said: 'Sir! Remain. You are the most superior of us. Do not go off.'

15. Verily, they do not call them 'Speeches,' nor 'Eyes,' nor 'Ears,' nor 'Minds.' They call them 'Breaths' (prāṇa), for the vital breath is all these."[1])

Just as the doctrine of the Prāṇa and the Prāṇas is connected with the fundamental doctrine of the Ātman, the same doctrine also affords the poet-philosophers of the Upaniṣads a motive for magnificent philosophical poems, as they can best be called, on the fortunes of the individual Ātman, *i.e.*, the human soul, in the conditions of waking and of dreaming, of sleep and of death, and in its wanderings in the Beyond up to its final "emancipation," *i.e.*, its complete absorption in the

[1]) Chāndogya-Up. V, I. Translated by R. E. *Hume*, "The Thirteen Principal Upanishads," pp. 227 f. *Cf.* Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Up. VI, 1, 7-14.

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Brahman. Thus, above all, the Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad (IV, 3-4) sketches a picture of the fortunes of the soul, which, as Deussen [1] rightly remarks, "for richness and warmth of expression surely stands alone in Indian literature, and perhaps in the literature of all nations." Here we find also the doctrine of the *transmigration of souls*, and in the closest connection with it, developed clearly and distinctly for the first time, the *ethical* doctrine of *Karman*, *action*, which, with the unerringness of a law of Nature, must have its consequences. This great doctrine of *action*, which was later, especially in Buddhism, preached in every street and by-way, is still a great mystery in the Upaniṣads. Ārtabhāga asks Yājñavalkya:

"'Yājñavalkya,' said he, 'when after the death of this man here his voice enters into the fire, his breath into the wind, his sight into the sun, his organ of thought into the moon, his hearing into the quarters of heaven, his body into the earth, his soul (Ātman) into the ether, the hairs of his body into the herbs, the hairs of his head into the trees, and his blood and seed are laid down in the water,—where then is this man?' 'Take me by the hand, my dear one!' said Yājñavalkya. 'Ārtabhāga, let us two only know of this; let this discussion of ours not be in public.' And the two went out and discussed together; and it was *Action* of which they spoke; it was *Action* which they praised. Verily, he becomes good through good action, bad through bad action." [2]

This doctrine is then treated in a more detailed manner along with the magnificent description of the departure of the soul out of the body. It says there:

"The point of his heart begins to shine, and by this light the Ātman departs, be it out of the eye or out of the head, or out of other parts of the body. And while he is departing the breath of life (prāṇa) follows him; and behind the departing breath of life depart all the vital organs, the consciousness also follows them. But he, the cognitive one (the Ātman) is endowed with cognition. Knowledge and the *actions*, the experiences of the former life, remain attached to him. Just as a grass-leech,[3] when it has arrived at the end of a

[1] Sechzig Upanishads, p. 463.

[2] Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Up., III, 2, 13 f.

[3] See *Barua*, Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy, p. 175.

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blade of grass, making another start (for another blade), draws itself together towards (this blade), so man, when he has stripped off the body and has rid himself of non-knowledge, making another start (for another body), draws himself together towards (that other body). Just as an embroideress undoes a small portion of a piece of embroidery, and out of it creates a different, quite new and more beautiful design, so man, when he has stripped off his body and has rid himself of non-knowledge, creates for himself a different, quite new and more beautiful form, that of the spirit of an ancestor or of a Gandharva, of a Brahman or of a Prajāpati, of a god or of a man, or that of some other being.....As he has acted, as he has lived, so he becomes; he who has done good, is born again as a good one, he who has done evil, is born again as an evil one. He becomes good through good action, bad through bad action. Therefore it is said: 'Man here is formed entirely out of desire, and according to his desire is his resolve, and according to his resolve he performs the action, and according to the performance of the action is his destiny.'" [1]

In consequence of this doctrine of Karman the moral element plays a far greater part in the Upaniṣads than in the Brāhmaṇas. Moreover, we should not ignore the fact that the metaphysical doctrine of the Ātman, for whose sake we love our fellow-creatures[2] involves a deep ethical idea: as it is in reality the universal soul which we love in each individual, love for all creatures wells up from the recognition of the Ātman.[3] However, in the Upaniṣads, too, there is not much room left for actual moral teaching. Comparatively rarely do we meet with moral precepts, such as for example in the Taittirīya-Upaniṣad (I, 11) the teacher gives the scholar who is departing on his life's journey:

"Speak the truth, do thy duty, neglect not the study of the Veda. After thou hast brought thy teacher the agreeable gift (after completion of the period of training) see that the thread of thy race does not break

[1]) Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Up., IV, 4, 2-5.

[2]) See above, pp. 249 f.

[3]) On the ethics of the Upaniṣads, s. *Hume*, The Thirteen Principal Upanishads, pp. 58 ff. John *Mackenzie*, Hindu Ethics, London, 1922, pp. 67 ff.; S. *Radhakrishnan*, Indian Philosophy, I, pp. 207 ff.

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off.....Neglect not the ceremonies for the gods and Fathers. A god be to thee thy mother, a god be to thee thy father, a god be to thee thy teacher, a god be to thee the guest," and so on.

There is another passage referring to ethics which we find in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad (V, 2) which is more interesting and much more Upanisad-like than these moral precepts:

" Three kinds of sons of Prajāpati, the gods, human beings, and the demons, sojourned with their father Prajāpati as pupils. After the gods had sojourned there as pupils, they said : ' Tell us something, O master!' And he uttered the syllable '*da*' and said : ' Did you understand that?' ' We understood it,' they said : ' thou didst say to us *dāmyata* (restrain yourselves).' ' Yes,' said he ; ' you understood it.' Then the human beings said to him : ' Tell us something, O master!' And he uttered the same syllable '*da*' and said : ' Did you understand that?' ' We understood it,' they said, ' thou didst say to us : *datta* (give).' ' Yes,' said he, ' you understood it.' Then the demons said to him : ' Tell us something, O master!' And he uttered to them the same syllable '*da*' and said : ' Did you understand that?' ' We understood it,' they said, ' thou didst say to us '*dayadhvam* (have pity).' ' Yes,' said he, ' you understood it.' And it is just this which yonder divine voice, the thunder, proclaims : da-da-da, that means dāmyata, datta, dayadhvam. Therefore shall he learn these three things : self-restraint, generosity and pity."

It is easy enough to see why we meet but seldom with such ethical doctrines in the Upaniṣads. According to the doctrine of the Upaniṣads the highest object to be aimed at is union with the Brahman, and this union can be attained only by giving up non-knowledge, by *cognition*. Only he who has *recognised* the oneness of the soul with the Divine will obtain deliverance, *i.e.*, complete union with the Brahman. But in order to attain this highest object it is necessary to give up all works, good as well as bad. For sacrifices and pious works only lead to new re-births, *knowledge* alone leads from this maze to the One and Eternally True. "As no water remains attached to the leaf of the lotus blossom, so no bad deed remains attached to him who knows this."[1])

[1]) Chāndogya-Up. IV, 14, 3. *Cf.* Kauṣītaki-Up. I, 4 ; III, 8.

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Already in the Brāhmaṇas and Āraṇyakas there is repeated mention of the advantages which accrue to him who knows some secret doctrine or other of sacrificial science,—"who knows this." Nothing is more characteristic of the Upaniṣads, however, than the ever-recurring promise of happiness and blessedness, of earthly possessions and heavenly joys as a reward for him "who knows this." The idea that knowledge is not only power, but the highest object to be aimed at, is traceable throughout all the Upaniṣads. Not only Indra serves Prajāpati for 101 years as a pupil, but it is also often reported that human beings serve a teacher for years as pupils in order to receive from him the transmission of some knowledge or other. Kings are prepared to present thousands of cows and piles of gold to the Brahman who can proclaim to them the doctrine of the true Ātman or Brahman. But Brahmans also humble themselves before kings, rich people before beggars, when these, as is not seldom the case, are in possession of higher wisdom.[1] This yearning for knowledge has found its most touching expression in the beautiful poem of *Naciketas*, which we find in the Kāṭhaka-Upaniṣad.

The youth Naciketas has descended into the lower world and the god of death has vouchsafed him three wishes. Naciketas wishes, firstly, that he may return alive to his father, secondly he wishes for heavenly bliss. When he is to express his third wish he says:

"This doubt that there is in regard to a man deceased:
'He exists,' say some; 'He exists not,' say others—
This would I know, instructed by thee!
Of the boons this is boon the third."

Thereupon Yama replies that this question of what happens to man after death, is so difficult to investigate that even the gods were once in doubt about it, and he begs the youth to give up his wish.

[1] *Cf.* above pp. 227 ff.

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"Choose centenarian sons and grandsons,
Many cattle, elephants, gold and horses.
Choose a great abode of earth.
And thyself live as many autumns as thou desirest.
This, if thou thinkest an equal boon,
Choose—wealth and long life!
A great one on earth, O Naciketas, be thou.
The enjoyer of thy desires I make thee.
Whate'er desires are hard to get in mortal world—
For all desires at pleasure make request.
These lovely maidens with chariots, with lyres—
Such (maidens), indeed, are not obtainable by men—
By these, from me bestowed, be waited on!
O Naciketas, question me not regarding dying (maraṇa)!"

Naciketas, however, will not be deterred from his wish by these promises of earthly possessions:

"Ephemeral things! That which is a mortal's, O End-maker,
Even the vigor (tejas) of all the powers, they wear away.
Even a whole life is slight indeed.
Thine be the vehicles (vāha)! Thine be the dance and song!
Not with wealth is a man to be satisfied.
Shall we take wealth, if we have seen thee?
Shall we live so long as thou shalt rule?
—This, in truth, is the boon to be chosen by me.....
This thing whereon they doubt, O Death:
What there is in the great passing-on—tell us that!
This boon, that has entered into the hidden—
No other than that does Naciketas choose."

Then Yama, the god of death, praises Naciketas for having chosen knowledge and not pleasures, and at last imparts to him the doctrine of the immortality of the Ātman.[1])

But how this high esteem of knowledge leads not only to the disregard of earthly pleasures, but to *contempt of the*

[1]) The above verses (Kāṭh.-Up., I, 20, 23-25, 26, 27, 29) are given in the translation of *Hume*, Thirteen Principal Upanishads, pp 344 f. A fine poetical, but very free translation of the legend is given by J. *Muir*, Metrical Translations from Sanskrit Writers, pp. 54 ff.

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world altogether,[1] is shown us by another Upaniṣad, in which for the first time that pessimistic trait of Indian thought appears, which we will meet with again and again in the later Indian literature. There we read:[2]

"A king named Bṛhadratha, after having installed his eldest son on the throne, thinking that his body is non-eternal, turned to renunciation and went forth into the forest. There he gave himself up to the severest mortification, standing with arms stretched upwards and gazing into the sun. After one thousand days had elapsed there approached him..... the Ātman-knowing, venerable Śākāyanya. 'Stand up, stand up and choose a wish!' thus spake he to the king. He made his obeisance to him and said: 'O venerable one! I am not cognizant of the Ātman. Thou knowest his nature, as we have heard; mayest thou explain this to us!' (The Brahman desires to dissuade him from this wish and invites him to wish for something else. Then the king bursts forth into the words:) 'O venerable one! In this evil-smelling, pithless body, composed of bones, skin, sinews, marrow, flesh, seed, blood, mucus, tears, gum of the eyes, faeces, urine, bile and phlegm,—how can one possibly enjoy pleasure! In this body burdened with passion, anger, desire, delusion, fear, cowardice, envy, separation from that which is beloved, attachment to that which is not beloved, hunger, thirst, age, death, disease, trouble and such like,—how can one possibly enjoy pleasure! We see also that this whole world is transitory, just like these flies, mosquitoes, and such like, these herbs and trees, which rise and again decay.' (There then follows an enumeration of ancient kings and heroes who had to perish, also gods and demigods, who all fall victims to annihilation.) 'But what of these! There are yet other things,—drying-up of great seas, falling down of the mountains, swaying of the Pole Star,.....sinking of the earth, the fall of the gods from their place,—in the course of a world in which such things happen, how indeed can one enjoy pleasure! When even he who is satiated with it, must return again and again! Therefore rescue me! For I feel in this world-cycle like the frog in a waterless well. Thou, O venerable one, art our refuge."

It is noteworthy, however, that this passage, to which numerous parallels may be found in the Buddhist as well as

[1] Cf. P. *Regnaud*, Le Pessimisme Brahmanique (Annales du Musée Guimet, t. I, pp. 101 ff.)

[2] Maitrāyaṇa-Up., I, 2-4.

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in the later Sanskrit literature, belongs to one of the *latest* Upaniṣads. For the Maitrāyana-Upaniṣad is, in language and style, nearer to the classical Sanskrit literature than to the Veda and is decidedly post-Buddhist.[1] The old *Vedic* Upaniṣads contain but the germs of pessimism in the doctrine of the non-reality of the world. Only the Brahman is real, and this is the Ātman, the soul, "which passes beyond hunger and thirst, sorrow and delusion, old age and death." "That which is different from it is full of suffering."—ato'nyad ārtam.[2] But "that which is different from it," does not exist at all in reality, and therefore also the suffering and misery of the world are not real. The knowing one, who has comprehended the doctrine of the Unity, knows no fear, no pain. "He who knows the joy of the Brahman, for him there is no fear." "Where is delusion, where sorrow, for him who knows the Unity?" Joy (ānanda) is a name of the Brahman. "Consisting of joy (ānandamaya) is the Ātman. And like a song of triumph of optimism sound the words of an Upaniṣad: Joy is the Brahman. For truly, out of joy arise all these beings, by joy they live after they have arisen, and when they pass away they are again absorbed into joy."[3]

Thus the doctrine of the Upaniṣads is at bottom not pessimistic. Certainly it is only a small step from the belief in the non-reality of the world to contempt of the world. The more extravagantly the joy of the Brahman was praised, the vainer, the more worthless did earthly existence appear.[4] Therefore, after all, the pessimism of later Indian philosophy has its roots in the Upaniṣads.

In fact the whole of the later philosophy of the Indians is rooted in the Upaniṣads. Their doctrines formed the

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[1]) Maitr.-Up., VII, 8 f., contains distinct allusions to the Buddhists as heretics. On the style of the Maitrāyanīya-Upaniṣad, see *Oldenberg*, Zur Geschichte der altindischen Prosa, p. 33.

[2]) Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Up. III, 5.

[3]) Taittiriya-Up., II, 9. III, 6; Īśā-Up., 7.

[4]) *Cf.* M. F. *Hecker*, Schopenhauer und die indische Philosophie, pp. 116-120.

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foundation for the *Vedānta-Sūtras* of *Bādarāyaṇa*, a work of which a later writer [1] says: "This text-book is the chief of all the text-books. All other text-books serve only as its complement. Therefore all who aim at deliverance, shall exalt it." The theological-philosophical systems of *Śaṅkara* and of *Rāmānuja*, whose adherents at the present day are still counted by millions, are built upon this text-book. Moreover, all other philosophical systems and religions which have arisen in the course of the centuries, the heretical Buddhism no less than the orthodox Brahmanical religion of the post-Buddhist period, have sprung forth from the soil of the Upaniṣad doctrines.

On the other hand it proved fatal for the development of Indian philosophy that the Upaniṣads should have been pronounced to be "revelations," and sacred texts; for in the Upaniṣads we still find vigorous, independent, creative philosophical thought, which grew rarer and rarer in the later development of Indian philosophy for the very reason that progress was not only hindered at every step by the fetters of the dogmatism of the schools—which is the case in other lands as well as in India—but still more by the orthodox belief that every word of an Upaniṣad must be regarded as divine truth.

However, it was not the belief in their divine revelation which gave these philosophical poems (there is hardly a better name for them) such enormous power over the minds of men: for even the silliest hymns and the most stupid Brāhmaṇa passages were regarded as uttered by the deity: but it was rather the circumstance that, arrayed in the language of *poetry*, they appealed just as much to the heart as to the intellect. And it is not because, as Schopenhauer asserts, they present the "fruit of the highest human knowledge and

[1] Madhusūdana *Sarasvatī* in his Prasthānabheda.

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wisdom," and contain "almost superhuman conceptions," "whose originators can hardly be regarded as mere men"[1] that across the space of thousands of years the Upaniṣads *still* have much to tell *us also*; not because, as Deussen thinks, these thinkers have obtained, "if not the most scientific, yet still the most intimate and immediate light upon the last secret of existence," and because (with which Deussen seeks to justify the belief of the Indians in revelation) in the Upaniṣads "there are philosophical conceptions unequalled in India or perhaps anywhere else in the world."[2] No, it is because these old thinkers *wrestle* so earnestly for the truth, because in their philosophical poems the eternally unsatisfied human yearning for knowledge has been expressed so fervently. The Upaniṣads do not contain "superhuman conceptions," but human, absolutely human attempts to come nearer to the truth—and it is this which makes them so valuable to us.

For the historian, however, who pursues the history of human thought, the Upaniṣads have a yet far greater significance. From the mystical doctrines of the Upaniṣads *one* current of thought may be traced to the mysticism of the Persian Sufism, to the mystic-theosophical logos-doctrine of the Neo-Platonics and the Alexandrian Christians down to the teachings of the Christian mystics Eckhart and Tauler, and finally to the philosophy of the great German mystic of the nineteenth century, Schopenhauer.[3] What Schopenhauer owed to the Indians he has himself told us often enough. He himself calls Plato, Kant and "the Vedas" (by which Schopenhauer always means the Upaniṣads) his teachers. In his manuscript written for University lectures he wrote: "The results of that which I intend to present to you, agree

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[1]) *Hecker*, loc. cit., p. 7.

[2]) *Deussen*, System des Vedanta, pp. 50, 99 f. What exaggerations!

[3]) On Schopenhauer as a mystic, see *Hecker*, loc. cit., pp. 85 f.

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with the oldest of all views of life, namely, the Vedas." He calls the opening up of Sanskrit literature "the greatest gift of our century," and prophesies that Indian pantheism might become the popular belief in the Occident also. The agreement of his own system with that of the Upaniṣads appears to him absolutely marvellous, and he tells us "that each of the separate and detached sayings which constitute the Upaniṣads might be taken as a conclusion from the idea communicated by himself, although on the other hand the same is by no means to be found there already." It is well known that the Oupnek'hat used to lie open on his table and that before retiring to rest he performed his "devotions" in it. And he says of this book: "It is the most satisfying and elevating reading (with the exception of the original text) which is possible in the world; it has been the solace of my life and will be the solace of my death." [1] The fundamental doctrine of the Upaniṣads, however, is the same which, according to Schopenhauer, "was at all times the ridicule of fools and the endless meditation of sages," namely, the *doctrine of Unity*, *i.e.* the doctrine "that all plurality is only apparent, that in all the individuals of this world, in whatever endless number they may present themselves after and beside one another, yet only one and the same, truly existing Being, present and identical in them all, manifests itself." [2] And if Ludwig Stein, who once said: "The philosophy of the present is Monism, that is the interpretation of all that happens in the universe," as one unity [3] is right, then this "philosophy of the present" was already the philosophy of the ancient Indians three thousand years ago.

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[1]) Parerga und Paralipomena, published by J. *Frauenstädt*, II, p. 427. (§ 185) Hecker, loc. cit., pp. 6 ff.

[2]) *Schopenhauer*, Grundlage der Moral, § 22 (Works, publ. by J. Frauenstädt, IV, pp. 268 ff.).

[3]) Supplement to the "Neue Freie Presse," July 10th, 1904.

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The Vedāṅgas.

In one of the Upaniṣads we are told that there are two kinds of knowledge, a higher and a lower. The higher is that which teaches us to know the imperishable Brahman, but the lower consists of "Ṛgveda, Yajurveda, Sāmaveda, Atharvaveda, *phonetics*, *ritual*, *grammar*, *etymology*, *metrics* and *astronomy*.[1] This is the oldest enumeration of the so-called *six Vedāṅgas*, *i.e.* the six "limbs" or supplementary sciences of the Veda.[2] Originally this meant neither special books nor special schools, but only subjects of instruction, which had to be learned in the Vedic schools themselves, in order to understand the Vedic texts. The beginnings of the Vedāṅgas may therefore already be sought in the Brāhmaṇas and Āraṇyakas, where along with the explanations of the sacrificial ritual we also occasionally find discussions on matters of phonetics, grammar, etymology, metrics and astronomy. In the course of time, however, these subjects were treated more and more systematically, and separate special schools, though still within the Vedic schools, arose for each of the six supplementary sciences of the Veda. These then evolved special school texts, "manuals," the Sūtras, composed in a peculiar prose style intended for memorization.

The word *sūtra* originally means "thread," then a "short rule," a precept condensed into a few words. As a fabric is made out of several threads (thus the transition of meaning might be explained), so a system of instruction[3] is woven

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[1]) Muṇḍaka-Up., I, 1, 5: ṛgvedo yajurvedaḥ sāmavedo 'tharvavedaḥ| śikṣā kalpo vyākaraṇaṃ niruktaṃ chando jyotiṣam.||

[2]) *Cf.* above p. 56, and Ludwig, Der Rigveda, III, pp. 74 ff.

[3]) Similarly, the word *tantra* originally signifies "web," then a system of instruction, a literary work, a book. In Chinese, too, the word "*king*" means "originally the warp of a texture, then standard, canon, and finally, in a metaphorical sense, any book which is considered as a rule or canon," s. W. *Grube*, Geschichte der chinesischen Litteratur, Leipzig, 1902, p. 31.

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together out of these short precepts. A larger work consisting of a number of such sūtras strung together is then also called *Sūtra*.[1] These works serve a purely practical purpose. They are to present some science systematically in concise brevity, so that the pupil can easily commit it to memory. There is probably nothing like these sūtras of the Indians in the entire literature of the world. It is the task of the author of such a work to say as much as possible in as few words as possible, even at the expense of clearness and intelligibility. The saying of the grammarian Patañjali has often been quoted that the author of a sūtra rejoices as much over the saving of half a short vowel as over the birth of a son. An idea of the unique sūtra style, the aphoristic prose of these works, can only be given by means of examples. The words in *brackets* in the two following passages in our translation must be supplemented in order to make the sense of the detached words intelligible :

Āpastambīya-Dharmasūtra I, 1, 1, 4-8 :

Sūtra 4: (There are) four castes : Brahmans, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras.

Sūtra 5: Of these the preceding one (is) always better, according to birth (than every succeeding one).

Sūtra 6: For (them who are) not Śūdras and have not committed bad actions, (is prescribed :) initiation as a pupil, Veda-study, fire-laying ; and (these sacred) acts (are) productive (in this world and the next).

Sūtra 7: Obedience towards the other castes (is the duty) of the Śūdras.

Sūtra 8: With each preceding caste which he serves the bliss is greater (*i.e.* the higher the caste which a Śūdra serves, the greater is the bliss which shall fall to his share in the next world).

[1]) Compare the word *brāhmaṇa*, which originally means "dictum of a theologian" and is then used collectively for the collections of such dicta, and the word *upaniṣad*, which signifies first a secret doctrine, then later means a larger work, a collection of secret doctrines. (See above pp. 187 f. and 243 f.)

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Gobhila-Gṛhyasūtra, I, 5, 1-5; 8-9.

Sūtra 1: Now at the new and full moon (*i.e.* on the day of the new moon and on the day of the full moon the following ceremonies are to be performed):

Sūtra 2: On the day of the full moon (when the moon rises) at (the time of the evening) twilight he shall fast.

Sūtra 3: Some (teachers say); on the following (day, *i.e.* when the moon rises shortly after sunset, he shall fast).

Sūtra 4: Furthermore (he shall fast) on the day on which the moon is not seen, (regarding) this day as the day of the new moon.

Sūtra 5: At the end of the half-months one shall fast, at the beginning of the half-months one shall sacrifice (*i.e.* a day of fasting shall always precede the sacrifices on the day of the new moon or on the day of the full moon).

Sūtra 8: But the day on which the moon is not seen, shall be made the day of the new moon (*i.e.* is to be celebrated as the day of the new moon).

Sūtra 9: Even if (the moon) is seen only (a little) once (in the day), (this day can be celebrated as the day of the new moon; for then one says) that (the moon has already) completed her course.

The Sanskrit-text, in the above, contains only the unbracketed words. The pupil memorised only these aphoristic sentences receiving the necessary explanations from the teacher. In later times these explanations by the teachers were also written down, and we have them in the extensive commentaries on all the sūtra-texts, without which the sūtras would mostly be unintelligible to us. This peculiar sūtra-style originated in the prose of the Brāhmaṇas. This prose of the Brāhmaṇas consists almost exclusively of short sentences; indirect speech is entirely absent; the sequence of principal sentences is but rarely interrupted by a relative or conditional clause, and its monotony is only relieved to some extent by participial constructions. Furthermore, in spite of a certain prolixity showing itself especially in awkward repetitions, much that is taken as a matter of course in oral presentation and instruction, remains unsaid, while we

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have to complete it in our translations.[1] Prose of this nature could easily, by more and more exaggerated simplification, be turned into such lapidary, detached sentences, connected only by the most essential particles, as we find in the sūtras. For the purpose of the greater saving of syllables and still shorter summarising only *one* new element was introduced: the formation of long compound words, with which we meet for the first time in the Sūtras, and which then became particularly characteristic of the classical Sanskrit literature and gained ever greater ascendancy at later periods. The frequent quotations from the Brāhmaṇas in the oldest Sūtra-texts, and even when there is no direct quotation, the many Brāhmaṇa-like passages in the midst of the Sūtras[2] make it apparent that the sūtra-style was developed from the prose of the Brāhmaṇas.

The Literature of Ritual.

The oldest Sūtra works are indeed those which even *in contents* are directly connected with the Brāhmaṇas and Araṇyakas. The Aitareya-Āraṇyaka actually contains passages which are nothing but Sūtras, and which tradition itself ascribes to the composers of Sūtras, Āśvalāyana and Śaunaka, and designates as non-revealed.[3] Sāmaveda literature, too, comprises a few works erroneously termed "Brāhmaṇas," which in reality are Sūtras, and on the grounds of their contents must be included in the Vedāṅga literature. Ritual (*Kalpa*), which constitutes the chief contents of the

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[1]) See above, p. 203, Note 1.

[2]) Thus certain sections of the Śāṅkhāyana-Śrautasūtra are similar in style and character to the Brāhmaṇas (*Weber*, HIL., p. 54. *Hillebrandt* in the preface to his edition of the Śāṅkhāyana-Śrautasūtra). In the Baudhāyana-Kalpasūtra, too, there are numerous passages which read just like Brāhmaṇas. The Śrautasūtras were not however, written on the basis of the Brahmans, but on that of a long oral tradition; s. R. *Löbbecke* Über das Verhältnis der Brāhmaṇas und Śrautasūtren Diss., Leipzig, 1908.

[3]) *Cf.* Max *Müller*, History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, pp. 314 f., 339.

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Brāhmaṇas, is then the first Vedāṅga to receive systematic treatment in special manuals, the so-called Kalpasūtras. They arose out of the need for compiling the rules for the sacrificial ritual in a shorter, more manageable and connected form for the practical purposes of the priests. Kalpasūtras dealing with the Śrauta-sacrifices taught in the Brāhmaṇas are called Śrautasūtras, and those dealing with the domestic ceremonies and sacrifices of daily life, the Gṛhya-rites, are called Gṛhyasūtras.[1]

The Śrautasūtras thus contain directions for the laying of the three sacred sacrificial fires, for the fire-sacrifice (Agnihotra), the new and full moon sacrifices,[2] the sacrifices of the seasons, the animal sacrifice[3] and especially for the soma-sacrifice with its numerous variations.[4] They are our most important source for the understanding of the Indian sacrifice-cult, and their significance as sources for the history of religion cannot be estimated highly enough.[5]

The contents of the Gṛhyasūtras are still more manifold, and in some respects more interesting. They contain directions for all usages, ceremonies and sacrifices by virtue of which the life of the Indian receives a higher "sanctity," what the Indians call *saṃskāra*, from the moment when he is conceived in the womb, till the hour of his death and still further through the death-ceremonies and the cult of the soul. We thus find in these works a large number of genuinely popular customs and usages treated in detail, which refer

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[1]) See above, pp. 56 and 160 f.

[2]) *Cf.* A. *Hillebrandt*, Das altindische Neu-und Vollmondsopfer, Jena, 1879.

[3]) *Cf.* Julius *Schwab*, Das altindische Tieropfer, Erlangen, 1886.

[4]) See above pp. 172 ff., and *Cf.* W. *Caland*, et V. *Henry*, L'Agniṣṭoma, description complète de la forme normale du sacrifice de Soma, I, Paris, 1906.

[5]) The entire ritual-literature, besides the chief features of the ritual itself, Śrauta as well as Gṛhya ceremonies, has been treated in detail by A. *Hillebrandt* in the "Grundriss," III, 2 (Rituallitteratur. Vedische Opfer und Zauber, Strassburg, 1897). The significance of the Śrautasūtras in the general science of religion was first fully appreciated by H. *Hubert* and M. *Mauss* in their "Essai sur la nature et la fonction du sacrifice," (Année Sociologique, Paris, 1897-1898, pp. 29-138.)

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to conception, birth, the mother and the new-born child, the name-giving, the first outing and the first feeding of the child; we find exact directions for the shaving of the boy's head, the introduction of the pupil to the teacher (Upanayana or "initiation of the pupil"), the mode of life of the Brahmacārin or Veda-student, the relationship between pupil and teacher, and the dismissal of the pupil from the service of the teacher. The customs at wooing, betrothal and marriage are presented in an especially detailed manner. Here in the Gṛhyasūtras, too, the "five great sacrifices" already mentioned in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (XI, 5, 6) are minutely described. "These are indeed great sacrificial feasts," it is said emphatically in the Brāhmaṇa, and they are called "great sacrifices" because their performance is among the most important religious duties of every head of a household, although in reality they consist only of small gifts and a few simple ceremonies. These are the daily sacrifices to the *gods*, *demons* and *fathers*, which need only consist of the pious laying of a log of wood upon the sacred fire of the hearth, a few scraps of food, a libation of water, further, hospitality to a guest (designated as "sacrifice to man") and fifthly, the daily reading of a section of the Veda, considered as "sacrifice to the *Brahman* (or the Ṛṣis)." The simple evening and morning offerings, the new and full moon sacrifices, and the annual festivals connected with sacrifices (from which the Agnihotra, Darśapūrṇamāsa and Cāturmāsya sacrifices under the category of the Śrauta-sacrifices may have proceeded) are also presented in the Gṛhyasūtras. In addition, such customs and ceremonies are described as refer to house-building, cattle-breeding and farming, also those of the magic rites which are to serve for averting diseases and unpropitious omens, as also exorcisms and rites for love magic and such like. Finally the Gṛhyasūtras deal also with the funeral customs and the ancestral sacrifice (Śrāddhas), which, however, assumed such importance that they were soon treated

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with their minutest details,[1] in special texts (Śrāddha-kalpas).

Thus, then, these Gṛhyasūtras, insignificant though they may be as literary works, afford us a deep insight into the life of the ancient Indians. They are in truth a real treasure for the ethnologist. One need only remember how laboriously the student of classical antiquity has to collect the reports on the daily life of the ancient Greeks and Romans from the most diversified works. Here in India we have the most reliable reports, we may say reports of eye-witnesses, upon the daily life of the ancient Indians, in the form of rules and precepts in these apparently insignificant sūtra-texts. They are, as it were, the "Folklore Journals" of ancient India. It is true, they describe the life of the ancient Indian father of the family only from the religious side, but as religion permeated the whole existence of the ancient Indians to such an extent that actually nothing could take place without an attendant religious ceremony, they are for the ethnologist most invaluable sources for the popular customs and usages of that ancient period. The numerous parallels in the manners and customs of other Indo-European peoples, which have been discovered long ago, with the usages described in the Gṛhya-sūtras, make these documents all the more important. In particular, the comparison of the Greek, Roman, Teutonic and Slavonic marriage customs with the rules contained in the Gṛhyasūtras, has shown that the relationship of the Indo-European peoples is not limited to language, but that these peoples, related in language, have also preserved common features from prehistoric times in their manners and customs.[2]

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[1]) In the investigation of funeral customs and ancestor-cult based on Indian ritual literature, W. *Caland* has rendered signal service by his works: Über Totenverehrung bei einigen der indogermanischen Völker. Amsterdam, 1888. Altindischer Ahnenkult. Leyden, 1893. Die altindischen Todten—und Bestattungsgebräuche, Amsterdam, 1896. *Cf.* *Winternitz*, Notes on Śrâddhas, WZKM., 4, 1890, pp. 199 ff.

[2]) *Cf.* E. *Haas* and A. *Weber*, Die Heiratsgebräuche der alten Inder, nach den Gṛhya-sutra (in Vol. 5. of "Indische Studien"); L. v. *Schroeder*, Die Hochzeitsgebräuche der

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No less important is a third class of text-books, directly connected with the Gṛhyasūtras, and probably originating only as a continuation of them, namely the Dharmasūtras, *i. e.* text-books which deal with the *Dharma*. *Dharma*, however, signifies "right, duty, law," as well as "religion, custom, usage." Therefore these works deal with secular as well as religious law, which indeed are inseparable in India. They give rules and regulations for the duties of the castes and the stages of life (āśramas). Through these works the Brahmans succeeded in transforming the law of ancient India to their own advantage, and in making their influence felt in all directions. We shall deal with these Dharmasūtras in detail in the section on legal literature. They are mentioned here only because, like the Śrauta and Gṛhyasūtras, they originated in the Vedic schools, and with these form a component part of the Kalpasūtras or text-books of ritual.

Lastly the Śulvasūtras, which are directly attached to the Śrautasūtras, should be mentioned in connection with these Kalpasūtras. They contain exact rules for the measurement (Śulva means "measuring-string") and the building of the place of sacrifice and the fire-altars, and as the oldest works on Indian geometry, are of no little importance for the history of science.

The Śrauta and Gṛhyasūtras are also of great importance for the interpretation of the Vedas. They contain not only

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Esten und einiger anderer finnisch-ugrischer Völkerschaften in Vergleichung mit denen der indegermanischen Völker, Berlin, 1888. B. W. *Leist*, Altarisches Jus gentium. Jena, 1889; M. *Winternitz*, Das altindische Hochzeitsrituell nach dem Āpastambīya-Gṛhyasūtra und einigen anderen verwandten Werken. Mit Vergleichung der Hochzeitsgebräuche bei den übrigen indogermanischen Völkern. (Denkschriften der kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, phil.—hist. Kl., Vol. XL. Vienna, 1892); M. *Winternitz*, On a Comparative Study of Indo-European Customs, with special reference to the Marriage Customs (The International Folk-Lore Congress, 1891, Papers and Transactions, London, 1892, pp. 267-291). O. *Schrader*, Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde, Strassburg 1901, pp. 353 ff. Th. *Zachariæ*, Zum altindischen Hochzeitsritual, WZKM., Vol. XVII, pp. 135 ff., 211 ff.

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the rules for the ritual, but also for the use (viniyoga) of the *Mantras*, *i.e.* of the prayers and formulas. They are mostly verses or Yajus-formulas, which occur in the Vedic Saṃhitās; and for their correct explanation their use in the sacrificial rites is by no means insignificant. Often enough, indeed, the mantras have nothing to do with the sacrificial acts for which they are prescribed, and it is extremely interesting, from the point of view of the history of religion, to see how often prayers are used for purposes to which they are not at all suited, and how often they have been entirely misunderstood, wrongly interpreted, or even arbitrarily altered.[1] Sometimes, however, their ceremonial use does give the key to the explanation of a difficult passage in the Veda. As a rule the mantras are enclosed in the sūtras, and are quoted there, now in their entirety, now only with the commencing words of the verses, which are assumed to be familiar.

It is the mantras too, which show most clearly the connexion of the Kalpasūtras with certain Vedic schools. Thus, for instance, the Śrauta and Gṛhyasūtras of the Black Yajurveda, give the prayers in the form which they assume in the Saṃhitās of the Black Yajurveda; and they give only the first words of the verses or Yajus-formulas, which are taken literally from the Saṃhitā to which they belong, that is, taking for granted that they are known, while they give other mantras, for instance those out of the Ṛgveda or Atharvaveda, in entirety. There are, moreover, in all the sūtras also a number of mantras which do not occur in the Saṃhitās. There are two Gṛhyasūtras in which the mantras are altogether separate from the sūtra text and are combined in special prayer-books; these are the Mantrabrāhmaṇa,[2]

[1]) See *Winternitz* The Mantrapāṭha, pp. xxix f. and Edwin W. *Fay*, The Rig-Veda Mantras in the Gṛhya Sūtras, Diss. Roanoke. Va. 1899.

[2]) Edited, with commentary, by Satyavrata *Sāmaśrami* in the "Uṣā," Calcutta 1890; the first Prapāṭhaka with German translation by Heinrich *Stönner*. Halle a S. 1901 (Diss.); the second Prapāṭhaka, with Sāyaṇa's Comm. and German translation, by Hans *Jörgensen*, Darmstadt 1911 (Diss. Kiel).

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which contains the prayers for the Gobhila-Gṛhyasūtra, and the Mantrapāṭha,[1] belonging to the Āpastambīya-Gṛhyasūtra.

Only in the Black Yajurveda schools of *Baudhāyana* and of *Āpastamba* do we find Kalpasūtras containing all the four kinds of sūtra texts, Śrauta, Gṛhya, Dharma and Śulvasūtras; and in these cases it can also be proved that these works are indeed so interconnected that, to a certain extent, they can be regarded as the four volumes of a uniform work. It is possible that Baudhāyana and Āpastamba were actually the authors of complete Kalpasūtras comprising all the four kinds of texts. But even if they were not the actual authors, at all events, the Śrauta, Gṛhya, Dharma and Śulvasūtras of the Baudhāyana and Āpastamba schools are works composed in each case on a uniform plan, of these two schools[2] of the Yajurveda.

Closely related to the sūtras of the Āpastamba school are those of the schools of *Bhāradvāja* and of *Satyāṣāḍha Hiraṇyakeśin*. The Śrautasūtra of the Bhāradvājas is only known in manuscripts, whereas the Gṛhyasūtra has been published.[3] Both the Śrauta and the Gṛhyasūtra[4] of the

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[1]) The Mantrapāṭha, or the Prayer Book of the Āpastambins. Edited by M. *Winternitz*. Oxford (Anecdota Oxoniensia) 1897.

[2]) The Baudhāyana-Śrautasūtra has been edited by W. *Caland*, Bibl. Ind., 1904-1924; the Baudhāyana-Gṛhyasūtra by L. *Śrinivāsācharya*, Mysore 1904 (Bibliotheca Sanscrita, No. 32); selections from the Gṛhyasūtra translated by P. *Harting*, Amersfoort 1922; the Baudhāyana-Śulvasūtra has been edited and translated by G. *Thibaut* in the "Pandit, Vols. IX ff. On the Baudhāyana-Sūtras s. *Caland*, Das rituelle Sūtra des Baudhāyana, Leipzig 1903 (AKM., XII, 1),—The Āpastambīya-Śrautasūtra has been edited by R. *Garbe*, Bibl. Ind. 1882-1903, and Books 1-7 translated into German by W. *Caland*, Göttingen 1921; the Āpastambīya-Gṛhyasūtra ed. by M. *Winternitz*, Vienna 1887, and translated, with the Āpastamba-Paribhāṣāsūtras, by *Oldenberg*, SBE., Vol. 30; the Āpastambīya-Śulvasūtra ed. and translated into German by Albert *Bürk*, ZDMG., Vols. 55, 56, 1901-2. Critical and explanatory notes on the Āpast.-Śraut. by *Caland*, ZDMG. 72, 1918, pp. 27 ff. On the Śrautasūtras of the Black Yajurveda s. also A. B. *Keith*, HOS., Vol. 18, pp. xlii ff.

[3]) By Henriette J. W. *Salomons*, Leyden 1913.

[4]) Hiraṇyakeśī-Śrautasūtra ed. with Comm. in ĀnSS No. 53; Hiraṇyakeśi-Gṛhyasūtra ed. by J. *Kirste*, Vienna 1889, and translated by *Oldenberg* in SBE., Vol. 30.

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Hiraṇyakeśins have been published, whilst the Hiraṇyakeśi-Dharmasūtra scarcely differs from the Āpastambīya-Dharmasūtra.

All these sūtras, to which we may add those of the hitherto less known schools of the *Vādhūlas*[1] and *Vaikhānasas*,[2] are closely associated with the Taittirīya-Saṃhitā. There can be no doubt that Baudhāyana is the earliest of these sūtra-writers,[3] his successors being Bhāradvāja, Āpastamba and Hiraṇyakeśin in chronological order. The Śrauta, Gṛhya and Śulvasūtras of the *Mānava* school,[4] and the Kāṭhaka-Gṛhyasūtra,[5] which is related to the Mānava-Gṛhyasūtra, come under the Maitrayaṇī-Saṃhitā.

Whether a Kalpasūtra embracing all four kinds of sūtras has always existed in every other Vedic school, as in the cases of the schools of Baudhāyana and Āpastamba, cannot be determined. Of those schools which do not belong to the Black Yajurveda we actually only possess here a Śrautasūtra, and there a Gṛhyasūtra, while the connection of a few Dharmasūtras with schools of the Ṛgveda or of the White Yajurveda is but a very loose one. To the White Yajurveda

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[1]) On some fragments of the Vādhūla-Sūtras, which are related to those of Baudhāyana, s. *Caland*, Acta Orientalia I, pp. 3 ff.; II, pp. 142 ff.

[2]) On the Vaikhānasa-Sūtras s. Th. *Bloch*, Über das Gṛhya-und Dharmasūtra der Vaikhānasa, Leipzig 1896. The Vaikhānasadharmapraśna has been published by *Gaṇapati-Śāstrī* in TSS. No. 28, 1913.

[3]) This is also confirmed by Baudhāyana's style, which is sometimes intermediate between Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra style. Baudhāyana is sometimes called a *pravacanakāra*, and it seems that *pravacana* is the term for a literary type which forms a transitory stage between Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras; s. *Winternitz*, WZKM. 17, 1903, pp. 289 ff.

[4]) Mānava-Śrautasūtra, Books I-V, edited by F. *Knauer*, St. Petersburg 1900 ff.; the Cayana of the Mānava-Śrautasūtra by J. M. van *Gelder*, Leyden 1921 (Diss.); the Mānava-Gṛhyasūtra by F. *Knauer*, St. Petersburg 1897. The Mānava-Śrautasūtra is perhaps the oldest Śrautasūtra. *Garbe* (Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra Ed., Vol. III, pp xxii f.) has shown that it is certainly older than Āpastamba who refers to it. On the Mānava-Gṛhyasūtra s. also P. v. *Bradke*, ZDMG, Vol. 36. The *Vārāhagṛhyasūtra* (ed. by R. *Sama-Sastry*, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. 18, Baroda 1921), belonging to a school of the Maitrāyaṇīya, is a late work.

[5]) An edition of the Kāṭhaka-Gṛhyasūtra by W. *Caland* is announced as being in the press by the D. A. V. College, Lahore.

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belong: a Kātyāyana-Śrautasūtra,[1] a Pāraskara-Gṛhyasūtra[2] and a Kātyāyana-Śulvasūtra,[3] to the Ṛgveda an Aśvalāyana-Śrautasūtra,[4] and Aśvalāyana-Gṛhyasūtra[5] a Śrautasūtra and a Gṛhyasūtra of Śaṅkhāyana;[6] to the Sāmaveda the closely related Śrautasūtras of Lāṭyāyana[7] and Drāhyāyaṇa,[8] a Śrautasūtra and a Gṛhyasūtra of the Jaiminīya school,[9] and the Gṛhyasūtras of Gobhila[10] and Khādira.[11] Sāmaveda literature also includes the Arṣeyakalpa, also known as the Maśakakalpasūtra,[12] which teaches which melodies are to be sung to the various stanzas at the soma festivals.

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[1]) Ed. by A. *Weber*, The White Yajurveda, Vol. III.

[2]) Ed. with a German translation by A. F. *Stenzler*, Indische Hausregeln, AKM. VI, 2 and 4, 1876-78; with Harihara's comm. by *Lādhāram Śarman*, Bombay 1890; translated by H. *Oldenberg*, SBE., Vol. 29.

[3]) A Pariśiṣṭa to this (Kātīyam Śulbapariśiṣṭam) ed. by G. *Thibaut* in "Pandit," N.S., Vol. 4.

[4]) Edition in Bibl. Ind. *Cf. Keith*, HOS., Vol. 25, pp. 51 ff.; P. *Sabbathier*, L'Agnishṭoma d'après le Çrauta-sûtra d'Açvalāyana, JA. 15, 1890, 1 ff., 186 ff.

[5]) Ed. with commentary of Gārgya Nārāyaṇa in Bibl. Ind. 1869; with commentary of Haradattācārya, by *Gaṇapati Śāstrī* in TSS. No. 78, 1923; with German translation by A. F. *Stenzler*, Indische Hausregeln, AKM. III, 4, 1864 and IV, 1, 1865; translated into English by H. *Oldenberg*, SBE., Vol. 29.

[6]) Śāṅkhāyana-Śrautasūtra ed. by A. *Hillebrandt* in Bibl. Ind. 1888 ff. *Cf. Keith*, JRAS. 1907, pp. 410 ff. and HOS., Vol. 25, pp. 50 f. Śāṅkhāyana-Gṛhyasūtra, Sanskrit and German by H. *Oldenberg*, Ind. Stud., Vol 15; English translation by the same scholar, SBE., Vol. 29 Sāṃkhyāyanagrihyasaṃgraha by Pandita Vasudeva ed. by Somanāthopādhyāya, Nyāyopādhyāya and Kāvyatīrtha, and Kaushītakigrihyasūtras ed. by Ratna *Gopāla Bhatta*, BenSS. 1908.

[7]) Edition in Bibl. Ind. A few chapters translated into German by R. *Simon*, ZII., Vol. 2, 1923, pp. 1 ff.

[8]) Ed. by J. N. *Reuter*, Part I, London 1904.

[9]) D. *Gaastra*, Bijdrage tot de Kennis van het vedische ritueel, Jaiminīya-Śrautasūtra, Leyden 1906, being text and translation of the Agniṣṭoma chapter; text of the Śrautakārikā, ib. pp. 36-60. The Jaiminigṛhyasūtra ed. and translated by W. *Caland*, Lahore 1922 (Punjab Sanskrit Series, No. 2).

[10]) Ed. with Comm. by Chandrakanta *Tarkalankar*, 2nd Ed., in Bibl. Ind., 1906-1908. Critically edited, with German translation, by F. *Knauer*, Dorpat 1884, 1886. Translated into English by H. *Oldenberg*, SBE., Vol. 30.

[11]) Text and English translation by H. *Oldenberg* in SBE., Vol. 29.

[12]) Ed. by W. *Caland*, AKM. XII, 3, Leipzig 1908. Maśaka is the name of the author.

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This sūtra is intimately connected with the Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa and is earlier than the Lāṭyāyana-Śrautasūtra. Lastly, among Atharvaveda literature we have a Vaitāna-Śrautasūtra,[1] a work which originated very late, and which was added to the Atharvaveda in order to make it of equal value with the remaining three Vedas, and the much older and more important Kauśikasūtra.[2] This is only partly a Gṛhyasūtra, which, like the other Gṛhyasūtras, treats of domestic ritual; but it is much more extensive and also contains the most minute directions for the performance of those magic rites for which the songs and spells of the Atharvaveda were used. This Kauśikasūtra is thus a most valuable complement to the Atharvaveda-Saṃhita and an inestimable source for our knowledge of ancient Indian magic. The Sāmavidhāna-Brāhmana,[3] too, attached to the Sāmaveda, is an interesting book of magic, belonging, in spite of its title, to the Sūtra literature.

The Gṛhyasūtras are followed up by the Śrāddhakalpas and Piṭṛmedhasūtras, which contain rules for the Śrāddhas and the ancestral sacrifices. Some of these texts may be classed in the categories of the ritual texts of the Vedic schools after which they are named, whilst others are later productions.[4] The sūtra texts,

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[1]) Edited and translated into German by R. *Garbe*, London and Strassburg 1878; the translation is superseded by that of W. *Caland*, Amsterdam (Akad.) 1910. On the position of the Vaitānasūtra in the Atharvaveda literature s. *Caland*, WZKM. 18, 1904, 185 ff.; *Keith*, JRAS. 1910, 934 ff.; *Bloomfield*, GGA. 1912, No. 1.

[2]) Edited by M. *Bloomfield*, New Haven 1890. Numerous extracts from this Sūtra have been given by the same scholar in the Notes to his English translation of selected hymns of the Atharvaveda (SBE., Vol. 42). The most important sections of the Kauśikasūtra referring to magic, have also been translated into German by W. *Caland* in his work: Altindisches Zauberritual, Amsterdam, 1900.

[3]) Edited by A. C. *Burnell*, London 1873. Translated into German by *Sten Konow*, Das Sāmavidhānabrāhmana, ein altindisches Handbuch der Zauberei, Halle a.S. 1893.

[4]) Mānavaśrāddhakalpa ed. by W. *Caland*, Altindischer Ahnencult, pp. 228 ff., Śrāddhakalpa of the Śaunakins, ib. pp. 240 ff., fragments of a Paippalādaśrāddhakalpa, ib. pp. 243 ff.. Kātyāyanaśrāddhakalpa, ib. pp. 245 ff. On the Gautamaśrāddhakalpa s. *Caland* in Bijdragen tot de taal, land en volkenkunde van Ned. Indië, 6e Volg. deel I,

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however, do not exhaust the literature on ritual by any means. Just as the Upaniṣads of the Veda are followed up by the post-Vedic Upaniṣad literature, so the Vedic ritual literature is followed up by literary activity in the realm of ritual, which has continued down to the most recent times. Next after the Śrauta and Gṛhyasūtras follow the Pariśiṣṭas or "addenda," in which certain things are treated in greater detail, which have merely been briefly indicated in the Sūtras. The Pariśiṣṭas appended to the Gobhilagṛhyasūtra are of importance, namely the Gṛhyasaṃgrahapariśiṣṭa of Gobhilaputra,[1] and the Karmapradīpa.[2] The Pariśiṣṭas of the Atharvaveda,[3] which throw light more especially on all kinds of magical practices, omens and portents and the like, are of great value from the point of view of the history of religion. One of the oldest Pariśiṣṭas is the Prāyaścittasūtra,[4] which has come down as part of the Vaitānasūtra, and treats of the expiatory rites. Later ritual works are the Prayogas, "practical handbooks," the Paddhatis, "outlines," and the Kārikās, versified presentations of the ritual. All these works deal either with the complete ritual of some Vedic school or, which is more often the

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1894. The Pitṛmedhasūtras of Baudhāyana. Hiraṇyakeśin, Gautama ed. W. *Caland* AKM. X, 3, 1896; the 2nd and 3rd Praśnas of Baudh.-Pitṛmedhasūtra by C. H. *Raabe*. Bijdrage tot de kennis van het hindoesche toodenritueel, Leyden 1911.

[1]) See M. *Bloomfield* in ZDMG., Vol. 35. Edited by Ch. *Tarkalankar*, Bibl. Ind. 1910. Other Gobhilya-Pariśiṣṭas (Sandhyāsūtra, Snānasūtra, Śrāddhakalpa, etc.), ed. by the same scholar, Bibl. Ind. 1909.

[2]) The first part of the Karmapradīpa ed. and translated into German by F. *Schrader* Halle a.S. 1889, the second part by A.v. *Staël-Holstein*, Halle a.S. 1900 (Diss.) Cf. *Hillebrandt*, Rituallitteratur, pp. 37 f., and *Caland*, Altindischer Ahnencult, pp. 112 ff.

[3]) Ed. by G. M. *Bolling* and J. *von Negelein*, Leipzig 1909-10. See also J.v. *Negelein*, Orientalistische Literaturzeitung 1908, 447 ff., *Winternitz*, WZKM. 23, 1909, 401 ff., and *Keith*, JRAS. 1912, 757 ff. The Śāntikalpa of the Atharvaveda (ed. by G. M Bolling, Transactions of the American Philological Association, Vol. 35. 1904, 77 ff.; JAOS. 33, 1913, 265 ff.) treats of rites for driving away the evil consequences of portents. The Ath.-Pariśiṣṭas sometimes give a clue to the explanation of the hymns of the Atharvaveda where the Kauśikasūtra fails; s. F. *Edgerton*, Studies in Honor of M. Bloomfield, p. 118.

[4]) The Atharvaprāyaścittāni have been edited by J v *Negelein*. New Haven 1915 (reprinted from JAOS. 1913-14). See also *Caland*, WZKM. 18, 1904, 197 ff.

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case, with some special rites. The special works on marriage customs, burial of the dead and ancestral sacrifices (Śrāddhas), are of particular importance, though most of these works are known only through manuscripts and Indian prints.

The Exegetic Vedāṅgas.

Those Sūtra texts which deal with *Śikṣā* or "phonetics" are at least as old as the Kalpasūtras. While the Kalpasūtras are supplementary works to the Brāhmaṇa portion of the Veda, the sūtras of the Vedāṅga Śikṣā are very closely related to the Saṃhitās of the Vedas.

"*Śikṣā*" actually means "instruction," then in particular "instruction in reciting," *i.e.* in the correct pronunciation, accentuation, etc., of the Saṃhitā texts. The earliest mention of this Vedāṅga is to be found in the Taittirīya-Upaniṣad (I, 2), where the teaching of the letters, the accents, the quantity (of syllables) the stress, the melody and the combination of words in continuous recitation, are enumerated as the six chapters of the Śikṣā. Like the doctrine of the ritual, the Śikṣā also arose out of a religious need. For in order to perform a sacrificial act correctly it was not only necessary to know the ritual, but also to be able to pronounce the sacred texts accurately and recite them without errors, just as they were handed down in the Saṃhitās. This presupposes that, at the time when the text-books of the Śikṣā originated, the Vedic Saṃhitās were already established as sacred texts, that they had already obtained a definite form by the agency of editors trained in phonetics. It can actually be proved that, for instance, the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā does not give the hymns in the form in which they were composed by the ancient singers. Though the editors did not alter the words themselves, yet in the matter of pronunciation, the initial and final sound of the words, the avoidance of the hiatus, and so on, they were led by their phonetic theories into deviating from the original manner of recitation. Thus, for instance, we read in our

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Saṃhitā *tvaṃ hyagne*, but can prove (on the ground of metre), that the old singers said *tuaṃ hi agne*. The Vedic Saṃhitās themselves are then already the works of phoneticians. But beside the *Saṃhitā Pāṭhas*, *i.e.* the Saṃhitā-texts, as they had to be recited according to the teaching of the Śikṣā, there are also the so-called *Pada Pāṭhas* or "word-texts," in which the individual words appear separate from the phonetic connection in which they are presented in the Saṃhitā-text. One example will suffice to make the difference between Saṃhitā-Pāṭha and Pada-Pāṭha clear. A verse in our Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā runs:

agníḥ pū́rvebhirṛ́ṣibhirídyo nū́tanairutá | sá devā́m̃ ébá vakṣati

In the Pada-Pāṭha this verse runs:

agníḥ | pū́rvebhiḥ—ṛ́ṣi-bhiḥ | íḍyaḥ | nū́tanaiḥ | utá | sá | devā́n á | ihá | vakṣati. ||

These Pada-Pāṭhas are, of course, the work of theologians trained in phonetics, in fact of grammarians, for they present the text of the verses in a complete grammatical analysis. Yet they must be fairly old. The Pada-Pāṭha of the Ṛgveda is ascribed to Śākalya, a teacher who is already mentioned in the Aitareya-Āraṇyaka.[1]

Saṃhitā-Pāṭhas and Pada-Pāṭhas, then, are the oldest productions of the Śikṣā schools. The oldest text-books of this Vedāṅga which have come down to us are, however, the Prātiśākhyas, which contain the rules by the aid of which one can form the Saṃhitā-Pāṭha from the Pada-Pāṭha. Hence they contain instruction upon the pronunciation, the accentuation, the euphonic alterations of the sounds in the composition of words and in the initial and final sound of words in the sentence, upon the lengthening of vowels, in short upon the whole manner of the recitation of

[1]) On the Padapāṭha of Śākalya s. B. *Liebich*, Zur Einführung in die indische einheimische Sprachwissenschaft II, Heidelberg 1919, pp. 20 ff. On the Padapāṭha of the Taittirīya-Saṃhitā s. A. *Weber*, Ind. Stud. 13, 1-128, and A. B. *Keith*, HOS. Vol. 18, pp. xxx ff.

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the Saṃhitā. Every Śākhā or recension of a Saṃhitā had a text-book of this nature, hence the name Prātiśākhyas, *i.e.* "text-books, each intended for a Śākhā." First of all we have a Ṛgveda-Prātiśākhya,[1] which is ascribed to *Śaunaka*, who is supposed to have been a teacher of *Aśvalāyana*. This work is in verse, and is probably a later revision of an earlier Śūtra-text: it is even called "Sūtra" in manuscripts and quotations. The Taittirīya-Prātiśākhya-sūtra,[2] belongs to the Taittirīya-Saṃhitā; a Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya-Sūtra,[3] ascribed to *Kātyāyana*, belongs to the *Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā*, and the Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā has an Atharvaveda-Prātiśākhya-sūtra,[4] which is supposed to be of the school of the Śaunakas. There is also a Sāmaprātiśākhya,[5] and the Puṣpasūtra[6] is a kind of Prātiśākhya to the Uttaragāna of the Sāmaveda. A further work dealing with the manner of singing the Sāmans at the sacrifice, is the Pañcavidha-sūtra.[7]

These works are of twofold importance: firstly, for the history of grammatical study in India, which, as far as we know, commences with these Prātiśākhyas. Though they are

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[1]) Edited, with a translation into German, by Max *Müller*, Leipzig 1856-69. On the metrics of the Ṛgveda-Prātiśākhya, s. H. *Oldenberg*. NGGW. 1919, pp. 170 ff.

[2]) Text, Translation and Notes by W. D. *Whitney*, New Haven 1871 (JAOS., Vol. 9). On the relation of the Taittirīya-Prātiśākhya to the Taitt.-Saṃhitā, s. *Keith*, HOS., Vol. 18, pp. xxxi ff. It is certainly older than Pāṇini.

[3]) Edited by P. Y. *Pathaka*. Benares 1883-88; text with German translation by A. *Weber*, Ind. Stud. 4, 65-169, 177-331. The *Pratijñāsūtra* (edited and explained by Weber in ABA. 1871, pp. 69 ff.) is an appendix to this Prātiśākhya.

[4]) Critically edited by *Vishva Bandhu Vidyārthī Śāstrī*, Part I, Punjab University 1923. This is different from the Śaunakīyā Caturādhyāyikā, which has been edited and translated as an "Atharvaveda-Prātiśākhya" by W. D. *Whitney*, New Haven 1862 (JAOS., Vol. 7).

[5]) Ed. by *Satyavrata Sāmaśrami* in "Uṣā," Calcutta 1890.

[6]) Ed. and translated into German by R. *Simon*, ABayA. 1909, pp. 481-780. On the mutual relation between Puṣpasūtra, Ārṣeyakalpa and Uttaragāna, s. *Simon*, l.c. 499 ff.; ZDMG. 63, 1909, 730 ff. and *Caland*, ZDMG. 64, 1910, 347 f.

[7]) Ed. and translated into German by R. *Simon*, Breslau 1913 (Indische Forschungen, Nr. 5).

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not actually grammatical works themselves, they treat of subjects pertaining to grammar, and the quotations from so many grammarians prove that the study of grammar was already flourishing at their time. Secondly, they are still more important because they are pledges of the fact that the texts of the Saṃhitās as we have them to-day, have remained unaltered through all the centuries since the time of the Prātiśākhyas. Thus the rules of the Ṛgveda-Prātiśākhya take for granted that, at the period of the latter, the Ṛgveda-Saṃhita was not only firmly established in its division into ten Maṇḍalas, but that even the order of the hymns in each Maṇḍala was the same as it is now. Indeed, the minute rules of Śaunaka leave no doubt that, at the period of the latter, the text of the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā read, word for word and syllable for syllable, almost exactly as we find it at the present day in our printed editions.

These Prātiśākhyas are the earliest representatives of the Vedāṅga Śikṣā. Beside them we find more modern works, short treatises on phonetics, which claim the title of Śikṣās and give famous names, such as Bhāradvāja, Vyāsa, Vāsiṣṭha, Yājñavalkya and so on, as their authors. They follow the Prātiśākhyas in much the same way as, at later periods, versified law-books followed up the ancient Vedic Dharmasūtras, also mentioning as their authors names famous in antiquity. Some of these Śikṣās are comparatively old and are more directly associated with some Prātiśākhya or other, *e.g.* the Vyāsa-Śikṣā [1] with the Taittirīya-Prātiśākhya, while others are of much later origin and of no importance either for grammar or for the history of the Vedic texts.[2]

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[1]) *Cf.* H. *Lüders*, Die Vyâsa-Çikshâ besonders in ihrem Verhältnis zum Taittirîya-Pratiçâkhya, Kiel 1895.

[2]) On the Śikṣās s. F. *Kielhorn*, Ind. Ant. 5, 1876, 141 ff., 193 ff. On the Pāṇinīya-Śikṣā s. A. *Weber*, Ind. Stud. 4, 435 ff. and B. *Liebich*, Zur Einführung in die indische einheimische Sprachwissenschaft II, p. 20, who says that though late in form, it is old in contents. The Nāradīya-Śikṣā is edited in *Satyavrata Sāmaśrami's* "Uṣā," I, 4, Calcutta

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Śaunaka and *Kātyāyana*, who are mentioned as authors of Prātiśākhyas, are also considered to be the authors of works very closely connected with the Vedāṅga literature because they deal also with the texts of the Vedic Saṃhitās, though they are not called Vedāṅgas. These works are the Anukramaṇīs, *i.e.* "catalogues," "lists," "indexes," which give the contents of the Vedic Saṃhitās with regard to different items.[1] Thus Śaunaka composed an Anukramaṇī or a catalogue of the Ṛṣis of the Ṛgveda hymns, also a catalogue of the metres, one of the deities and a further one of the hymns. Kātyāyana is the author of a Sarvānukramaṇī[2] *i.e.* a "catalogue of all things" for the Ṛgveda. This work gives, in the form of sūtras, the first words of every hymn, then the number of verses, the name and family of the ṛṣi to whom the hymn is ascribed, of the deities to whom the single verses are addressed, and the metre or metres in which the hymn is composed. The two metrical works Bṛhaddevatā and Ṛgvidhāna are again ascribed to Śaunaka. They are not, however, the work of Śaunaka himself, but that of his school. The Bṛhaddevatā[3] is an enlarged catalogue of the gods worshipped in the separate hymns of the Ṛgveda; for it contains also myths and legends referring to these deities, and is therefore at the same time an important work from the point of view of Indian narrative literature. The Bṛhaddevatā is obviously one of the earliest

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1890; the Bhāradvāja-Śikṣā (cum versione latina, excerptis ex commentario etc.) by *E. Sieg*, Berlin 1892. A collection of Śikṣās (Śikṣāsaṃgraha) has been published in BenSS. 1893.

[1]) The Atharvavedīyapañcapaṭalikā (ed. by *Bhagwaddatta*, Lahore 1920) is an Anukramaṇī of the Atharvaveda-saṃhitā. The so-called Ārṣeya-brāhmaṇa of the Sāmaveda (ed. by A. C. *Burnell*, Mangalore 1876, and with commentary by *Satyavrata Sāmaśrami* in "Uṣā," II, 1, Calcutta 1892) is also an Anukramaṇī.

[2]) Edited by A. A. *Macdonell*, Oxford (Anecdota Oxoniensia) 1886. On a Kashmirian recension of the Sarvānukramaṇī s. *Scheftelowitz*, ZII. 1, 1922, 89 ff.

[3]) Ed. by Rajendralala *Mitra* in Bibl. Ind. 1892; critically edited and translated into English by A. A. *Macdonell*. HOS., Vols. 5 and 6, 1904.

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Indian narrative works, for its metres, the triṣṭubh as well as the śloka, occupy a middle position in point of time between Vedic and epic metre; and furthermore, those legends which are common to the Bṛhaddevatā and the Mahābhārata, appear in a later form in the epic.[1] The Ṛgvidhāna,[2] also in the form of a catalogue following the division of our Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā, states the magic power which can be obtained by the recitation of each hymn or even of single verses. It is somewhat similar to the above-mentioned Sāmavidhāna-Brāhmaṇa.

Of importance are the Anukramaṇīs and the works related to them, on account of their affording additional proof that even in very early times the texts of the Vedic Samhitās were in almost exactly the same form, with the same divisions, the same number of verses, and so on, as we have them at present.

The same is true also of the Nirukta of *Yāska*,[3] which has already been mentioned on another occasion. This work, too, the only one of the Vedāṅga Nirukta which we possess, presupposes the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā in essentially the same condition in which we know it to-day. Tradition erroneously ascribes also the Nighaṇṭus or "lists of words" to Yāska. In reality, however, the work of Yāska is only a commentary to these lists of words, of which Yāska himself says, that they were composed by the descendants of the ancient sages, for the easier understanding of the transmitted texts. The Nighaṇṭus are five lists of words, which are divided into three sections. The first section (Naighaṇṭukakāṇḍa) consists of

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[1]) See A. *Kuhn*, Ind. Stud. I, 101 ff.; *Keith*, JRAS. 1906, pp. 1 ff.: 1912, pp. 769 ff. *Winternitz*, WZKM. 20, 1906, pp. 1 ff.; *Liebich*, Zur Einführung in die ind. einh. Sprachwiss. II. 30 ff.

[2]) Ṛgvidhânaṃ edidit cum praefatione Rudolf Meyer, Berolini 1878.

[3]) See above p. 69. The Nirukta was first edited by *R. Roth*, Göttingen 1852: with commentaries and useful indexes by *Satyavrata-Sāmaśrami* in Bibl. Ind., 1882-91; with commentary of Durgācārya, Vol. I, Adhy. 1-6, edited by *V. K. Rajavade*, ĀnSS. No. 88, 1921. On L. Sarup's edition s. above.

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three lists, in which Vedic words are collected under certain main ideas. For instance, there are quoted 21 names for "earth," 15 for "gold," 16 for "air," 101 for "water," 122 verbs for "to go," 26 adjectives and adverbs for "quick," 12 for "much," and so on. The second section (Naigama-kāṇḍa or Aikapadika) contains a list of ambiguous and particularly difficult words of the Veda, while the third section (Daivatakāṇḍa) gives a classification of the deities according to the three regions, earth, sky, and heaven.[1] Veda-exegesis probably began with the compilation of such glossaries; the composition of commentaries to these glossaries after the style of our Nirukta, with explanations of difficult Veda verses interwoven, was a further step in the development, and, at a still later period, detailed and continuous commentaries to the Vedic texts were written. Certain it is that Yāska had many predecessors, and that his work, though certainly very old and the oldest existing Veda-exegetic work, can nevertheless only be regarded as the last, perhaps also the most perfect, production of the literature of the Vedāṅga Nirukta.

Of the Vedāṅgas of metrics and astronomy, too, it is only the latest offshoots of an earlier scientific literature that remain. For the Sāmaveda there is the Nidānasūtra, containing not only metrical but other investigations into the various component parts of the Sāmaveda (Uktha, Stoma, Gāna). It is also important from the grammatical point of view, and some of the ancient teachers ascribe it to Patañjali.[2] The

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[1]) On these Nighaṇṭus as the beginnings of Indian lexicography see Th. *Zachariae*, Die indischen Wörterbücher ("Grundriss," I, 3 B), Strassburg 1897, pp. 2 f. S. K. *Belvalkar* (Proc. SOC., pp. 11ff.) has shown that it is possible, with the help of the Nighaṇṭus, esp. the Aikapadika list, to distinguish literary strata in the Ṛgveda. Belvalkar dates Yāska's Nirukta from the 7th century B. C. This is likely enough, though not certain. But we have no idea how much earlier the Nighaṇṭus may be.

[2]) *Cf. Weber* HIL., pp. 81f., E. *Sieg*, Die Sagenstoffe des Ṛgveda, Stuttgart 1902, pp. 29, 35, 65; and *Caland*, Ārṣeyakalpa, pp. xvii ff. A Nidāna of the Sāmaveda is quoted

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text-book of *Piṅgala* on metrics, though regarded by the Indians as a Vedāṅga of the Ṛgveda and Yajurveda, there being two recensions of it, is nevertheless the work of a later period; for it deals also with metres which only belong to later Sanskrit poetry.[1] The Jyotiṣa-Vedāṅga is a small text-book of astronomy in verse; in the Yajurveda recension it contains 43 verses, in that of the Ṛgveda 36. Its main contents are the positions of the moon and the sun at the solstices, as well as the new and full moon in the circle of the 27 Nakṣatras or stars of the zodiac, or rules are drawn up for their calculation.[2] The very circumstance that it is not written in verse, refers this little work which, moreover, has not yet been sufficiently explained, to a later period.

The old Vedāṅga texts on grammar are entirely lost. This science, too, certainly originated in connection with the Veda-exegesis, and proceeded from the Veda schools. For already in the Āraṇyakas we find isolated grammatical technical terms. But the oldest and most important text-book of grammar that has come down to us, that of *Pāṇini*, metes out to the Vedic language only casual treatment; it no longer stands in close relation to any Veda school, and altogether belongs to a period at which the science of grammar was already pursued in special schools, independent of theology. For in India also, as we shall see in the section on scientific literature, science has detached itself more and more from theology, within which it was originally included almost completely.

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in the Bṛhaddevatā, V, 23. But the quotation is not found in the Nidānasūtra, printed in the "Uṣā," Calcutta, 1896.

[1]) The Sūtra of Piṅgala was edited and explained by A. *Weber* in Vol. 8 of Ind. Stud. Cf. also *A. Weber*, HIL., p. 60.

[2]) Cf. A. *Weber*, Uber den Vedakalender namens Jyotisham (ABA 1862) and G. *Thibaut*, Astronomie (in the "Grundriss," III, 9), pp. 17, 20 and 28. Ātharvaṇa Jyotiṣam edited by Bhagavad Datta, Lahore, 1924 (Punjab Sanskrit Series, No. 6).

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The age of the Veda.

We have traced the whole of Vedic literature to its latest off-shoots and stragglers, and can now no longer evade the question of the age of the whole of this great literature. If it were possible to determine, even within a few centuries, the period into which the oldest hymns of the Ṛgveda and of the Atharvaveda reach back, then it were unnecessary to devote a special chapter to this question. It would suffice to give, in a few words, the approximate age of the Veda. Unfortunately, however, it is a fact, and a fact which it is truly painful to have to admit, that the opinions of the best scholars differ, not to the extent of centuries, but to the extent of thousands of years, with regard to the age of the Ṛgveda. Some lay down the year 1000 B.C. as the earliest limit for the Ṛgvedic hymns, while others consider them to have originated between 3000 and 2500 B.C. In view of the *very great* divergence in the opinions of the specialists, it is not enough, even in a book intended for the general reader, merely to give some approximate date, for even the general reader must have an idea of the circumstances supporting the various opinions on the greater or lesser antiquity of the Veda. This is the more necessary, as the question of the period of the oldest Indian literature coincides with the question of the beginning of the Indo-Aryan civilization, a question which is of the utmost importance to every historian, archæologist and philologist. If, indeed, it is at all possible to determine the periods of the development of Indo-Aryan culture, and, going still further back, those of Indo-European culture, it can only be done hand in hand with investigation as to the period of the earliest monuments of Aryan culture in India.

Under these circumstances, then, it seems to me absolutely necessary to render account of the whole question to

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the non-specialist also, and, as far as possible, to state the limits and the reasons both of our ignorance and of our knowledge.

On first becoming acquainted with Indian literature, people were inclined to ascribe tremendous antiquity to all Indian literary works. Did not Friedrich Schlegel expect from India nothing less than "enlightenment upon the history of the primitive world, so dark until now"?[1] As late as in 1852 A. Weber wrote in his "History of Indian Literature": "The literature of India passes generally for the most ancient literature of which we possess written records, and justly so," and it was only in 1876 in his second edition that he added: "In so far as this claim may not now be disputed by the Egyptian monumental records and papyrus rolls, or even by the Assyrian literature which has but recently been brought to light." The reasons for which, according to Weber, "we are fully justified in regarding the literature of India as the most ancient literature of which written records on an extensive scale have been handed down to us" are in part geographical, in part pertain to the history of religion. In the older parts of the Ṛgveda the Indian nation appears to us to be settled in the Punjab. The gradual spread eastwards across Hindustan towards the Ganges can be traced in the later portions of Vedic literature. The Great Epics then further show us the spread of Brahmanism towards the south. Centuries must have elapsed before such an enormous stretch of land, "inhabited by wild and vigorous tribes," could become brahmanized. Many centuries too, must have been required for the religious development from the simple nature worship of the Ṛgvedic hymns up to the theosophical-philosophical speculations of the Upaniṣads, and again to such phases of mythology and cult as Megasthenes, about 300 B.C., found prevalent in India. Weber did

[1]) *Cf.* above, p. 14.

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not attempt a more exact determination of the Vedic period; in fact, he expressly declares any such attempt to be entirely futile.[1]

The first, however, to make this attempt and to endeavour to construct a kind of chronology of the oldest Indian literature, was Max Müller in his "History of Ancient Sanskrit literature" which appeared in 1859. Starting from the few definite clues to Indian chronology which we possess, the invasion of Alexander and the appearance of Buddhism,[2] he argued further as follows. Buddhism is nothing but a reaction against Brahmanism, and it presupposes the existence of the whole Veda, *i.e.* the literature consisting of the hymns, the Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads. The whole of this literature must therefore be *pre-Buddhist*, i.e. it must have originated before 500 B.C. The Vedāṅga or Sūtra literature might be approximately synchronous with the origin and the first spread of Buddhism. Now the origin of these Sūtra works, whose character is such that they necessarily pre-suppose the Brāhmaṇa literature, falls approximately into the period from 600 to 200 B.C. (It is at the fixing on these purely arbitrary dates that the untenable part of Max Müller's calculations begins.) The Brāhmaṇas, however, of which there are earlier and later ones, and which contain long lists of teachers, handed down by earlier Brāhmaṇas, cannot possibly be accommodated in less than 200 years. Therefore, argues Max Müller, we shall have to accept the period from 800 to 600 B. C. as the period of the origin of these prose works. The Brāhmaṇas, however, for their part, again pre-suppose the Vedic Saṃhitās. But the composition of all these collections of songs and prayers would take at least 200 years; hence the interval from roughly 1000 to 800 B. C. might be regarded as the

[1]) *Weber*, HIL., pp. 2 ff., 6 f.

[2]) Cf. above, pp. 27 f.

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period in which these collections were arranged. However, before the compilation of these collections, which were already regarded as sacred sacrificial poetry and authorised prayer-books, there must have been a period at which the songs and chants contained in them arose as popular or religious poems. This period, Max Müller concluded, must have been before 1000 B. C. And as he had already assumed 200 years for the "Brāhmaṇa period" and 200 years for the period he called the "Mantra period," he now also assumed 200 years for the *arising* of this poetry (though without laying much stress on this figure), and thus arrived at 1200 to 1000 B. C. as the period of the beginning of Vedic poetry.

Now it is clear that the supposition of 200 years for each of the different literary epochs in the origin of the Veda is purely arbitrary. Even Max Müller himself did not really wish to say more than that such an interval *at least* must be assumed, and that in 1000 B. C. *at the latest*, our Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā must already have been completed. He always considered his date of 1200-1000 B. C. only as a *terminus ad quem*, and in his Gifford Lectures on "Physical Religion" in 1889,[1] he expressly states "that we cannot hope to fix a *terminus a quo*. Whether the Vedic hymns were composed 1000, or 1500, or 2000, or 3000 years B. C., no power on earth will ever determine." It is remarkable, however, how strong the power of suggestion is even in science. Max Müller's hypothetical and really purely arbitrary determination of the Vedic epochs in the course of years, received more and more the dignity and the character of a scientifically proved fact, without any new arguments or actual proofs having been added. It became a habit, a habit already censured by W. D. Whitney,[2] to say that Max Müller had proved 1200-1000 B. C. as the date of the Ṛgveda. It was only timidly that a

[1]) Published, London, 1901, p. 91.
[2]) Oriental and Linguistic Studies, First Series, New York, 1872, p. 78.

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few scholars like L. von Schroeder [1] ventured to go as far back as 1500 or even 2000 B. C. And when, all at once, H. Jacobi attempted to date Vedic literature back to the third millenary B. C. on the grounds of astronomical calculations, scholars raised a great outcry at such heretical procedure, and even to-day most of the Western scholars shake their heads wondering how Jacobi could venture to assert so exaggerated an opinion on the age of the Veda. Strange to say, it has been quite forgotten on what a precarious footing stood the "opinion prevailing hitherto," which was so zealously defended.

The idea of drawing conclusions on the chronology of the earliest Indian literature with the assistance of *astronomical* data, is no new one. A. Ludwig already undertook an attempt of this nature on the basis of the eclipses of the sun.[2] The priests of ancient India, who had to determine the times of sacrifice, were, like the pontifices in ancient Rome, at the same time almanac-makers. They had to observe the firmament, in order to regulate and predetermine the times of sacrifice. Hence we find numerous astronomical and calendar data in the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras. In these, the so-called Nakṣatras or "lunar mansions" play a particularly prominent part. The ancient Indians had observed that the moon requires about 27 days and nights for its siderial orbit and stays in a different constellation every night of the sidereal month. These stars or constellations, which all lie not far distant from the ecliptic, were combined into a kind of zodiac, a succession of 27 Nakṣatras embracing the spheres, and this lunar zodiac was employed for the purpose of estimating the position of the moon at a particular time.[3]

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[1]) Indiens Literatur und Kultur, pp. 291 f.

[2]) Über die Erwähnung von Sonnenfinsternissen im Rigveda. (Sitzungsberichte der Königl. böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Prag, 1885.

[3]) The lunar zodiac has been preserved in India down to the present day, side by side with the solar zodiac, which was probably not introduced into India until the

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Thus there are many passages in Vedic literature in which it is said that a sacrificial act is to take place "under such and such a Nakṣatra," *i.e.* "when the moon stands in conjunction with this Nakṣatra." There are still more numerous passages in which the Nakṣatras are brought into definite relationship with the full moon and new moon. And already in the earlier literature there often appear only twelve of the 27 Nakṣatras connected with the full moon, from which may be traced the names of the months derived from the twelve Nakṣatras. These month-names were originally used only for lunar months, but were later extended also to the twelve divisions of the solar year. But as already in Vedic times attempts had been made to bring the solar and lunar year into accord by some means or another, the question arises whether, out of the combination of certain full-moon Nakṣatras with the seasons of the year and the commencement of the year, conclusions may not be drawn as to the period in which the respective calendar data originate. Such conclusions, which led to surprising results, were attempted in the year 1893, simultaneously and independently of each other, by H. Jacobi in Bonn and the Indian scholar Bál Gangádhar Tilak in Bombay.[1] Both scholars by different ways arrived at the opinion that at the period of the Brāhmaṇas the Pleiades

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first century A.D. with the doctrines of the Greek astronomers. The problem of the origin of this lunar zodiac, and of the relationship between the Indian Nakṣatras and the Menāzil of the Arabs and the Sieou of the Chinese has not been solved even now. See especially A. *Weber*, Die vedischen Nachrichten von den Naxatra, 1, 2, ABA 1860. 1862; G. *Thibaut*, Astronomie (Grundriss III, 9), pp. 12 ff.; H. *Oldenberg*, Nakṣatra und sieou, NGGW 1909, 544 ff. *Macdonell* and *Keith*, Vedic Index, I, 427 ff., plead for Babylonian origin, which F. *Hommel* (ZDMG 45, 1891, 592 ff.) has tried to prove; but see B. V. Kameśvara *Aiyar*, Ind. Ant. 48. 1919, 95 ff.

[1]) A. *Ludwig*, Der Rigveda III, Prag 1878, pp. 183 ff. and R. G. *Bhandarkar*, Report, 1883-84, p. 39, have already pointed out the chronological significance of the Kṛttikas heading the list of the Nakṣatras in the Brāhmaṇas. But Bhandarkar places the Brāhmaṇas between 1200 and 900 B.C. Violent discussions were aroused by H. *Jacobi's* papers in "Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth," Stuttgart, 1893; pp. 68-73, in NGGW, 1894, pp. 105-116, and in OC X, Geneva 1894, I, pp. 103-108, and the book of B. G. *Tilak*. The

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(Kṛttikās), which at that time formed the starting-point of the Nakṣatra series, coincided with the vernal equinox, but that in the Vedic texts there are also to be found traces of an older calendar, in which the vernal equinox fell in Orion (Mṛgaśiras). From the calculation of the value of the precession, however, it appears that about 2500 B. C. the vernal equinox lay in the Pleiades and about 4500 in Orion. But while Tilak goes so far as to date some Vedic texts back to the year 6000 B. C., Jacobi contents himself with placing "the beginnings of the period of civilization, as the mature, perhaps even late production of which the songs of the Ṛgveda have come down to us," at about 4500 B. C. This period of civilization stretches, according to him, roughly from 4500-2500 B. C., and he is inclined to ascribe "the collection of hymns which has come down to us, to the second half of this period." [1] Jacobi was confirmed in this opinion by a second astronomical observation. The Gṛhyasūtras tell us of a marriage-custom in ancient India, according to which the bride and bridegroom, after they had arrived at their new home, had to sit silently on the hide of a bull, till the stars became visible, whereupon the bridegroom showed his bride the *Pole star*, called *dhruva*, "the constant one," and at the same time uttered a prayer, as for example, "Be constant, prospering in my house," whereto she replied: "Constant art thou, may I be constant in the house of my husband." This marriage-custom, in which a "constant" star figures as the symbol of unchangeable constancy, must have originated at a time in which a brighter star stood so near the celestial

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Orion or Researches into the Antiquity of the Vedas, Bombay 1893. Cf. G *Bühler*, Ind. Ant. 23, 1894, pp. 238 ff.; W. D. *Whitney* in JAOS Proceedings, March 1894 (reprinted Ind. Ant. 24, 1895, pp. 361 ff.); G. *Thibaut*, Ind Ant. 24, pp. 85 ff.; and Astronomie (Grundriss III, 9) pp. 18 f.; A. *Barth*, JA 1894, pp. 156 ff.; Oeuvres II, 248 ff.; A. *Weber*, SBA 1894, pp. 775 ff.; H. *Oldenberg* in ZDMG 48, 1894, pp. 629 ff.; 49, pp. 470 ff.; 50, pp. 450 ff.; *Jacobi* in ZDMG 49, pp. 218 ff.: 50, pp. 69 ff.; E. W. *Hopkins*, The Religions of India, Boston 1895, pp. 4 ff.; A. A. *Macdonell*, History of Sanskrit Literature, London 1900, p. 12.

[1]) Festgruss an Roth, pp. 71 f.

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pole that it seemed, to the observers of that time, to be standing still. Now it is again a result of the precession that, with the gradual alteration of the celestial equator, its North Pole also moves away, describing in about 26,000 years a circle of $23\frac{1}{2}$ degrees radius around the constant pole of the ecliptic. By this means, one star after another slowly moves towards the North Pole and becomes North Star or Pole Star; but only from time to time does a *brighter* star approach the Pole so closely, that it can, for all practical purposes, be regarded as "a constant one" (dhruva). At present Alpha, a star of the second magnitude, in the Little Bear, is the Pole Star of the Northern hemisphere. This star, of course, cannot be meant when the Pole Star is spoken of in Vedic times, because only 2000 years ago this star was still so far removed from the pole that it could not possibly have been designated as the "constant one." Not until 2780 B. C. do we meet with another Pole Star which merited this name. At that time Alpha Draconis stood so near to the Pole for over 500 years that it must have appeared immovable to those who observed with the naked eye. We must, then, place the origin of the name of Dhruva, as well as the custom of showing the "constant" star to the bride on her marriage evening as the symbol of constancy, into a period in which Alpha Draconis was Pole Star, that is, in the first half of the third millenary B. C. In the marriage-verses of the Ṛgveda, however, this custom is not yet thought of, wherefore Jacobi considers it probable "that the use of Dhruva in the marriage ceremony does not belong to the time of the Ṛgveda, but to the following period, and that, therefore, the Ṛgvedic period of civilization lies before the third millenary B. C." [1]

As has been said, the assertions of Jacobi and Tilak met with violent opposition. The most serious objection to the argument about the *Pleiades* was that the Indians of the

[1] ZDMG., Vol. 50, p. 71.

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most ancient times were concerned only with the position of the Nakṣatras in relation to the moon and not to the sun, and that there is not a single trace of any observation of the equinoxes to be found in the most ancient times. The passage [1] in which we read that the Pleiades "do not swerve from the East" should probably not be interpreted as meaning that they rose "due east" (which would have been the case in the third millenary B. C., and would point to a knowledge of the vernal equinox): the correct interpretation is more likely that they remain visible in the eastern region for a considerable time—during several hours—every night, which was the case about 1100 B. C.[2] Coming to the argument of the *New Year* in various millenaries, it is most difficult to decide these questions, primarily because in our texts the year sometimes begins with spring, sometimes with winter, and sometimes with the rainy season, and moreover the number of seasons varies between three, five and six.[3] The argument of the *Pole Star*, too, provoked serious

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[1]) Śat.-Br. II, 1, 2, 3. See *Oldenberg* and *Jacobi*, ZDMG 48, p. 631 note; 50, pp. 72 and 452. Sankar B. *Dikshit* (Ind. Ant. 24, 1895, pp. 245 f.), B. V. Kameśvara *Aiyar* (The Age of the Brāhmaṇas, in the Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society 1922, and previously in Proc. FOC I, pp. 1 ff. and Dhirendranath *Mukhopadhyaya*, The Hindu Nakshatras, pp. 41 f. (Reprint from Vol. VI of the Journal of the Department of Science, Calcutta University, 1923), have concluded from this passage, that the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa was written about 3000 B. C.

[2]) I am indebted for this explanation to Professor A. *Prey*, the astronomer of our University, who informs me that, in about 1100 B. C. the *Pleiades* rose approximately 13° to the north of the east point, approaching nearer and nearer the east line, and crossing it as late as 2 h 11 m after their rise, at a height of 29°, when seen from a place situated at 25° North latitude. They thus remain almost due east long enough to serve as a convenient basis for orientation. This interpretation of the passage is proved to be the correct one, by Baudhāyana-Śrautasūtra 27, 5 (cf. W. *Caland*, Uber das rituelle Sūtra des Baudhāyana, Leipzig 1903, pp. 37 ff.), where it is prescribed that the supporting beams of a hut on the place of sacrifice shall face the east, and that this direction shall be fixed after the Pleiades appear, as the latter "do not depart from the eastern region." It is true that, about 2100 B. C. or about 3100 B. C., the Pleiades touched the east line earlier, but they proceeded southwards so rapidly that they were not suitable for orientation.

[3]) In the Śat.-Br. XII, 8,2,35, it is said: 'All seasons are the first, all are the intermediate, all are the last."

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objections. We cannot deny the possibility of one of the lesser stars in the Little Bear having been visible (about 1250 B. C. and even later still) as the Pole Star in the clear Indian firmament.[1] At any rate it is not permissible to draw any conclusion from the non-mention of this custom in the Ṛgveda: for by no means all of the marriage-customs are mentioned in the marriage hymn in the Ṛgveda, and there is no reason why this particular custom should have been singled out for mention in preference to another.

Though the astronomical arguments of Tilak and Jacobi did not succeed in proving what was to be proved, they have stimulated the enquiry whether there are no other grounds for assuming a greater antiquity of Vedic culture. And indeed, from the point of view of Indian history, *nothing* speaks *against* the assumption that Vedic literature extends back into the third millenary, and ancient Indian culture to the fourth millenary, while the supposition of 1200 or even 1500 B. C., traceable to Max Müller, for the commencement of the Vedic period no longer agrees with the *present-day* state of our knowledge of the political history, as well as of the literary and religious history of ancient India. This has, I believe, been convincingly proved, especially by G. Bühler.[2]

Inscriptions prove that in the third century B. C. Southern India was conquered by the Aryan Indians and invaded by brahmanical culture. The fact, however, that some Vedic schools, such as those of Baudhāyana and Āpastamba, originated in the south of India, makes it probable that the conquest of the south by the Aryans must have taken place much earlier, perhaps as early as in the 7th or 8th

[1] Professor Prey believes that Groombridge 2001 and 2029, stars of the fifth to the sixth magnitude in the Little Bear, the first of which approached the pole as far as 17, in about 1250 B. C., and the second of which approached the pole as far as 8' in 1500 B. C., are easily visible in view of the favourable atmospheric conditions of India.

[2] Ind. Ant., 23, 1894, pp. 245 ff.

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century B. C. For the whole country can hardly have been colonised and brahmanized immediately after the conquest to such an extent that Vedic schools could originate in the distant south. But, as Bühler says,[1] "with the conquest of Southern India about 700 or even about 600 B. C., the assumption that the Indo-Aryans inhabited about 1200 or even about 1500 B. C. the northern corner of India and Eastern Afghanistan becomes absolutely impossible. The idea that the Indo-Aryan nation of the Vedic times, with its many clan-divisions and its perpetual internal feuds, should have conquered the 123,000 square miles, which form the area of India (excluding the Punjab, Assam and Burma) and should have founded States, organised on the same model, all over this vast territory within the space of five, six or even eight hundred years, appears simply ludicrous; especially if it is borne in mind that this territory was inhabited not merely by forest tribes, but in part by peoples possessing a civilisation not much inferior to that of the invaders. More than double of the longest period named was required for such achievements.

Now it could be said, and it has been said by Oldenberg, that seven hundred years are a good span of time, in which much can happen. "One should consider," says Oldenberg,[2] "what 400 years have meant for the enormous plains of Northern and Southern America." This, however, is a poor comparison. The races and civilizations which came into contact with one another in America were, after all, very different from those with which we have to deal in ancient India. As far as the political conditions of ancient India are concerned, we learn from some of the songs of the Ṛgveda and from the epics that, just as is shown by the later history of India, continuous fighting took place between the separate

[1]) Ind. Ant. 23, 1894, p. 247.
[2]) ZDMG, Vol. 49, p. 479.

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Aryan tribes in ancient and even the most ancient times. Under such circumstances the conquest of India could only proceed step by step, extremely slowly. Actually we see also, if we compare the two oldest strata of Indian literature with each other, that the advance of the Aryans towards the east and south proceeded only very slowly. In the hymns of the Ṛgveda we find the Indo-Aryan people still established exclusively in the extreme north-west of India, and in Eastern Afghanistan, and yet the period in which the hymns of the Ṛgveda originated, must have stretched over centuries. That is proved by the many different strata of earlier and later parts, which we find in these hymns; it is proved, too, by the circumstance that the Ṛṣis, who not only in the Anukramaṇīs, but already in the Brāhmaṇas, were *erroneously* called "seers" or composers of the hymns, are in the hymns themselves regarded as seers of a remote antiquity.[1] The composers of the hymns, too, very often speak of "*old* songs," of "songs composed after the *old* manner," as though this poetry had been practised since time immemorial.[2] M. Bloomfield[3] has shown that, of the approximately 40,000 lines of the Ṛgveda, nearly as many as 5,000 lines are repetitions. This proves that, at the time when the Ṛgveda was composed, the more modern poets would frequently borrow lines and expressions from older ones, and that there was actually in existence a large number of floating lines of verse, which any singer could incorporate in his song if he so fancied. But we have repeatedly seen how far, after all, the Ṛgveda lies behind all other literary works of the Veda. Even the language of the hymns is much more archaic than that of the Vedic prose works. The religious views and the conditions of civilization are quite different. The

[1]) See above pp. 57 f.

[2]) See *Ludwig*, Der Rigveda, III, pp. 180 f.

[3]) The Vedic Concordance, HOS, Vol. 10, 1906; Rig-Veda Repetitions, HOS, Vols. 20 and 24, 1916; JAOS 29, 1908, 287 f.; 31, 1910, 49 ff.

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Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads pre-suppose not only the hymns of the Ṛgveda, but also the spells and prayers of the other Saṃhitās as sacred texts of hoary age. Indeed, these old hymns and spells were often no longer understood. The old legends had fallen into oblivion. I will recall only the distance separating the Śunaḥsepa legend of the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa from the hymns of the Ṛgveda.[1]

Oral tradition, too, pre-supposes longer intervals of time than would be necessary, had these texts been written down. Generations of pupils and teachers must have passed away before all the existing and the many lost texts had taken definite shape in the Vedic schools.[2] On linguistic, literary and cultural grounds we must therefore assume that many centuries elapsed between the period of the earliest hymns and the final compilation of the hymns into a Saṃhitā or "collection," for the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā after all denotes only the *close* of a period long past,[3] and again between the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā and the other Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas. The Brāhmaṇas themselves, with their numerous schools and branch schools, with their endless lists of teachers and the numerous references to teachers of antiquity, require a period of several centuries for their origin.[4] This literature itself, as well as the spread of brahmanical culture, theological knowledge, and not least, the priestly supremacy which went hand in hand with it, must have taken centuries. And when we come to the Upaniṣads, we see that they, too, belong to different periods of time, that they, too, pre-suppose generations

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[1]) See above, p. 57, p. 60, pp. 62 ff., pp. 69 f., p. 75, pp. 79 f., p. 104, pp. 196 ff., pp. 215 f.

[2]) The circumstance that the texts were written down when they were no longer completely understood and after a gap had occurred in the tradition, also explains the fact that so frequently passages of diverse contents and different periods occur in all Vedic texts, so that, for instance, some Upaniṣads are to be found among the Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas. See above pp. 124, 149 ff., 226.

[3]) The Aitareya-Āraṇyaka already pre-supposed the Ṛgveda Saṃhitā in its division into ten books. (Max *Müller*, History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, pp. 340 f.)

[4]) See above, pp. 194

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of teachers and a long tradition.[1] Yet we see that, during the whole of this time, which lasted from the first beginnings till the last off-shoots of Vedic literature, the Indo-Aryan people conquered only the comparatively small stretch of land from the Indus as far as the Ganges, the actual Hindustan. If this advance from the extreme north-west over into the eastern Ganges-land already took so long, how many centuries must the conquest of the whole of Central and Southern India have taken! If we consider this, 700 years will no longer appear to us a great period of time.

There are other considerations besides this. It is indisputably to the credit of Max Müller to have shown that Buddhism at about 500 B.C. absolutely pre-supposes the existence of the whole of Vedic literature. In refutation of the view, held by some scholars,[2] that the earliest Upaniṣads should not be placed prior to the 6th century B.C., Oldenberg[3] has shown that centuries must have elapsed between the earliest Upaniṣads and the earliest Buddhist literature. Buddhist literature, however, pre-supposes not only the Veda, but the Vedāṅgas also,[4] and indeed brahmanical literature and science in a highly developed state. To-day, too, more light has been thrown on the religious conditions of ancient India than was the case in Max Müller's day, when it was thought possible to squeeze the whole development of the religious history of India up to the appearance of Buddhism within the limit of 700 years. Even *before* the appearance of Buddhism, there were sects in India, as Bühler has pointed out, which denied the sanctity of the Veda. The tradition of one of these sects, the Jainas, has in other respects proved so

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[1]) See above, pp. 235 ff.

[2]) Cf. *Hopkins*, JAOS 22, 336 n.; *Rapson*, Ancient India, p. 181.

[3]) Die Lehre der Upanishaden und die Anfänge des Buddhismus, pp. 288, 357.

[4]) It is noteworthy that the Buddhists, too, call their didactic texts "Sūtras", although these are by no means composed in the "Sūtra" style indicated above, on pp. 268 f. They took "Sūtra" to mean "didactic text."

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reliable as to chronology, that we may regard with some confidence a report which places the life of the first founder of this sect about 750 B.C. Bühler also thought he could prove that other sects antagonistic to the Veda and to Brahmanism went back to a much more hoary antiquity than had hitherto been supposed.[1] Unfortunately he did not live to demonstrate this proof.

The discoveries made by Hugo Winckler in Boghazköi in Asia Minor in the year 1907, gave an impetus to more recent discussions on the question of the age of the Ṛgveda and of Vedic culture.[2] The clay tablets from the archives of the capital of the ancient Hittite kingdom, which were found in Boghazköi, included records of treaties concluded by the king of the Hittites and the king of Mitani at the beginning of the 14th century B.C. The gods of both kingdoms are invoked as guardians of the treaties, and in the list of gods there appear, beside numerous Babylonian and Hittite deities, the names of Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra and Nāsatyau among the gods of Mitani.[3] How did the names

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[1]) R. *Garbe*, too (Beiträge zur indischen Kulturgeschichte, pp. 27 ff.), is inclined to date the origin of the sect of the Bhāgavatas or Pāñcaratras back to pre-Buddhist times.

[2]) Cf. Ed. *Meyer*, SBA 1908, pp. 14 ff.; Zeitschrift fü vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft, 42, 1909, pp. 1 ff.; Geschichte des Altertums, 2. Aufl., I, 2 (1909). §§ 551, 574; H. *Jacobi*, JRAS 1909, 721 ff.; 1910, 456 ff.; Internat. Wochenschrift, 5, 1911, 387; A. B. *Keith*, JRAS 1909, 1100 ff, : 1910, 464 ff.; Bhandarkar, Com. Vol., pp. 81 ff. and HOS. Vol. 18 Introd. (where the whole development of Vedic literature is crammed in between 1200 and 350 B.C., see esp. pp. clxv f.); A. A. *Macdonell* in Vedic Index I, pp. viii f and ERE 7, 1914, pp. 49 ff.; H. *Oldenberg*, JRAS 1909, pp. 1095 ff.; 1910, pp. 846 ff.; L de la *Vallée Poussin*, Le Védisme, 3 ième ed. Paris, 1909, pp. 29 f.; *Winternitz*, Oesterreichische Monatschrift für den Orient, 41, 1915 pp. 168 ff.; Calcutta Review. Nov., 1923, pp. 119 ff.; *Sten Konow*, The Aryan Gods of the Mitani People (Royal Frederik University Publications of the Indian Institute, Kristiania, 1921); F. E. *Pargiter*, Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, London, 1922. pp. 300 ff.; P. *Giles*, Cambridge History of India, I, pp. 72 f.

[3]) At least, nearly all scholars agree with *Winckler* (Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft No. 35, 1907, p. 51, s. Boghazköi-Studien VIII, Leipzig 1923, pp. 32 f., 54 f.) that these names of gods have to be recognised in the following cuneiform text: ilâni Mi-it-ra áš-ši-il ilâni U-ru-wa-na-áš-ši-el (in another text. A-ru-na-áš-ši-il) In-dar (other text: In-da-ra) ilâni Na-ša-at-ti-ya-an-na. Doubts against this identification have only been raised by J. *Halévy* in Revue Semitique, 16. 1908, pp. 247 ff.

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of these deities reach the Mitanis in Asia Minor? Scholars diverge greatly in their reply to this question. The historian Ed. Meyer ascribes these gods to the Aryan period, *i.e.*, the period when the Indians and Iranians as yet formed an undivided nation in language and religion[1]; and he assumes that, at the same time as these "Aryans" appeared in western Mesopotamia and Syria, the separate development of the Aryans in north-western India had already begun: the Vedic hymns, the earliest of which arose "probably not later than about 1500 B.C." bearing witness to this development. A similar opinion has been expressed by P. Giles. Oldenberg[2] thinks it more likely "that these are the gods of some western Aryan tribe akin to the Indians, inherited from some common past, as the Indians on their part had inherited them from the same source." He leaves the question open whether these were Iranians before Zoroaster's time, or whether a third branch of the Aryans is meant, and takes the view that this discovery does not justify us in assuming greater antiquity for the Veda.

It is a fact, however, that this particular grouping of the gods Varuṇa and Mitra, Indra and Nāsatyau, with these forms of their names, can be traced *only in the Veda.* For this reason I agree with Jacobi, Konow and Hillebrandt in considering these gods to be *Indian*, *Vedic* deities and that there is no possible justification for any other view. We shall have to assume that, just as there were Aryan immigrations into India from the west, there must have been isolated migrations back to the west. We may think either of warlike adventurers or of connections by marriage. Nor should we forget that, at the time of the

[1]) H. *Winckler* (Orientalist. Literaturzeitung, 13, 1910, 289 ff.; Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft 18, 1913, H. 4, pp. 75 ff.) even thinks that the *Harri* who in the inscriptions are mentioned as the ruling class in Mitani are identical with these very "Aryans." But this is quite uncertain. Cf. A. H. *Sayce*, JRAS 1909, pp. 1106 f.

[2]) NGGW, Geschäftliche Mitteilungen, 1918, p. 91.

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Ṛgveda, the Aryan Indians were as yet much nearer the west from the geographical point of view.[1] As regards chronology, however, all that we can glean from the inscriptions at Boghazköi is that, about the middle of the second millenary B.C. Aryan tribes which worshipped Vedic gods must already have been established in north-western India for a very considerable time, as several of these tribes had migrated far back to the west as early as about 1400 B.C.[2] This small but important fact would be supported still further, if it should prove to be true that also traces of Indian numerals are to be found in the Boghazköi texts.[3]

The idea of so early a date as the third millenary B.C. for the Veda would certainly be out of the question, if it were proved that the individual Indo-European peoples had not yet separated from the primitive Indo-Europeans in the

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[1]) See A. *Hillebrandt*, Aus Alt-und Neuindien, Breslau, 1922, pp. 1 ff. and ZII 3, 1924 pp. 1 ff. who points out traces of relations to Western countries especially in the eighth Book of the Ṛgveda. For other views about the Aryan Indians in Asia Minor see R. G. *Bhandarkar*, JBRAS 25, 1918, pp. 76 ff., and E. *Forrer*, Die acht Sprachen der Boghazköi-Inschriften, SBA 1919, pp. 1036 f.

[2]) *Konow* suggests that the Nāsatyas are mentioned in the Mitani treaty on account of their playing a role in the ancient marriage-rites, because the treaty, following upon a war between the Hittite king Subbiluliuma and the Mitani king Mattiuza, was confirmed by a marriage of the latter with the Hittite king's daughter. As this connection of the Aśvins with the marriage-ritual, however, occurs only in the late Sūryāsūkta, Konow concludes "that the extension of Indo-Aryan civilization into Mesopotamia took place after the bulk of the Ṛgveda had come into existence" so that the oldest portions of the collection would "have to be considered as considerably older than the Mitani treaty." I cannot see the force of this argument, as Indra and the Nāsatyau (Indranāsatyā) are invoked together in Rv. VIII, 26, 8, where they have nothing to do with marriage. K. *Chaṭṭopādhyāya* (Calcutta Review, May 1924, pp. 287 ff.) concludes from the mention of Vedic gods in the Boghazköi treaties that between 2000 and 1500 B.C. there were several arrivals of Aryan peoples in Asia Minor at the same time when other Aryan tribes entered India from Central Asia and became known as Vrātyas. This chronological combination of the Vrātyas with the Indians in Asia Minor has no foundation in fact whatsoever, hence Mr. Chaṭṭopādhyāya's chronological conclusions (Brāhmaṇa period from 2000 B.C. to 1400 B.C., Yajurveda and Atharvaveda about 2000 B.C. and Ṛgveda before 3,000 B.C.) are quite unfounded.

[3]) Cf. P. *Jensen*, Indische Zahlwörter in Keilschrifthittitischen Texten, SBA 1919, pp. 367 ff.

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third millenary.[1] This view which, in my opinion, is very unlikely and has not been satisfactorily proved, is welcomed by those who wish to assign as low a date as possible to the Ṛgveda and to the beginnings of Indian culture. Thus J. Hertel[2] promises to demonstrate that the Ṛgveda originated, not in north-western India but in Iran, and at a time not far distant from that of Zoroaster, who, according to Hertel, lived about 550 B.C. G. Hüsing[3] goes still further, and turns and twists certain of the names of kings occurring in the cuneiform inscriptions so long that they are metamorphosed into those of Indian kings. On the basis of these "facts," he then concludes that from about 1000 B.C. the Indians wandered from Armenia to Afghanistan, which was the scene of the Ṛgvedic period, and that it was only later that they were driven further towards India. Following a suggestion of H. Brunnhofer, he even assumes that the king Kānīta Pṛthuśravas[4] who is mentioned in the Ṛgveda is identical with a Scythian king Kanitas who is mentioned in a Greek inscription and on a coin, and who lived in the 2nd century B.C. This would mean "that the collection of these songs was not yet completed in the 2nd century B.C." This must

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[1]) Gunther *Ipsen* (Indogerman. Forschungen 41, 1923, pp. 174 ff.: Stand und Aufgaben der Sprachwissenschaft, Festschrift für W. Streitberg, Heidelberg 1924, pp. 200 ff.) endeavours to prove that the Indo-European words for "copper," "cow" and "star" were borrowed from the Sumerian, and not earlier than between 3000 and 2100 B.C. However, when we consider that the domestic cow and copper are among the most ancient of prehistoric finds, we shall hesitate to accept Ipsen's theory.

[2]) Indogerman. Forschungen 41, 1923, p. 188; Die Zeit Zoroasters, Leipzig, 1924; Die Himmelstore im Veda und im Avesta, Leipzig, 1924, pp. 7 f. A book by Hertel on the age and home of the Ṛgveda is announced, but has not yet been published. Zoroaster's date is still uncertain, but there are good reasons for placing him about 1000 B.C. See C. *Clemen*, Die griechischen und lateinischen Nachrichten über die persische Religion, Giessen 1920, pp. 11 ff.; H. *Reichelt* in Festschrift für W. Streitberg, pp. 282 f.

[3]) Die Inder in Boghazköi, in Prace linguistyczne ofiarowane Janowi Baudouinowi de Courtenay...Krakow 1921, pp. 151 ff.

[4]) Ṛv. VIII, 46, 21; 24. The story of this King Pṛthuśravas is one of the old tales which, like the Ākhyāna of Śunaḥśepa, were recited at the Puruṣamedha, s. Śāṅkhāyana-Śrautasūtra XVI, 11, 23.

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surely be the very latest date ever yet assumed as that of the Ṛgveda!

The strongest argument for a later dating of the Veda is undoubtedly the close relationship between the Veda and the Avesta with regard to language and religious views.[1] There are, however, very great differences to counteract the points of agreement in religion. Moreover the points of agreement can easily be explained, considering firstly that Indians and Iranians once formed *one* Aryan cultural unit at a pre-Vedic and pre-Avestic period, and secondly that they remained neighbours even after the separation. As regards the kinship of the languages, it is quite impossible to state definite chronological limits within which languages change. Some languages change very rapidly, others remain more or less unaltered for a long period.[2] It is true that hieratic languages, like those of the Vedic hymns and the Avesta, can remain unaltered much longer than spoken vernaculars.

Nevertheless, all that we know of the history of other languages and branches of languages compels us to say that languages do not remain unchanged for an indefinite number of millenaries, let alone tens of thousands of years. For this reason, the fantastic figures of 16000 or even 25000 B. C.[3] as the date of the Veda, built up on the basis of astronomical or geological speculations, are absolutely impossible. Figures like this imply, too, that scarcely any cultural progress worthy

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[1]) Thus A. A. *Macdonell* (ERE. Vol. 7, 1914, pp. 49 ff.) says, that "it seems impossible to avoid the conclusion that the Indians cannot have separated from the Iranians much earlier than about 1300 B. C."

[2]) Cf. A. C. *Woolner* (Proc. FOC I, pp. xvii ff.; II, p. 20 ff.) who rightly says "that as far as any *philological* estimates go, 2000 B. C. remains quite as possible as 1200 B. C. for the earliest Mantra." See also B. V. Kameśvara *Aiyar*, Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society XII, 1, p. 4.

[3]) I am thinking of Abinas Chaṅdra *Das*, Ṛig- Vedic India, I, Calcutta 1921 (s. also Calcutta Review, March 1924, pp. 540 ff.) and D. N. *Mukhopadhyaya*, The Hindu Nakshatras (reprinted from Vol. VI of Journal of the Department of Science, Calcutta University, 1923).

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of the name was made in the whole course of that overwhelmingly long aeon, which would be most surprising in the case of so talented a race as the Indians. These figures are impossible, too, because the continuity between the Vedic and the later brahmanical culture, which cannot be explained away especially as regards religion, would then become utterly inexplicable. Moreover, classical Sanskrit, as fixed by Pāṇini in his Grammar more especially on the basis of the language of the Brāhmaṇas which still formed part of the Veda proper, and again the language of the inscriptions of King Aśoka in the third century B. C., show too close a relationship with the language of the Veda for it to be feasible that a stretch of so very many thousands of years lay between.

In summing up, we may say:

1. Attempts to determine the period of the Veda by the aid of *astronomy* come to grief owing to the fact that there are certain passages in the Vedic texts which admit of various interpretations. However correct the astronomical calculations may be, they prove nothing unless the texts in question admit of an unambiguous interpretation.

2. The *historical* facts and hypotheses, such as the mention of Vedic gods in the cuneiform inscriptions, and the relationship of Vedic antiquity to the Aryan (Indo-Iranian) and Indo-European period, are so uncertain in themselves that the most divergent and contradictory conclusions have been drawn from them. Nevertheless, we have now such likely evidence of relations between ancient India and western Asia penetrating as far west as Asia Minor in the second millenary B. C., that Vedic culture can be traced back *at least* to the second millenary B. C.

3. The *linguistic* facts, the near relationship between the language of the Veda and that of the Avesta on the one hand, and between the Vedic language and classical Sanskrit on the other, do not yield any positive results;

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4. they serve as a warning to us, however, to refrain from dating the Veda back to an inconceivably distant period on the strength of astronomical or *geological* speculations.

5. As all the external evidence fails, we are compelled to rely on *the evidence arising out of the history of Indian literature itself*, for the age of the Veda. The surest evidence in this respect is still the fact that Pārśva, Mahāvīra and Buddha pre-suppose the entire Veda as a literature to all intents and purposes completed, and this is a limit which we must not exceed. We cannot, however, explain the development of the whole of this great literature, if we assume as late a date as round about 1200 or 1500 B. C. as its starting-point. We shall probably have to date the beginning of this development about 2000 or 2500 B. C., and the end of it between 750 and 500 B. C. The more prudent course, however, is to steer clear of any fixed dates, and to guard against the extremes of a stupendously ancient period or a ludicrously modern epoch.

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SECTION II.

THE POPULAR EPICS AND THE PURĀṆAS.

The Beginnings of Epic Poetry in India.

We have already seen the first traces of epic poetry in India in the Vedic literature—in the dialogue-hymns of the Ṛgveda as well as in the Ākhyānas, Itihāsas and Purāṇas of the Brāhmaṇas.[1] Moreover we know from the Brāhmaṇas and the ritual-literature, that the recital of such narrative poems formed a part of the religious ceremonies at the sacrificial and domestic festivals.

Thus the daily recitation of legends of gods and heroes belonged to the preliminary celebration, which lasted a whole year, of the great horse-sacrifice. In a regular succession which repeated itself every ten days, stories of certain gods and heroes were related; and also two lute-players, a Brahman and a warrior, were present, who, in verses of their own composition (*gāthās*), glorified the generosity and the war-like deeds, respectively, of the prince who was celebrating the sacrifice. The lute-players, who sang to the accompaniment of the lute the praises of a real king or of Soma as the king of the Brahmans, had also to be present at the ceremony of parting the hair, which was performed on the expectant mother in the fourth month of pregnancy, with a sacrifice for the prosperity of the fruit of her womb. After a funeral, too, it was an old custom, to whose existence the poet Bāṇa still testifies in the 7th century A.D., for the mourners to sit

[1]) Cf. above pp. 101 ff., 208 ff., 226. The Indians are not consistent in their use of the expressions *ākhyāna*, *itihāsa* and *purāṇa*, for they sometimes use them as synonyms, but at other times to mean various kinds of narratives. The epic "Mahābhārata," in the Introduction, is called alternately *itihāsa*, *purāṇa* and *ākhyāna*. On these terms, *Cf.* also Emil *Sieg*, Die Sagenstoffe des Ṛgveda und die indische Itihâsatradition, I, Stuttgart, 1902, Introduction.

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down in a shady place outside the house and to be diverted and consoled by the recitation of old Itihāsas or Purāṇas. And when, after a death or some other heavy loss, the fire of the hearth had been carried out of the house in order to avert further misfortune, and a new fire kindled in the house by means of the two churning-sticks, then the members of the family, keeping the fire alive far into the silent night, sat listening to the tales of people who had reached a green old age, and Itihāsas and Purāṇas auspicious for the future.[1]

There were not only single ballads (Ākhyānas, Itihāsas) but also cycles of ballads. At least *one* cycle of this kind has come down to us in the *Suparṇākhyāna*, also called Suparṇādhyāya or Suparṇa.[2] This is an apocryphal work belonging to the later Vedic literature, the author trying his utmost to imitate the hymns of the Ṛgveda in language, accentuation and external form, so that his work should appear to belong to the Ṛgveda. The date of this work is quite uncertain, but on metrical grounds we may place it approximately in the period of the metrical Upaniṣads, such as the Kaṭha-Upaniṣad.[3] It is a cycle of ballads dealing with the legend

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[1]) Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, XIII, 4, 3; Śāṅkhāyana-Gṛhyasūtra, I. 22, 11 f.; Āśvalāyana-Gṛhyasūtra, I, 14, 6 f., IV, 6, 6; Pāraskara-Gṛhyasūtra, I, 15, 7 f.; Āpastambīy Gṛhyasūtra, 14, 4 f. *Cf.* also A. *Weber*, Episches im vedischen Ritual (SBA 1891) and H. *Lüders*, in ZDMG, Vol. 58, pp. 707 ff. At the Puruṣamedha, too, the recitation of Ākhyānas forms part of the ritual, s. Śāṅkhāyana-Śrautasūtra 16, 11.

[2]) The text, which has come down in very bad condition, was first edited by E. *Grube*, Berlin, 1875 (reprinted in Ind. Stud., Vol. 14); newly edited, translated into German and annotated by J. *Charpentier*, Die Suparṇasage, Uppsala 1920, pp. 190 ff.; *Cf.* J. v. *Negelein* in GGA, 1924, pp. 65 ff., 87 ff. J. *Hertel* considers this work to be a dramatic poem after the style of the Swāng described by R. Temple (WZKM 23, 1909, 273 ff.; 24, 1910, 117 ff.; Indische Märchen, pp. 344, 367 f.); and he has translated it into German as a drama (Indische Märchen, Jena 1919, pp. 344 ff.). *Cf. Winternitz*, Oesterreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient 41, 1915, pp. 176 f.; *Oldenberg*, Zur Geschichte der altindischen Prosa, pp. 61 ff. and NGGW 1919, pp. 79 ff. This Suparṇādhyāya has no connection with the Suparṇa songs belonging to the Khilas of the Ṛgveda, which are also called "Suparṇādhyāya" (s. above p. 60, and *Scheftelowitz*, ZDMG 74, 1920, p. 203).

[3]) *Charpentier*, l. c. pp. 196 f., J. v. *Negelein* (l. c. pp. 196, f.) doubts the justification of Charpentier's conclusions.

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of Kadrū, the snake-mother, and Vinatā, the bird-mother, and the enmity between Garuḍa and the snakes, a legend which dates far back into Vedic times,[1] and which appears in epic form in the Āstīkaparvan of the Mahābhārata.

In the later Vedic texts *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa* are very frequently enumerated beside the Vedas and other branches of learning; the study of them counts as a work pleasing to the gods: in fact the *Itihāsapurāṇa* is actually called "the fifth Veda."[2] They are generally mentioned immediately after the Atharvaveda, to which they are said to be closely related.[3] This has led to the conclusion that, similar to the Vedic Saṃhitās, there existed one or several collections of Itihāsas and Purāṇas, made up of myths and legends, legends of gods and tales of demons, snake deities, old sages (Ṛṣis) and kings of ancient times. There is no proof, however, that such collections actually existed in the form of "books" in Vedic times.[4] All that we know is that there were professional story-tellers (Aitihāsikas, Paurāṇikas) in very ancient times.

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[1]) *Charpentier*, l. c., pp. 288 ff.; Śatapatha-Br. III, 6, 2.

[2]) As Chāndogya-Up VII, 1 f. and 7. In the Buddhist Suttanipāta III, 7 (Selasutta), Itihāsa is called "the fifth" after the three Vedas and the Vedāṅgas *Cf.* A. *Weber*, l. c., and J. *Dahlmann*, Das Mahābhārata als Epos und Rechtsbuch, Berlin 1895, pp. 281 ff.

[3]) According to Chāndogya-Up III, 3, 4, the magic songs of the Atharvaveda stand in the same relationship to the Itihāsapurāṇa as the hymns (ṛc) to the Ṛgveda, the prayer formulae (yajus) to the Yajurveda, and the melodies (sāman) to the Sāmaveda. According to the Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra, p. 7, the Atharvaveda and the "Itihāsaveda" together with the trayī, "the threefold knowledge," form the Vedas. *Cf.* above, p. 126, and M. *Bloomfield*, SBE., Vol. 42, pp. xxxvi f.

[4]) The theory that there was a *book* called "Itihāsaveda" or "Itihāsapurāṇa" is advanced by K. F. *Geldner*, Vedische Studien I, pp. 290 f.; E. *Sieg*, Die Sagenstoffe des Ṛgveda und die indische Itihāsa-tradition I, p. 33 and ERE VII, 1914, 461 ff.; J. *Hertel*, WZKM 23, 1909, p. 295; 24, p. 420, R. *Pischel* KG 168; H. *Oertel*, WZKM 24, p. 121; H. *Jacobi*, SBA 1911, p. 969. But the very passage in Kauṭilīya I, 5, p. 10, which is quoted by these scholars, proves that "Itihasa" should be interpreted, not as a single work, but as a class of literary productions: for "Veda" only means a certain kind of learning, not a book: Āyurveda is "medical science," Gandharvaveda is "music," Ṛgveda, Sāmaveda, etc., are classes of texts, and not single books. Thus "Itihāsaveda" is not any particular book, but that branch of learning which consists of legends, stories, etc.

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It is certain, moreover, that as early as the time of Buddha there was in existence an inexhaustible store of prose and verse narratives—Ākhyānas, Itihāsas, Purāṇas and Gāṭhās—, forming as it were *literary public property* which was drawn upon by the Buddhists and the Jains, as well as by the epic poets.

The "songs in praise of men" (*gāthā nārāśaṃsī*)[1] are often mentioned beside the Itihāsas and Purāṇas, among the texts which are pleasing to the gods. These songs are connected on the one hand with the Dānastutis of the Ṛg-veda and the Kuntāpa hymns of the Atharvaveda, but on the other hand they are the direct precursors of the actual Heroic Epic itself, for their contents are the glorious deeds of the warriors and princes. These "songs in praise of men" probably soon developed into epic poems of considerable length, *i.e. heroic songs*, and into entire *cycles* of epic songs, centring around *one* hero or *one* great event; for the only two national epics which have come down to us, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, represent but the last remnants of a long past period of epic poetry. Long before these two epics existed as such, songs must have been sung of the great combat of nations around which the Mahābhārata centres, and of the deeds of Rāma, the hero of the Rāmāyaṇa. Neither is it conceivable that the battles of the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas and the adventures of Rāma should have been the only subjects of poetry. Many other heroes and great events in other royal houses also must have been sung. These old heroic songs, whose existence we must take for granted, have not all vanished without trace; in remnants and fragments some of them have been preserved in our two epics.[2]

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[1]) Śatapatha-Br. XI, 5, 6, 8; Āśvalāyana-Gṛhyas. III, 3. The fact that, in these songs, panegyrics were more important than historical truth, is evident from the Vedic texts themselves, for they declare these Gāthās to be "lies" (Maitrāyaṇī-Saṃhitā I, 11, 5; Kāṭhaka 14, 5).

[2]) *Cf.* H. *Jacobi*, Uber ein verlorenes Heldengedicht der Sindhu-Sauvīra, in Mélanges Kern, Leide 1903, pp. 53 ff.

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The authors, reciters and preservers of this heroic poetry were the bards, usually called *Sūtas*, who lived at the courts of kings and recited or sang their songs at great feasts in order to proclaim the glory of the princes. They also went forth into battle, in order to be able to sing of the heroic deeds of the warriors from their own observations. Thus, in the Mahābhārata itself, it is the Sūta Sañjaya who describes to King Dhṛtarāṣṭra the events on the battlefield. These court-singers formed a special caste,[1] in which the epic songs were transmitted from generation to generation. Epic poetry probably originated in the circle of such bards, who certainly were very closely related to the *warrior class*. Besides there were also travelling singers, called *Kuśīlavas*, who memorised the songs and publicly sang them to the accompaniment of the lute,[2] and to them the circulation of the heroic songs among the *people* was due. Thus it is related in the Rāmāyaṇa, though in a late, interpolated song,[3] how the two sons of Rāma, Kuśa and Lava, travelled about as wandering singers and recited in public assemblies the poem learned from the poet Vālmīki.

But what we know as the popular epics of the Indians, the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, are not the old heroic songs as those court-singers and travelling minstrels of

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[1]) According to the law-book of Manu (X, 11 and 17), the Sūtas are a mixed caste descended from the intermarriage of warriors with Brahman women, while the Māgadhas, who, as well as the Sūtas, are usually called singers, are said to be descended from the intermarriage of Vaiśyas with Kṣatriya women. In war, the Sūtas are also the charioteers of the princes. Originally the Māgadhas were undoubtedly bards from the land of Magadha, and the Sūtas, too, were probably inhabitants of a country situated to the east of Magadha. *Cf.* F. E. *Pargiter*, Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, London 1922, p. 16. J. J. *Meyer*, Das Weib im altindischen Epos, Leipzig, 1915, p. 62 note, compares the modern Bhāts of the Rājputs to the Sūtas. On the Bhāts and other kinds of singers in the India of to-day, *cf.* R. C. *Temple*, the Legends of the Panjâb, Vol. I (1884), p. viii; and *A. Baines*, Ethnography (Grundriss II, 5, 1912), pp. 85 ff.

[2]) *Cf.* A. *Holtzmann*, Das Mahābhārata I, p. 54 f., 65 f.
H. *Jacobi*, Das Râmâyaṇa, pp. 67.

[3]) I, 4.

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ancient India sang them, compiled into unified poems by great poets or at least by clever collectors with some talent for poetry, but accumulations of very diverse poems of unequal value, which have arisen in the course of centuries owing to continual interpolations and alterations. Though ancient heroic songs do indeed form the nucleus of both these works, the more devotional Itihāsa literature was included in them to so great an extent, and such long poems of a religious-didactic nature were inserted, that the Mahābhārata, in particular, has almost completely lost the character of an epic.

What is the Mahābhārata ? [1]

It is only in a very restricted sense that we may speak of the Mahābhārata as an "epic" and a "poem." Indeed, in a certain sense, the Mahābhārata is not *one* poetic production at all, but rather a *whole literature*.

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[1]) For information on the contents of the epic, the best help is H. *Jacobi*, Mahābhārata, Inhalts-Angabe, Index und Konkordanz der Kalkuttaer und Bombayer Ausgaben. Bonn 1903. For the problems of the Mahābhārata see especially E. W. *Hopkins*, The Great Epic of India, Its Character and Origin, New York 1901. A rich, though unfortunately not handy, collection of materials, is contained in A. *Holtzmann*, Das Mahābhārata und seine Teile. In 4 vols. Kiel 1892-95. The value of this great work is considerably prejudiced by the untenable theories of the author upon the remodellings of the Mahābhārata. Untenable, too, are the opposite theories upon the origin of the epic as one work, which *Joseph Dahlmann* has upheld in his books "Das Mahābhārata als Epos und Rechtsbuch," Berlin, 1895, "Genesis des Mahābhārata," Berlin 1899, and "Die Sâṃkhya-Philosophie als Naturlehre und Erlösungslehre, nach dem Mahābhārata," Berlin 1902. The first of these books, however, has the great merit of having given new life to studies of the epic; it has given rise to a veritable "Dahlmann-literature." *Cf.* H. *Jacobi* in GGA 1896. No. 1 and 1899, No. 11; A. *Ludwig* in Sitzungsber. der kgl. böhmischen Ges. der Wiss. cl. f. Phil Prague 1896; C. H. *Tawney*, Asiatic Quarterly Review 1896, pp. 347 ff.; J. *Jolly*, Ind. Ant. 25, 1896, 343 f.; A. *Barth* in the Journal des savants, April, June and July, 1897, and RHR, t. 45, 1902, pp. 191 ff. (Oeuvres II, 393 ff.); M. *Winternitzit* in JRAS, 1897, pp. 713 ff and WZKM XIV, 1900, pp. 53 ff., E. W. *Hopkins* in the American Journal of Philology, 1898, XIX, No. 1; W. *Cartellieri* in WZKM, 13, 1899, pp. 57 ff.; *J. Kirste* in Ind. Ant., 31, 1902, pp. 5 ff. Among the older literature on the Mahābhārata (it is summarized by *Holtzmann*, loc. cit., IV, pp. 165 ff.) the following deserve special notice: Monier *Williams*, Indian Wisdom, 4th

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Mahābhārata [1] means "the great narrative of the battle of the Bhāratas." The *Bharatas* are already mentioned in the Ṛgveda as a warlike tribe, and in the Brāhmaṇas we encounter Bharata, the son of Duḥṣanta and Sakuntalā, who is regarded as the ancestor of the royal race of the Bhāratas. The home of these Bharatas or Bhāratas was in the country of the Upper Ganges and the Jumnā. Among the descendants of Bharata, a ruler named *Kuru* was specially prominent, and his descendants, the *Kauravas* (Kuruides), were so long the ruling race of the Bhāratas, that the name Kuru or Kaurava in the course of time assumed the character of a name for the tribe of the Bharatas, and their land is that *Kurukṣetra* or "Kuru-land" with which we are already acquainted from the Yajurveda and the Brāhmaṇas.[2] A family feud in the royal house of the Kauravas leads to a bloody battle, a truly internecine struggle in which the ancient race of the Kurus, and with it the family of the Bhāratas, is almost entirely ruined. The history of this bloody battle, which we shall probably have to regard as an historical event, though we hear of it only in the Mahābhārata, was told in songs, and some great poet whose name has been lost, combined these songs into an heroic poem of the great battle in the field of the Kurus. Thus, as in the Iliad and in the Nibelungen-song, the tragedy of a terrible war of annihilation forms the actual subject of the heroic poem. This old heroic poem forms the *nucleus* of the Mahābhārata.

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edit. London 1893; Sören *Sörensen*, Om Mahābhārata's stilling i den Indiske literatur (with a "Summarium" in the Latin language), Copenhagen 1893; A. *Ludwig*, Über das Râmâyaṇa und die Beziehungen desselben zum Mahābhārata (II. Jahresbericht des Wiss. Vereins f. Volkskunde und Linguistik in Prague 1894). See also *Hopkins*, ERE VIII, 1915, 325 ff. and H. *Oldenberg*, Das Mahabharata, seine Entstehung, sein Inhalt, seine Form, Göttingen, 1922.

[1] Bhārata means "battle of the Bharatas" (bhārataḥ saṃgrāmaḥ, Pāṇini IV, 2, 56). In the Mahābhārata itself we find mahābhārata-yuddha (XIV, 81, 8) "the great Bharata battle," and Mahābhāratākhyānam (I, 62, 39)," "the great story of the Bharata battle" the title "Mahābhārata" being an abbreviation of the latter.

[2] See above p. 196.

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In the course of centuries, however, an enormous mass of the most diverse poetry has collected *around this nucleus*. First numerous legends whose connection with the old heroic poem is more or less casual, legends referring to the early history of the heroes, or giving reports of all kinds of adventures of these men, without having any reference whatever to the great battle, were added to the poem. Then, too, fragments of other heroic legends and cycles of legends, which refer to various famous kings and heroes of primeval times, found their way into the poem, even though they had nothing at all to do with the song of the great Kuru battle. How much of this old bard poetry already belonged to the original poem as secondary tales (*episodes*) and how much was only added later, will probably never be determined. We have reason to believe that in ancient times many of these episodes were recited by the minstrels as independent poems.[1] In any case, our Mahābhārata is not only the heroic poem of the battle of the Bhāratas, but at the same time also a *repertory of the whole of the old bard poetry*.

However, it is very much more than this. We know that the literary activity of ancient India was for the most part in the hands of the priests, the Brahmans; and we have seen how they brahmanised the old popular magic songs of the Atharvaveda, and how they intermingled with their priestly wisdom, the philosophy of the Upaniṣads which was really foreign, even antagonistic, to the priesthood.[2] The more the heroic songs grew in favour and the more popular they became, the greater the anxiety of the Brahmans to take possession of this epic poetry also; and they had the art of compounding this poetry which was essentially and

[1]) It seems that individual bards made a speciality of the recitation of certain poems; for Patañjali (Pāṇini IV, 2, 60) teaches the formation of words like Yāvakrītika, "one who knows the story of Yavakrīta" Yāyātika, "one who knows the story of Yayāti etc. *Cf.* F. *Lacôte*, Essai sur Guṇāḍhya et la Bṛhatkathā, Paris, 1908, pp. 138 f.

[2]) See above pp. 123, and 231 ff.

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purely *secular* in origin, with their own *religious* poems and the whole stock-in-trade of their theological and priestly knowledge. Thus it happens that legends of gods, *mythological narratives of brahmanical origin*, and to a great extent even *didactic sections referring to brahmanical philosophy and ethics and brahmanical law*, were received into the Mahābhārata. This priestly caste welcomed the popular epic as the very medium for the propagation of their own doctrines, and thereby for the strengthening and consolidation of their influence. It was they who inserted into the epic all the numerous myths and legends (Itihāsas) [1] in which wonderful feats are related of the famous seers of ancient times, the Ṛṣis, the ancestors of the Brahmans, how by dint of sacrifices and asceticism, they obtain tremendous power not only over men, but even over the gods, and how, when they are offended, their curse causes the fall of princes and great men, and even of the kings of the gods.

The Mahābhārata was, however, too much of a popular book, too much the property of extensive circles of the people, in particular of the warrior caste, for it ever to have become an actual brahmanical work or the property of any one Vedic school. And it was not so much the Veda-knowing and learned Brahmans who took part in the development of the Mahābhārata; hence the noticeably scanty knowledge of actual brahmanical theology and sacrificial science, which we find even in those parts of the epic in which brahmanical influence is unmistakable. It was the *Purohitas*, the court-priests, who like the Sūtas (bards) were in the service of the kings, and on that account came more into contact with epic poetry. It was this less learned class of priests, too, which later on furnished temple-priests at famous holy places and places

[1] Some of these legends can still be traced. In Brahmanic texts, for instance, the story of Bhaṅgāsvana who was changed into a woman, in Mahābh. XIII, 12, is found in the Baudhāyana-Śrautasūtra; s. *Winternitz* and *Caland* in WZKM 17. 1903. 292 f.; 351 ff.

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of pilgrimage, mostly dedicated to the gods Viṣṇu or Śiva, and devoted itself to the literary cultivation of local myths attached to such sacred spots, and the legends woven around the gods Viṣṇu and Śiva. This, as we shall see, was done chiefly in the Purāṇas, but also in the Mahābhārata, into which crept numerous *local myths in true Purāṇa style, Viṣṇu and Śiva myths, and Purāṇa-like cosmologies, geographical lists and genealogies.*

But an epic poetry seems to have been cultivated more in those regions of India where the worship of Viṣṇu as the highest deity prevailed. This accounts for the fact that, in the religious-didactic portions of the Mahābhārata, this god stands so prominently in the foreground, that the work at times gives the impression of a *religious book dedicated to the worship of Viṣṇu.* It is true, *Śiva-legends* and passages referring to the Śiva cult are not wanting, but they are in every case easily recognisable as later additions. They were inserted as the epic was propagated also over regions in which Śiva worship had its home.[1]

But there existed yet other religious circles in India which, already in early times, showed literary activity, and tried partly even more than the Brahmans, to win over the great masses of the people. These were the ascetics, forest-hermits and mendicants, the founders of sects and monastic orders, which at the time of Buddha were already very numerous in India. These, too, had their own poetry; *legends of saints, aphorisms,* in which they preached their doctrines of renunciation and contempt of the world, of self-sacrifice and love for all beings, and also *fables, parables, fairy-tales, and moral stories,* which were intended to illustrate the philosophy and ethics of the ascetics by means of examples. This *ascetic poetry,* too, was incorporated into the Mahābhārata to a considerable extent.

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[1]) *Cf.* H *acobi* in GGA 1892, pp. 629 f.

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To such an extent had the Mahābhārata become a compendium of narratives of all descriptions rather than an epic, that even *prose pieces*, brahmanical legends and moral tales, some entirely in prose form and others partly in verse and partly in prose, were incorporated into the epic.[1]

We find, then, in this the most remarkable of all literary productions, side by side and intermingled, warlike heroic songs with highly coloured descriptions of bloody battle-scenes; pious priestly poetry, with dissertations, which are often tedious enough, upon philosophy, religion and law; and mild ascetic poetry full of edifying wisdom and full of over-flowing love towards man and beast.

Therefore the Indians themselves regard the Mahābhārata, though always as an epic, as a work of poetic art (kāvya), but also at the same time as a manual (Śāstra) of morality, law and philosophy, supported by the oldest tradition (smṛti) and hence furnished with incontestible authority; and since more than 1,500 years it has served the Indians as much for entertainment as for instruction and edification.

At least 1,500 years ago,[2] this Mahābhārata was already just as we possess it to-day in our manuscripts and editions—or at least very similar—*one work* which was of about the same extent as our epic of to-day. Like the latter, it already contained a long introduction with a framework, a story of the legendary origin of the poem and a glorification of it as a text-book of religion and morals; it was divided into eighteen books called *Parvans*, to which a nineteenth book *Harivaṃśa* had already been added as a "supplement" (Khila);

[1] In the Paṇḍyaparvan (Mahābh. I, 3), in the Mārkaṇḍeya section of the Vanaparvan, and in the sectarian Nārāyaṇīya. All these are pieces which are really outside the scope of the epic proper. I therefore cannot agree at all with *Oldenberg* (Zur Geschichte der altindischen Prosa, pp. 65 ff.; Das Mahabharata, pp. 21 ff.) in seeing an earlier stage of the epic in these very pieces. *Cf. Hopkins*, The Great Epic of India, pp. 266 ff.; *Winternitz*, DLZ 1919, No. 44.

[2] See, further on, the chapter on the age and history of the Mahābhārata.

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and it attained the extent of about 100,000 verses (Ślokas). And up to the present day this gigantic work, in spite of all the diverse elements of which it consists, is regarded by the Indians as a unified work, complete in itself,[1] whose author is the most venerable Ṛṣi *Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana*, also called *Vyāsa*. This same Ṛṣi is also said to be the compiler of the four Vedas[2] and the author of the Purāṇas. According to the legend, he was not only a contemporary, but also a close relative of the heroes of the Mahābhārata, and occasionally also appears in the action of the poem. His history is told us in great detail in the Mahābhārata.

He is the son of a famous ascetic, the Ṛṣi Parāśara. This great saint one day catches sight of Satyavatī, who came into the world in a fish and was brought up by fisherfolk, and is so charmed with her beauty that he desires her love. But she will yield to him only on the condition that, after she has borne him a son, she may regain her maidenhood. The great saint grants her this wish, and also the wish that she may lose her fish-odour and may diffuse a wonderful perfume. Immediately after he has co-habited with her, she gives birth to a son, on an island in the Jumnā, who is named Dvaipāyana, "the island-born." The boy grows up and soon gives himself up to asceticism. When taking leave of his mother, he tells her that he will appear immediately at any time she, needing him, thinks of him. Satyavatī, however, once more a virgin, later on became the wife of the Kuru king, Sāntanu, and bore the latter two sons, Citrāṅgada and Vicitravīrya. After the death of Sāntanu and Citrāṅgada, Vicitravīrya was appointed heir. He died young and childless, but left two wives. In order that the race may not die out, Satyavatī

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[1]) Therefore, too, it is called a *saṃhitā*, *i.e.* "a (complete) compilation," "a connected text," thus Mahābh. I, 1, 21.

[2]) Hence his name *Vyāsa* or *Vedavyāsa*, *i. e.* "classifier" "classifier of the Veda This is the explanation of the name given in the Mahābhārata itself (1, 63, 88: Vivyāsas vedān yasmāt sa tasmād Vyāsa iti smṛtaḥ, cf. I, 60. 5; 105, 13).

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decides to call her illegitimate son Dvaipāyana, so that, according to the legal custom of the Levirate, he may beget descendants by his sisters-in-law. Now although this Dvaipāyana is a great ascetic and saint, yet he is an extremely ugly man with bristly hair and beard and darkly rolling eyes, dark in complexion (hence probably his name Kṛṣṇa, "the black one") and an evil smell emanates from him. Therefore, when he approaches the one princess she cannot bear the sight of him, and closes her eyes: the consequence of this is that her son is born blind. He later became king *Dhṛtarāṣṭra*. The saint then approaches the second lady, and she grows pale at sight of him. As the result of this she gives birth to a son who is pale, and is therefore called *Pāṇḍu*, "the pale one." He is the father of the five principal heroes of the epic. Once again Dvaipāyana is to approach the first woman; but grown wiser, she sends her maid to the saint, who notices nothing of the substitution, and with the maid he begets *Vidura*, to whom in the epic is allotted the part of a wise and well-wishing friend of Dhṛtarāṣṭra as well as of the sons of Pāṇḍu.[1]

This saint, Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana *Vyāsa*, whom legend has made into a kind of grandfather [2] of the heroes of the epic, is regarded by the Indians, up to the present day, as the author of the whole Mahābhārata. Only after his three "sons" had died, so says the introduction to the Mahābhārata,[3] did Vyāsa publish among the people the poem composed by him. He imparted it to his pupil *Vaiśampāyana*, and the latter recited the whole poem in the intervals of the great snake-sacrifice of King Janamejaya. On this occasion it was heard by the Sūta Ugraśravas, the son of Lomaharṣana; and our Mahābhārata

[1] Mahābh. I, 63; 100 ff.

[2] According to the law of the Levirate, Vyāsa is only the progenitor, not the father, of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu. The deceased husband of the two widows is regarded as their father.

[3] 1, 1, 95 ff.

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commences with the Ṛṣis, who are assembled at the twelve-yearly sacrifice of Śaunaka in the Naimiṣa forest, entreating the Sūta Ugraśravas to tell them the story of the Mahābhārata as he has heard it from Vaiśampāyana. The Sūta declares himself willing, and tells the story of the snake-sacrifice of Janamejaya, before proceeding to the repetition of the narrative of Vaiśampāyana.

The fact that the Mahābhārata consists almost entirely of *speeches* is certainly a trait of antiquity.[1] Ugraśravas is the reciter of the outline story, and in the poem itself Vaiśampāyana is the speaker. Within the narrative of Vaiśampāyana innumerable inserted tales are put in the mouth of various persons, this insertion of stories within stories being a very popular device in Indian literature. In most cases the narratives, as well as the speeches of the persons appearing, have no introduction but the prose formulae: "Vaiśampāyana spake," "Yudhiṣṭhira spaken, "Draupadī spake," and so on.

Fantastic as is all the information imparted to us in the introduction to the Mahābhārata about its supposed author, yet we find a few noteworthy statements in it. Thus we are told that the Ṛṣi Vyāsa narrated his work in a short summary as well as in detailed presentation; further, that different reciters begin the poem at three different places, and that its length was not always the same. Ugraśravas says that he knows the poem as consisting of 8,800 verses, while Vyāsa declares that he composed the Saṃhitā of the Bhārata poem in 24,000 verses, "and without the secondary stories

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[1]) "We may observe in the Iliad, too, that the old epics all contain very much dialogue; only in the later epics does this dramatic element recede further into the background... But the epic poem only reaches completion when, in addition to the speeches, the outline of the narrative, too, is composed in metrical form. The final stage is the withdrawal of the speeches, and the narration of events only in the form of verse." Ernst *Windisch*, Māra und Buddha (Abhandl. der philolog.—histor. Klasse der K. sächsischen Ges. der Wiss. Leipzig 1895), pp. 222 ff. The Mahābhārata is still a long way from that "final stage."

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the Bhārata is recited in this length by the experts." Immediately afterwards it is said, rather fantastically, that Vyāsa also composed an epic of 60 hundred thousand verses, *viz.* 30 hundred thousand for the gods, 15 for the fathers, 14 for the Gandharvas and *one* hundred thousand for man.[1] Of course this only hints at the present extent of the Mahābhārata, which has also acquired for it the designation *śatasāhasrī saṃhitā*, "collection of one hundred thousand verses." One sees from these statements that the Indians themselves, in spite of their firm belief in the unity of the work, have at least retained a recollection of the fact that the Mahābharata only gradually grew, from an originally smaller poem, to its present extent.

What the Mahābhārata means *to the Indians*, the introduction to the work tells us in the most extravagant fashion. It is there said, for example :

"As butter excels among curds, as the Brahman excels among Aryans, as the Āraṇyakas among the Vedas, the drink of immortality among medicines, the ocean among all waters, and the cow among four-footed beasts, even so the Mahābhārata is the best of all narrative works (Itihāsas)."

"Whosoever has once heard this story, can no longer take pleasure in any other story though it be well worth hearing; just as he who has heard the song of the kokila[2] can take no pleasure in the harsh voice of the crow."

"The thoughts of the poets arise from this most excellent of all narrative works, as the three realms of the universe from the five elements."

"Whosoever presents a veda-knowing and deeply learned Brahman with a hundred cows with gilded horns, and he who hears daily the sacred stories of the Bhārata poem—these two acquire equal (religious) merit."

"Verily this narrative work is a song of victory: a king who desires victory, should hear it, and he will conquer the earth and triumph over his enemies."

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[1]) Mahābh. I, 1, 51 ff.; 81; 101 ff.

[2]) The Kokila, the Indian cuckoo, is to Indian poets what the nightingale is to our poets.

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"This is a sacred manual of morals (dharma); it is the best manual of practical life (artha), and Vyāsa, of boundless wisdom, recited it also as a manual of salvation (mokṣa).[1]

"All sins, whether of thought, word or deed, depart immediately from the man who hears this poem."

"The sage Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana, rising daily (to perform his devotional and ascetic exercises) composed this marvellous story, the Mahābhārata, in three years. What we find in this book relating to morals, relating to practical life, relating to sensual pleasure and relating to salvation,[2] can be found elsewhere; but what is not written therein, can be found nowhere else in the world." [2]

For us, however, who do not look upon the Mahābhārata with the eyes of believing Hindus, but as critical historians of literature it is everything but a work of art; and in any case we cannot regard it as the work of *one* author, or even of a clever collector and compiler. The Mahābhārata as a whole is a literary monster. Never has the hand of an artist attempted the well-nigh impossible task of combining the conflicting elements into one unified poem. It is only unpoetical theologians and commentators and clumsy copyists who have succeeded in conglomerating into a heterogeneous mass parts which are actually incompatible, and which date from different centuries. But in this jungle of poetry, which scholarship has only just begun to clear, there shoots forth much true and genuine poetry, hidden by the wild undergrowth. Out of the unshapely mass shine out the most precious blossoms of immortal poetic art and profound wisdom. The very fact that the Mahābhārata represents

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[1]) *Dharma*, "law and custom" or "morality," *artha* "utility," "advantages" "practical life" and *kāma*, "sensual gratification" are the three aims of life, to a certain extent the be-all and end-all of human existence, according to Indian ethics. The final aim of all striving, however, is *mokṣa*, "deliverance," to which the various sects and philosophical systems indicate different paths.

[2]) I, 1, 261 f.: 2, 382 f., 393; 62, 20 f., 23, 25, 52 f. To the last verse compare the Bengali saying: "Whatever is not in the Mahābhārata is not to be found in Bharatavarṣa" (*i.e.* in India).

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a whole literature rather than one single and unified work, and contains so many and so multifarious things, makes it more suited than any other book, to afford us an insight into the deepest depths of the soul of the Indian people.

This may be shown by the following survey of the contents of the Mahābhārata and its various component parts. [1]

The Principal Narrative of the Mahābhārata.

Years ago Adolf Holtzmann (Senior) undertook the bold endeavour "to open up for the first time for German poetry lovers, the essence of the Mahābhārata, the old Indian national epic itself." [2] He started from the undoubtedly correct point of view that the Mahābhārata is not "*the* Indian epic," but that rather only "the remains, the ruins of the ancient Indian heroic songs....., after much retouching, extension, and disfigurement, are contained in the Mahābhārata." But with enviable self-confidence he believed

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[1]) The whole of the Mahābhārata has been translated into English prose by Kisori Mohan *Ganguli* and published by Protap Chandra *Roy* (Calcutta 1884-1896), and by Manmatha Nath *Dutt* (Calcutta 1895-1905). A fine poetical rendering, partly in metrical translations, partly in prose extracts, has been given by Romesh *Dutt* in his "Maha-Bharata, the Epic of Ancient India condensed into English Verse," London 1899. Extracts from the Mahābhārata will also be found in John *Muir's* "Original Sanskrit Texts" (1858-1872), and "Metrical Translations from Sanskrit Writers" (London 1879), and in Monier *Williams*, "Indian Wisdom," 4th ed., London 1893. A Summary of the 18 Parvans has been given by Monier Williams, Indian Epic Poetry, London 1863; an outline of the story and extracts by J. C. *Oman*, The Great Indian Epics, London 1899, pp. 93 ff. Books I-X have been translated into French by H *Fauche*, Paris, 1863-1870, a collection of larger extracts by Ph. *E. Foucaux*, Le Mahābhārata, onze épisodes tirés de ce poème épique, Paris, 1862. Several episodes have been translated into Italian by P. E. *Pavolini*, 1902, and into German by F. *Bopp* (Berlin, 1824), by the poet Friedrich *Rückert* (s. R. Boxberger, "Rückert-Studien," 1878, pp. 84-122 and "Rückert-Nachlese" I, 270; II, 315 ff.), by A. *Holtzmann*, Indische Sagen, 1845-1847 (new edition by M. Winternitz, Jena, 1912, and 1921), by J. *Hertel*, Indische Märchen, Jena, 1919, No. 10-14, and by W. *Porzig* in the series "Indische Erzähler" (Vols. 12 and 15, Leipzig 1923, 192 ff). The philosophical texts of the Mahābhārata have been translated into German by O. *Strauss* and P. *Deussen*, Vier philosophische Texte des Mahâbhâratam: Sanatsujâtaparvan, Bhagavadgitâ, Mokshadharma, Anugitâ, Leipzig 1906.

[2]) Indische Sagen. Part 2: Die Kuruinge. Karlsruhe 1846.

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himself to be endowed with the ability to reconstruct the *ancient original* heroic poem from these retouched and disfigured "ruins." He thought that by means of omissions, abridgments, and *alterations*, he had created in German verse an Indian heroic poem, which gave a better idea of the actual Mahābhārata as sung by the ancient Indian bards, than a literal translation of the existing original text would probably give. Now Holtzmann, with ingenious insight and deep poetic feeling, certainly often hit upon the right thing, but then he departed so arbitrarily from the Sanskrit text, that his work can only be regarded as a very free recast of the ancient Mahābhārata, but in no case as a faithful representation of it. In fact Holtzmann attempted an impossible task. Every endeavour *to reconstruct* "the ancient Indian national epic itself" in its original shape will always be attended by so great an element of arbitrariness, that it can only have a purely subjective value.

On the other hand, it is comparatively easy to extract *a kernel* from the enormous mass of songs of the Mahābhārata, namely, *the narrative of the battle of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas*, which in any case formed the subject of the actual epic. This shall be done in the following, necessarily short outline. We trace the story of the great fight, taking into consideration also, as far as possible, the important secondary stories referring to the principal heroes. In this we shall not digress into doubtful hypotheses upon the "original" epic, but faithfully follow *the Mahābhārata text now available to us, leaving aside*, for the present, everything which has no reference to the principal narrative.

The Descent of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas.

In the land of the Bharatas there once ruled a king of the house of the Kurus, Śāntanu by name. By the goddess Gaṅgā [1] who had

[1]) Goddess of the River Ganges.

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become a mortal woman, this king had a son called *Bhīṣma*, whom he had appointed as his successor to the throne. One day, when the latter had already grown up into a superb hero endowed with all warlike virtues, Sāntanu met the beautiful fisher girl Satyavatī, fell in love with her and desired her as a wife. Her father, the king of the fisherfolk, would, however, only give her to him on condition that the son born by his daughter should inherit the throne. But Śāntanu would not consent to this, though he found it difficult to give up his beloved. Now Bhīṣma soon noticed how depressed his father was, and when he had learned the cause of this depression, he himself went to the king of the fishermen to woo Satyavatī on his father's behalf. He not only announces his intention to renounce his right to the throne, but takes a vow of chastity, so as to make it impossible for any son of his to claim the throne, whereupon the fisherman gladly gives him his daughter. So Śāntanu marries Satyavatī and has two sons by her, *Citrāṅgada* and *Vicitravīrya*. Soon after this, Śāntanu died and young Citrāṅgada was killed in battle by a Gandharva: then Bhīṣma, as the senior of the family, annointed Vicitravīrya as king. The latter, however, died young and without issue, though he had two wives. In order that the race may not die out, Satyavatī begs Bhīṣma to beget descendants by the surviving widows of Vicitravīrya, in accordance with the ancient usage of the Levirate. But Bhīṣma, mindful of his vow of chastity, declares that though the sun may give up its brilliancy, the fire its heat, the moon may give up the coolness of its rays, the god Indra his bravery, and the god Dharma [1] his justice, he could never break his promise. Then Satyavatī remembers her illegitimate son *Vyāsa*, and with Bhīṣma's consent invites him to see to the propagation of the race. And as we have already seen,[2] the saint Vyāsa begets *Dhṛtarāṣṭra*, *Pāṇḍu* and *Vidura*. As Dhṛtarāṣṭra was born blind, the younger brother Pāṇḍu became king. Dhṛtarāṣṭra married *Gāndhārī*, daughter of the king of Gāndhāra, and she bore him a hundred sons, the eldest of whom was named *Duryodhana*. Pāṇḍu had two wives, *Pṛthā* or *Kuntī*, daughter of a king of the Yādavas, and *Mādrī*, sister of *Śalya*, king of the Madras. Kuntī bore him three sons: *Yudhiṣṭhira*, the eldest, *Arjuna* and *Bhīma*, who was born on the same day as Duryodhana, whilst Mādrī gave birth to the twins *Nakula* and *Sahadeva*.

Here the epic relates the following very fantastic story (which could scarcely have belonged to the old poem), according to which these five

[1]) The god of death, and at the same time the god of justice. [2]) See above, pp. 322f.

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principal heroes of the epic are supposed to have been begotten not *by*, but *on behalf of* Pāṇḍu. Pāṇḍu killed a pair of antelopes at the time of copulation. In reality, however, it was a ṛṣi who had assumed the form of an antelope in order to enjoy love. This ṛṣi now pronounces a curse that Pāṇḍu shall die during the enjoyment of love. Pāṇḍu therefore determines to lead the life of an ascetic, and to renounce sexual pleasures. In order to provide descendants, however, Kuntī invokes the gods to beget children with her. Dharma, the god of justice, begets Yudhiṣṭhira with her, Vāyu, the god of the wind, begets strong Bhīma and Indra, the king of the gods, begets Arjuna. At Kuntī's request, the two Aśvins cohabit with Mādrī, and beget the twins Nakula and Sahadeva with her.

The Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas at the Court of Dhṛtarāṣṭra.

When Pāṇḍu died soon afterwards, blind Dhṛtarāṣṭra assumed the reins of government. The five sons of Pāṇḍu accompanied their mother Kuntī—Pāṇḍu's second wife Mādrī had thrown herself on to his funeral pyre—to the court of king Dhṛtarāṣṭra at Hastināpura, where they were educated with the princes, their cousins.

Even in their juvenile games, the sons of Pāṇḍu excelled over those of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, arousing the jealousy of the latter. Bhīma, in particular, evinced great exuberance of spirits and gave many an exhibition of unruly strength which were most displeasing to Dhṛtarāṣṭra's children. For instance, if the children climbed a tree, he would shake it so that his cousins tumbled down together with their fruits. For this reason Duryodhana hated Bhīma intensely, and made several attempts on his life without however being able to harm him. The boys grew up, and two famous Brahmans, skilled in the use of weapons, *Kṛpa* and *Droṇa*, were engaged as their tutors. There were among their pupils besides the sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and of Pāṇḍu, also *Aśvatthāman*, one of Droṇa's sons, and *Karṇa*, son of a Sūta or charioteer. Duryodhana and Bhīma soon became Droṇa's best pupils with the clubs, Aśvatthāman in magic arts, Nakula and Sahadeva in sword exercises, and Yudhiṣṭhira in chariot fighting. But Arjuna was not only the best archer, but excelled all the others in every respect. For this reason the sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra were extremely jealous of him.

When the princes had completed their studies, Droṇa organised a tournament at which his pupils were to show their skill. It is a brilliant and festive assembly; the king, the queens and numerous heroes are

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present. Bhīma and Duryodhana give a performance of club-fighting which threatens to become so deadly earnest that the combatants have to be separated. Arjuna is universally praised for his skill in archery. But Karṇa also enters the ring, and executes the same feats as Arjuna, which greatly angers the latter, whilst Duryodhana joyfully embraces Karṇa and swears eternal friendship. Karṇa challenges Arjuna to a duel, but as the descendant of a charioteer he is laughed to scorn by the Pāṇḍavas.

Yudhiṣṭhira becomes heir to the throne. Conspiracy against him and his brothers. (*The lac house.*)

After a year had elapsed, Dhṛtarāṣṭra appointed as heir to the throne, Yudhiṣṭhira, the first-born of the Kuru family, who had distinguished himself by his bravery as well as by all other virtues. The other Pāṇḍavas perfected themselves still further in arms, and even went forth on victorious campaigns of conquest off their own bat. When Dhṛtarāṣṭra learned of these exploits of the Pāṇḍavas who were growing mightier and mightier, he felt some anxiety as to the future of his own line. Therefore when Duryodhana, his younger brother *Duśśāsana*, his friend Karṇa and his maternal uncle *Śakuni* concerted a plot against the Pāṇḍavas, they found a willing supporter in the aged king. They persuaded Dhṛtarāṣṭra to remove the Pāṇḍavas to Vāraṇāvata on some pretext or other. At Vāraṇāvata Duryodhana engaged a skilful builder to construct a house of lac and of other highly inflammable materials, in which the Pāṇḍavas were to live. At night when they would all be asleep, the house was to be set on fire, so that the Pāṇḍavas would meet their doom. But Vidura tells Yudhiṣṭhira privately of the treacherous plan, and for this communication he makes use of a Mleccha language, *i.e.* the language of a non-Indian tribe, which was not understood by the others. Now to avoid arousing suspicion, as they feared that Duryodhana would otherwise have them killed in some other fashion by assassins, they pretend to fall in with the plan, journey to Vāraṇāvata and occupy the lac house. However, they flee into the forest by a subterranean passage which they had previously had dug, after setting fire to the house, in which, in addition to the builder, there is only a drunken low-caste woman lying asleep with her five sons. While everyone believes that the Pāṇḍavas have been burned with their mother Kuntī, and the funeral ceremonies are being performed at Dhṛtarāṣṭra's court, the five brothers are wandering about with their mother in the forest on the other side of the Ganges. At dead of night they are in the midst of dense jungle, weary, hungry and thirsty. Kuntī

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complains of thirst, and Bhīma conducts his mother and four brothers to a banyan tree where they are to rest while he is seeking water. Following the water-birds, he comes to a lake, where he bathes and drinks and dips his upper garments into the water, so as to take water to the others. He hastens back, to find all his people asleep under the tree. At the sight of his mother and brothers lying asleep thus, he bemoans their sad fate in bitter words.

Hiḍimba, the giant, and his sister.

Near this banyan tree there lurks a horrible, man-eating giant, the *Rākṣasa Hiḍimba*. He smells human flesh, and from a high tree sees the sleeping forms. His mouth waters for the delicacy which has so long been denied to him, and he asks his sister, the giantess Hiḍimbā, to go and see what manner of people they be; they would then enjoy a feast of fresh human flesh and blood together, and dance and sing merrily afterwards. The giantess approaches them, but no sooner does she set eyes on Bhīma than she is seized by violent love for the strong young hero. She therefore transforms herself into a beautiful human woman and steps smilingly towards Bhīma, tells him that this forest is haunted by a man-eating Rākṣasa, her brother, who has sent her here, but that she loves Bhīma and desires no other man but him as her lord, that he may take delight in her, and that she will rescue him. Bhīma replies that it would not enter his head to yield to passion, and to leave his mother and brothers in the lurch. Hiḍimbā answers that he may awaken his relatives by all means, and she will save them all. Bhīma retorts, however, that he would not dream of awakening his mother and brothers from their sweet slumber: Rākṣasas, Yakṣas (elves), Gandharvas and such-like riff-raff do not alarm him in the least, and he will find a way of dealing with the man-eater himself. At this juncture the giant Hiḍimba, thinking that his sister is too long away, appears in person, and would slay the love-sick Hiḍimbā in his anger. But Bhīma confronts him and challenges him to fight. After a terrible conflict, during which the brothers awake, Bhīma slays the giant. When he is about to despatch Hiḍimbā likewise, Yudhiṣṭhira exhorts him not to slay a woman. At her earnest entreaties, he at last agrees to be united to her until a son is born to her. Yudhiṣṭhira arranges that Bhīma may stay with the giantess all day, but that he must always return before sunset. So Hiḍimbā flies through the air with Bhīma to the pleasant hill-tops, where they give themselves up to the pleasures of

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love, until she conceives, and bears a son, who grows into a mighty Rākṣasa. They call him *Ghaṭotkaca*, and later on, in the great fight, he does good service to the Pāṇḍavas.

The giant Baka and the Brahman family.

Disguised as ascetics, the Pāṇḍavas now wander from forest to forest, experiencing many an adventure, and come at last to a city Ekacakrā where, without being recognised, they stay at a Brahman's house. During the day they beg for their food and in the evening they bring it home, where Kuntī divides all the food into two halves, the one for Bhīma, and the other for all the rest. One day Kuntī is alone at home with Bhīma. Loud groans and lamentations are heard proceeding from the apartments of the Brahman whose hospitality they are enjoying. First of all they hear the Brahman give vent to bitter lamentations over the lot of humanity in general, and declare that it would be best for him to perish together with his family, for he would never have the heart to sacrifice his faithful wife, his beloved daughter or his dear little son, and yet on the other hand, were he to die alone, he would be leaving his dear ones to sure distress. Then the Brahman's wife begins to speak, and says that he must live on, so as to provide for his children and to preserve the race: she herself, having borne him a son and a daughter, has fulfilled the purpose of her life, and can die in peace. Were he to die, she could never nourish and protect her two children single-handed; she would be able neither to protect her daughter from unworthy men nor to give her son an education worthy of a Brahman. Whereas he could take a second wife, she herself, as a widow, would lead but a pitiable existence. "As birds swoop greedily down upon a piece of flesh that is cast away, thus do men abuse a woman who is bereaved of her husband." Therefore she will sacrifice her life. The daughter, who has listened to what her parents have said, now has her say, and seeks to prove that for her alone is it fitting to die for the family. "Is it not said: A son is as one's own self, a wife is a friend, but a daughter is misery. Rid thyself of this misery, therefore, and let me fulfil my duty." While these three converse in this fashion, and finally burst into tears, the little son, his eyes wide open, approaches each one individually, and says, smiling, in his sweet, childish voice: "Do not weep, father! Do not weep, mother! Do not weep, sister!" And the little fellow gaily takes a blade of grass from the ground, saying: "I am going to kill the

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man-eating Rākṣasa with this!" And in the midst of their sore distress, their hearts were filled with joy when they heard the boy's sweet voice. It is this moment which Kuntī, the mother of the Pāṇḍavas, chooses to enter and to enquire what it is that has gone wrong. She is then told that a man-eating Rākṣasa, the giant Baka, lurks in the vicinity of the city, and that at certain intervals the inhabitants of the city are obliged to supply him with a cartload of rice, two buffaloes and a human being by way of tribute. The families are chosen in rotation, and it is now the turn of the family in question. Then Kuntī consoles the Brahman and suggests that one of her five sons shall pay the tribute to the Rākṣasa. But the Brahman will not hear of a Brahman, and a guest at that, sacrificing his life for him. Then Kuntī explains to him that her son is a great hero, which fact is not to be disclosed, and that he will surely slay the Rākṣasa. Bhīma is prepared to carry out his mother's proposal immediately, and the next morning he drives into the forest haunted by the monster, with the cart containing the food intended for the Rākṣasa. As soon as he reaches the forest, he begins to eat the food himself (this is most humorously described), and is in no wise perturbed by the stormy approach of the giant. Even when the infuriated Rākṣasa showers blows on him with both hands, he calmly continues eating. It is not until he has eaten everything up that he prepares for the combat. They uproot the mightiest trees in the forest and hurl them at each other. A stupendous struggle then ensues, the result of which is that Bhīma breaks the giant in two across his knee. Bhīma extracts a promise from the remaining Rākṣasas, the relatives and subjects of Baka, that they will never again kill a human being, and he then returns to his brothers. There is great joy in the city, but the Pāṇḍavas preserve their incognito.

The self-choice and marriage of Draupadī

After a time the Pāṇḍavas decide to leave Ekacakrā and to migrate to Pāñcāla. On the road thither they hear that *Drupada*, king of the Pāñcālas, is about to hold a "self-choice" [1] for his daughter. The brothers decide

[1] *Svayamvara, i.e.* "bride's self-choice," is a form of engagement or betrothal in which the king's daughter herself chooses her husband from amongst the assembled princes and heroes (after her father has issued a solemn invitation), placing a garland around the neck of the chosen one, whereupon the marriage takes place. While the Svayamvara is very frequently described in *epic poetry*, this custom is not mentioned at all in the brahmanical *law-books*, which otherwise treat the various kinds of betrothal in great detail. *Cf.* J. J. *Meyer*, Das Weib im altindischen Epos, pp. 60 ff.

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to take part in the festival, and, disguised as Brahmans, they go to the residential town of Drupada, where they live unrecognised at the house of a potter, and beg for their food as Brahmans. Now Drupada had had a very stiff bow made, and had had a target set high up in the air by means of a mechanical contrivance, and he proclaimed that only the hero who could draw the bow and hit the mark, would be qualified to win his daughter Kṛṣṇā at the Svayamvara. Princes of all lands, among them the Kauravas, Duryodhana and his brothers and Karṇa, accept King Drupada's invitation and assemble in the festively decorated hall in which the self-choice of a husband is to take place. Innumerable Brahmans, too, flock in as spectators, and among them are the five Pāṇḍavas. There are brilliant festivities for several days, and the foreign kings and the Brahmans enjoy splendid hospitality as guests. At last, on the sixteenth day, attended by the usual ceremonies, the radiant *Kṛṣṇā*, beautifully dressed and adorned, steps into the hall, holding the garland of flowers in her hand. Her brother *Dhṛṣṭadyumna* proclaims in a loud voice:

"Mark this bow, assembled monarchs, and the target hung on high,
Through yon whirling piercéd discus let five glitt'ring arrows fly!
Whoso born of noble lineage, hits the far suspended aim,
Let him stand and as his guerdon Drupad's beauteous
maiden claim!" [1]

After this he tells his sister the names of all the kings present, beginning with Duryodhana. All of them are at once enamoured of the charming *Kṛṣṇā*, each is jealous of the other, and every single individual hopes to win her. One after the other now attempts to bend the bow, but none succeed. Then Karṇa steps forward; he has already bent the bow, and is prepared to hit the mark, when Kṛṣṇā calls out in a loud voice: "My choice shall not be a charioteer." With a bitter laugh and a glance towards the sun, Karṇa throws the bow down again. In vain do the mighty kings Śiśupāla, Jarāsandha and Śalya strive to bend the bow. Then Arjuna arises from the midst of the Brahmans. Amid loud murmurs of applause from those who admire the stately youth, and amid the sounds of disapproval of those who are angry at the presumption of a Brahman in entering the lists with warriors, he strides to the bow, bends it in the twinkling of an eye, and shoots the target down. When Kṛṣṇā sees the

[1]) Translated by Romesh *Dutt*, Maha-Bharata, p. 19.

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godlike youth, she hands him the garland joyfully, and followed by the princess, Arjuna leaves the hall.

However, when the assembled kings perceive that Drupada really intends to give his daughter to the Brahman, they take it as an insult; for in their opinion, the self-choice of a husband is for warriors, but not for Brahmans. They attempt to kill Drupada, but Bhīma and Arjuna hasten to his aid. Bhīma uproots a mighty tree, and stands there, terrible as the god of death. Arjuna stands beside him, with the bent bow. Karṇa fights with Arjuna, and Śalya with Bhīma. After a hard fight, Karṇa and Śalya confess themselves beaten. The kings give up the fight, and return to their homes. But the Pāṇḍavas go on their way with Kṛṣṇā, and wend their way to the potter's house, where Kuntī anxiously awaits them. Arjuna now declares in the presence of his mother and his brothers that he will not wed Kṛṣṇā, daughter of Drupada, whom he has won, for himself alone, but that, in accordance with the ancient custom of their family, she must become the common wife of all five brothers.

Among those present at the self-choice was *Kṛṣṇa*, the chieftain of a clan of the Yādavas and the cousin of the Pāṇḍavas (for Vasudeva, Kṛṣṇa's father, was Kuntī's brother). He was the only one who had recognised the Pāṇḍavas, in spite of their disguise. He therefore followed the Pāṇḍavas, accompanied by his brother *Baladeva*, visited them at the potter's house, and disclosed to them that he was their relative. This greatly rejoiced the Pāṇḍavas, but in order that they might not be recognised, Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva soon took their departure.

Prince Dhṛṣṭadyumna had also secretly followed the Pāṇḍavas in order to find out who the hero who had won his sister for his consort, really was. He conceals himself in the potter's house, and observes how the brothers return home and respectfully greet their mother, how Kuntī instructs Draupadī [1] regarding the preparation and distribution of the food, how after the evening meal they betake themselves to rest, the youngest brother spreading a mattress of kuša grass whereon the five brothers stretch themselves in turn, each one on his antelope-skin, whilst their mother and Draupadī put up their beds at their head and foot respectively: and he hears how the brothers still regale one another with all kinds of conversation upon arms and warlike deeds before falling asleep. Then Dhṛṣṭadyumna hastens back to his father, to tell him that,

[1]) Kṛṣṇā, "the black one" is usually called Draupadī, *i.e.* "daughter of Drupada."

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judging from their conversation, the supposed Brahmans must be warriors, at which the king rejoices exceedingly. The next morning, Drupada invites the Pāṇḍavas to the palace, in order to celebrate his daughter's wedding with due festivity. It is only now that Yudhiṣṭhira informs him that they are the sons of Pāṇḍu, whom people had thought dead; Drupada is much rejoiced at this, for it had always been his wish to have the brave Arjuna as a son-in-law. Just when he is about to perform the ceremonial marriage of his daughter with Arjuna, he is, however, somewhat astonished and disillusioned to learn from Yudhiṣṭhira that Kṛṣṇā must become the common wife of all five brothers. The scruples which he puts forward are, however, appeased when he learns of the ancient family custom of the Pāṇḍavas, and Draupadī is wedded before the sacred fire first to Yudhiṣṭhira as the eldest brother, and then to the other four brothers in order of age.[1] Kuntī blesses her daughter-in-law, and Kṛṣṇa sends rich and most costly wedding presents to the newly-wedded people.

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[1]) In this marriage to five husbands, the epic has indubitably faithfully preserved an old feature of the legend; for polyandry, or rather group-marriage, of which the marriage of the Pāṇḍavas affords an example, though still occurring in certain regions of India at the present day, was by no means attested as a legitimate form of marriage in ancient India, and is directly opposed to the brahmanical views. When Drupada says (I, 197, 27): "The law teaches that *one* man has many wives; but one has never heard that *one* woman has many men as her husbands," he only gives expression to the general Indian opinion. When, in spite of this, the five principal heroes of the epic have only *one* wife between them, it is a proof that this feature was so closely interwoven with the whole legend and the ancient epic, that, even at a later time, when the Mahābhārata acquired a more and more brahmanical character and became a religious text book, the elimination of this feature could not be dreamed of. All that was done was to try to *justify* the marriage to five husbands, by means of several clumsily inserted stories. On one occasion Vyāsa relates the silly story of a maiden who could not obtain a husband, and implored the god Śiva to procure a husband for her. Now because she had cried *five times* "Give me a husband," Śiva promises her five husbands—in a future birth. This maiden is reborn as Kṛṣṇā, Drupada's daughter, and therefore receives the five Pāṇḍavas as husbands. A second story is not much more ingenious. The Pāṇḍavas, who live in the potter's house as begging Brahmans, come home with Draupadī, and announce to their mother that they have brought "the alms" which they have collected while out begging. Without looking up, Kuntī says, according to her custom, "Enjoy it all together." Only then does she notice that "the alms" is a woman, and is very much perturbed; but the word of a mother may not be made untrue, and therefore the five brothers must enjoy Draupadī in common. A third story, which Vyāsa related to Drupada, is the śivaitic "Five Indra story" (pañcendropākhyānam), a most fantastic and confused account, according to which Indra, as a punishment for having offended Śiva, is reborn on earth in five parts

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The Pāṇḍavas get their kingdom back.

The report that the Pāṇḍavas are still alive and that it was Arjuna who had won Draupadī at the self-choice, is soon noised abroad. Duryodhana and his friends return sadly to Hastināpura, and they are much cast down by the Pāṇḍavas' having gained two mighty allies by their marriage, namely, Drupada and the Pañcālas, and Kṛṣṇa and the Yādavas. Duryodhana is of opinion that they should be on their guard against the Pāṇḍavas, and suggests that they should get rid of them by treachery. Karṇa, on the other hand, is for open combat. But Bhīṣma, supported by Vidura and Droṇa, advises Dhṛtarāṣṭra to cede one-half of the kingdom to the Pāṇḍavas and to live peaceably with them. Dhṛtarāṣṭra agrees to this proposal and cedes one-half of his kingdom to the Pāṇḍavas, and it is arranged that they shall settle in the desert of Khāṇḍavaprastha. Yudhiṣṭhira gladly accepts the offer, and, accompanied by Kṛṣṇa, the Pāṇḍavas journey to Khāṇḍavaprastha, where they found as their residence the great city and fort of *Indraprastha* (near modern Delhi).

Arjuna's banishment and adventures.

The Pāṇḍavas live happy and contented in Indraprastha with their common wife. In order to avoid any jealousy among them, they had mutually agreed (on the advice of the divine sage Nārada) that if any one of the brothers should intrude on a private interview of any other of the brothers with Draupadī, the former should go into banishment and lead a life of chastity for twelve years. Owing to this understanding they lived at peace with one another.

One day some robbers steal some cattle from a Brahman, who comes running into the palace violently reproaching the king for not protecting his

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and an incarnation of Lakṣmī or Śrī (goddess of good fortune and beauty) is destined to be his wife. The five Pāṇḍavas are incarnations of the *one* Indra, Draupadī is an incarnation of Lakṣmī, so that Draupadī has actually only *one* husband! There is not even an attempt made to bring these three justification stories into accord with one another or with the principal narrative. On the other hand, it is repeatedly distinctly emphasized that it was an *ancient family custom, not* indeed a general Indian custom, but a special *family usage* of the *Pāṇḍavas*. In Buddhist and Jain stories, Draupadī's self-choice of a husband is so described that she chooses, not Arjuna, but all the five Pāṇḍavas simultaneously. Strangely enough, even a few European scholars have tried to *interpret* and *justify* the marriage to five husbands mythologically, allegorically and symbolically, instead of accepting it as an ethnological fact. (*Cf.* my "Notes on the Mahābhārata," JRAS, 1897, pp. 733 ff.).

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subjects sufficiently. Arjuna wishes to hasten to his aid immediately. Chance will have it that the weapons are hanging in a room in which Yudhiṣṭhira happens to be together with Draupadī. Arjuna is in a dilemma. Is he to fail in his duty of a warrior towards the Brahman, and to break the rule with regard to their common wife, or is he to violate the former so as to be able to conform to the latter? He decides to enter the room and fetch the weapons; he pursues the robbers and restores the cattle to the Brahman. Then he returns home and announces to Yudhiṣṭhira that, in accordance with the agreement, he will go into banishment for twelve years. Though Yudhiṣṭhira tries to restrain him, as he had taken no offence whatsoever, Arjuna nevertheless retires to the forest, on the principle that what is right is right, whatever the circumstances.

Here he has many adventures. On one occasion he is bathing in the Ganges, and is about to come out of the water, after sacrificing to the fathers, when *Ulūpī*, the daughter of a Nāga king, draws him down into the kingdom of the Nāgas (snake demons). She explains to him that she has fallen in love with him, and begs him to take delight in her. Arjuna replies that he cannot do this, as he has taken the vow of chastity. But the snake virgin objects, saying that this vow can only refer to Draupadī, and that, as a matter of fact, it is his duty as a warrior to aid the unfortunate; and that if he would not grant her request, she would end her life—he must therefore save her life. Arjuna is powerless against these arguments, and "keeping his eye on his duty," he grants beautiful Ulūpī's request and spends a night with her.

On another occasion his wanderings bring him to Citravāhana, king of Maṇipūra, and he falls in love with the king's beautiful daughter *Citrāṅgadā*. But she is a "son-daughter," [1] and the king only gives her to him on condition that a son born of her be accounted as his (Citravāhana's) son. Arjuna agrees to this, and lives with her in Maṇipūra[2] for three years. After she has borne a son, he takes leave of her and continues his wanderings.

After having visited various holy places and had many more adventures, he meets Kṛṣṇa and visits him in his city of Dvārakā, where he is received with great festivity. A few days later there was a great feast

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[1]) A *putrikā* or "son daughter" is a daughter whose son does not belong to the husband, but to the *father* of the girl. For if a man has no son, he can appoint his daughter as *putrikā*, whereby a son born of her becomes the continuator of *her father's* race, i.e. he is bound in duty to the ancestral sacrifice and entitled to the inheritance.

[2]) We hear no more of the vow of chastity.

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of the Vṛṣṇis and Andhakas—clans of the Yādavas—on the hill Raivataka. Noblemen and citizens go forth with music, singing and dancing, and there is great merriment. Baladeva, Kṛṣṇa's brother, gets drunk with his wife Revatī; Ugrasena, king of the Vṛṣṇis, comes with his thousand wives, and many other princes with their wives. On this occasion Arjuna sees *Subhadrā*, Kṛṣṇa's beautiful sister, and becomes enamoured of her. He asks Kṛṣṇa how he can obtain her, and the latter advises him to carry her off by force after the fashion of warriors, as a self-choice is always an uncertain affair [1]). Then Arjuna sends a messenger to Yudhiṣṭhira to ask his permission for the abduction of Subhadrā. Yudhiṣṭhira gives his consent, and Arjuna goes forth in his chariot in full battle array, as though he were going to the chase. Subhadrā is taking a stroll on Raivataka, and just as she is about to return to Dvārakā, Arjuna seizes her, places her on his chariot and drives off with her in the direction of Indraprastha. Great excitement prevails in Dvārakā; the drunken Baladeva is furious at Arjuna's having violated the laws of hospitality. But Kṛṣṇa pacifies his relatives by telling them that Arjuna has not offended them at all. On the contrary, he had not considered the Yādavas so avaricious that they would sell a maiden like a head of cattle, and he had not wanted to take the chance of an uncertain self-choice, so his only course had been to carry Subhadrā off. There was no objection to the marriage itself, but they should recall Arjuna, and effect a reconciliation. This actually takes place, and Arjuna and Subhadrā are married. He stays in Dvārakā for another year, enjoying the society of Subhadrā. He spends the remainder of the twelve years at the sacred place of Puṣkara, after which he returns to Indraprastha. Draupadī reproaches him for his marriage with Subhadrā, but is appeased when Subhadrā offers herself to Draupadī as a maidservant. Thenceforth Draupadī, Subhadrā and Kuntī live happily together. Subhadrā bore Arjuna a son, *Abhimanyu*, who became a favourite with his father and his uncles, but Draupadī bore *one* son to each of the five Pāṇḍavas.

Yudhisthira becomes the Ruler of the World

King Yudhiṣṭhira reigned justly and piously in his kingdom, and his subjects, who loved him devotedly, lived in peace and happiness. The king's brothers, too, led a happy life. But Arjuna enjoyed a still more

[1]) Obviously the Yādavas were a rough shepherd-tribe, with whom *marriage by theft* was still legitimate.

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intimate friendship with Kṛṣṇa. Once when the two friends were conversing in the groves by the Jumnā (where they had veritable orgies with many beautiful women, and in which even Draupadī and Subhadrā participated) the god Agni approached them in the form of a Brahman, and besought them to assist him in burning the Khāṇḍava forest. The fact was that the god had indigestion after eating the numerous offerings at some great sacrifice, and Brahman had told him that he must burn the Khāṇḍava forest if he wished to recover from it: but every time he had attempted to set the forest afire, the forest animals extinguish it again. Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa are to prevent this, and Agni procures heavenly weapons for them for the purpose: for Arjuna the mighty bow Gāṇḍīva with two inexhaustible quivers and a splendid chariot with silvery-white horses and recognisable from afar by a monkey banner; and for Kṛṣṇa a sure discus and an irresistible club. With these weapons they support Agni and kill all creatures which attempt to escape from the burning forest. They spare only the demon Maya, who is a great artist among the heavenly host.[1])

In thankfulness at the sparing of his life, the demon Maya builds for Yudhiṣṭhira a marvellous palace with all kinds of most ingenious devices. After some time Yudhiṣṭhira, in agreement with Kṛṣṇa, decided to offer the great sacrifice for the consecration of a king (rājasūya). Now only a ruler of the world, a great conqueror, is entitled to offer this sacrifice. But as Jarāsandha, king of Magadha, is the mightiest ruler for the time being, he must be removed. He is killed in a duel with Bhīma. After this, Arjuna, Bhīma, Sahadeva and Nakula go forth on victorious campaigns of conquest in the north, east, south and west respectively, on the strength of which Yudhiṣṭhira becomes possessed of a world-kingdom. The kings' consecration sacrifice may now be offered, and it is celebrated with great pomp. Numerous kings, including the Kauravas, are invited to it. At the close of the sacrifice, gifts of honour are distributed. At Bhīṣma's suggestion, Kṛṣṇa is to receive the first gift of honour. Śiśupāla, king of Cedi, objects to this. A quarrel ensues, ending in the death of Śiśupāla at the hands of Kṛṣṇa.

When the sacrifice is accomplished, the foreign kings take their departure. Kṛṣṇa, too, returns to his home. Only Duryodhana and his uncle Śakuni stay on in the palace of the Pāṇḍavas for some time. When viewing the superb building Duryodhana meets with all kinds of mishaps.

[1]) Here ends the *Ādiparvan*, or First book of the Mahābhārata.

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He mistakes a crystal surface for a lake, and undresses in order to bathe; on the other hand, he mistakes an artificial pond for dry land, and has an involuntary dip, at which Bhīma and Arjuna burst out laughing loudly.[1] This scorn wounded Duryodhana very deeply, for he was already consumed with envy. It is with feelings of the deepest envy and hate that he takes leave of his cousins and returns to Hastināpura.

The game of dice.

Duryodhana tells his tale of woe to his uncle Śakuni in bitter words. He tells him that he cannot bear the disgrace of seeing his enemies celebrating such triumphs; and that, as he cannot see any way of getting at the Pāṇḍavas, he will put an end to his life by fire, poison or water. Then Śakuni proposes that a game of dice should be arranged, and that Yudhiṣṭhira be invited to it; and Śakuni, who is a skilled player, is to win Yudhiṣṭhira's whole kingdom from him with ease. They repair forthwith to the aged king Dhṛtarāṣṭra, in order to obtain his consent to the plan. At first the king will have nothing to do with it, wishing at all events to consult his wise brother Vidura; but when Duryodhana points out to him that Vidura always takes the part of the Pāṇḍavas, the feeble old king allows them to talk him over, and orders the game of dice to be held. He sends Vidura in person to Yudhiṣṭhira to invite him to the game. Vidura warns the king and does not conceal from him his fear that great mischief may arise from this game of dice. Dhṛtarāṣṭra himself entertains this fear too, but believes that he must let Fate have its course. So Vidura goes to the court of King Yudhiṣṭhira to deliver the invitation to the game of dice. The latter, too, refers to the irresistible power of Fate, and accepts the invitation, though reluctantly. Accompanied by his brothers and Draupadī and the other women of the household, he sets out for Hastināpura. In Dhṛtarāṣṭra's palace the guests are greeted affably by their relatives and are received with great honours.

The next morning Yudhiṣṭhira and his brothers repair to the gaming-hall, where the Kauravas are already assembled. Śakuni challenges

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[1]) Duryodhana's adventures in the marvellous palace of Yudhiṣṭhira remind us of the story of the Queen of Sheba, who mistakes a glass floor in Solomon's palace for a sheet of water, and bares her legs. *Cf.* Qurān, 27, 38; W. Hertz Gesammelte Abhandlungen, (1905), p. 427; *Grierson*, JRAS 1913, 684 f. There is also a similar story in the legend of the wonders of the new Babylon, built by Nebuchadnezzar; s. A. *Wesselofsky* in Archiv für s lavische Philologie II, 310 ff., 321.

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Yudhiṣṭhira to play, the last-named stakes something—and loses. One after the other, he stakes all his treasures, all his wealth of gold and precious stones, his state chariot, his male and female slaves, elephants, chariots and steeds—and he loses every time. Then Vidura turns to Dhṛtarāṣṭra and advises him to sever from his son Duryodhana who bids fair to bring on the ruin of the entire family, and to forbid the continuation of the game. Duryodhana now begins to inveigh most bitterly against Vidura, calling him a traitor, a viper which the Kauravas have nourished in their bosom, for he never speaks but in the interests of their enemies. Vidura turns in vain to Dhṛtarāṣṭra. Śakuni scornfully asks Yudhiṣṭhira whether he has anything more to stake. Yudhiṣṭhira is now possessed by the uncontrollable passion for gambling, and stakes all his possessions, his oxen and all his cattle, his city, his land and the whole of his kingdom—and all is lost. He stakes even the princes, and then the brothers Nakula and Sahadeva, and loses them. Incited by Śakuni, he is even led away to stake Arjuna and Bhīma, and he loses even these. Finally he stakes *himself*, and Śakuni again wins. Śakuni remarks with scorn that Yudhiṣṭhira has not done wisely in staking himself, since he still possesses a treasure which can be gambled away, namely Draupadī, the daughter of the Pañcāla king. And to the horror of all the aged people present,[1] of Bhīṣma, Droṇa, Kṛpa and Vidura, Yudhiṣṭhira announces that he will stake beautiful Draupadī. The dice are cast amid universal excitement, and Śakuni gains yet another victory.

Laughing, Duryodhana asks Vidura to bring Draupadī along, so that she may sweep the rooms and take her place among the maidservants. Vidura admonishes him, and warns him that his behaviour will only serve to bring about the downfall of the Kauravas; he says that, as a matter of fact, Draupadī has not become a slave at all, for Yudhiṣṭhira only staked her when he was no longer master of himself. Then Duryodhana sends a sūta as a messenger to Draupadī, to fetch her. The latter sends the messenger back to ask whether Yudhiṣṭhira gambled *himself* or *her* away first. Duryodhana sends the reply that she was to come to the gaming-hall and ask this question herself. As she refuses, and sends the messenger back each time without fulfilling his task, Duryodhana calls on his brother Duśśāsana to go and fetch her by force.

[1] It is very noteworthy that these impartial and well-disposed men accept so calmly the fact that Yudhiṣṭhira has gambled away *his brothers and himself*, while it appears to them monstrous that he should stake their common *wife*.

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Duśśāsana repairs to the women's apartments, and soon drags the struggling Draupadī into the assembly by the hair; she is unwell and therefore clad only in scanty garments. She laments bitterly that no one takes her part, not even Bhīṣma and Droṇa, and she casts a despairing glance at the Pāṇḍavas. Now the loss of their possessions and of their kingdom does not pain them so deeply as this glance of Draupadī's, filled with shame and anger. Then Bhīma can restrain himself no longer, he reproaches Yudhiṣṭhira violently for having staked Draupadī, and is about to lay hands on him.[1]) But Arjuna admonishes him: Yudhiṣṭhira must always be recognised and respected as the eldest. Now Vikarṇa, one of Duryodhana's youngest brothers, calls on those assembled to reply to Draupadī's question whether she has been gambled away by right. As they are all silent, he himself answers the question *in the negative*. Karṇa, however, retorts that the Kauravas have won *everything*, and that therefore the wife of the Pāṇḍavas also belongs to them. He adds that the Pāṇḍavas, and Draupadī too, should be stripped of their very clothes, as the Kauravas have won their clothes from them. The Pāṇḍavas take off their upper garments, while Duśśāsana, at a sign from Karṇa, proceeds to tear Draupadī's garment from her. She, however, prays to Kṛṣṇa, the incarnation of the god Viṣṇu, and by his help she remains clothed, however many times Duśśāsana seizes her draperies.[2]) But Bhīma now pronounces the terrible oath:

"Give heed to my oath, ye warriors of the whole world, an oath such as has never before been uttered by men, and such as will never again be uttered by a man. May I never attain to the resting-place of my ancestors if I do not fulfil the words which I have spoken—if I do not tear open the breast of this evil, foolish outcast of the Bhāratas in the fight, and drink his blood!"

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[1]) Bhīma says he will burn both of Yudhiṣṭhira's arms, and asks Sahadeva to bring fire for this purpose (II, 68, 6; 10). J. J. *Meyer* ("Das Weib im altindischen Epos," p. 226) translates differently, interpreting the passage as meaning that Bhīma wishes to burn his own hands, and Meyer calls this "a typically Indian method of revenge and branding," similar to the "prāyopaveśa" (threat of suicide by hunger, in order to force a right). Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary (te tava pura iti śeṣaḥ) would confirm this interpretation. Even if the usual translation be accepted, Bhīma's threat sounds very strange.

[2]) Not only the Southern Indian manuscripts, but also the play "Dūtavākya" ascribed to Bhāsa, make it seem probable that this miracle of the garments is a very late interpolation; s. *Winternitz* in Festschrift Kuhn, pp. 299 ff. *Oldenberg* ("Das Mahabharata," pp. 45 ff.) makes an attempt to distinguish generally between the earlier and later parts in the present narrative of the gambling scene.

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Horror seizes all the warriors and heroes at these fearful words. In vain does Vidura remind those present of their *duty* to decide the legal question whether Draupadī has been won by the Kauravas or not. In vain does Draupadī weep and lament, and implore her relatives to answer her question. Even the pious Bhīṣma, learned in the law, can say no more than that justice is a ticklish matter, and that might is right in this world. As Yudhiṣṭhira is a model of justice, he himself should decide. Duryodhana, too, scornfully asks Yudiṣṭhira to give his opinion whether he considers Draupadī has been won or not. And as Yudhiṣṭhira sits there absent-minded, and makes no reply, Duryodhana goes so far as to offer the most unheard-of insult to the Pāṇḍavas: he bares his left thigh before Draupadī's very eyes. Then Bhīma utters the terrible words: "May Bhīma never be united to his fathers, if I do not crush this thigh of yours in the fight!"

Whilst still further speeches are being exchanged, the loud cry of a jackal and other sounds of ill omen are heard in Dhṛtarāṣṭra's house. Terrified by these, the old king Dhṛtarāṣṭra at last feels himself called upon to intervene. He blames Duryodhana in violent words. Then he pacifies Draupadī, and tells her to wish for something. She wishes for the freedom of her husband Yudhiṣṭhira. He grants her a second wish, and she chooses the liberation of the four remaining Pāṇḍavas. However, when he asks her to wish a third time, she says that she has now nothing more to wish for, as the Pāṇḍavas themselves will win all things needful, as soon as they are set free. Karṇa now begins to mock, saying that Draupadī is the boat in which the Pāṇḍavas have saved themselves from danger. Bhīma is consumed by rage, and is in doubt whether he should not slay the Kauravas on the spot. But Arjuna calms him, and Yudhiṣṭhiar forbids any fighting. King Dhṛtarāṣṭra, however, returns Yudhiṣṭhira his kingdom and exhorts him to let bygones be bygones. Thus they return to Indraprastha in a calmer frame of mind.

The second game of dice and the banishment of the Pāṇḍavas.

No sooner have the Pāṇḍavas departed, however, than Duryodhana, Duśśāsana and Śakuni again besiege the old king, pointing out to him the danger which threatens from the Pāṇḍavas who have now been so grievously insulted, and persuade him to give his consent to a second game of dice This time the loser is to go into banishment into the forest for twelve years, sojourn somewhere among people in the thirteenth year incognito, and is only to be allowed to return in the fourteenth year. Should he be recognised

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in the thirteenth year, however, he would have to go into banishment for another twelve years. In vain does Gāndhārī, the king's consort, strive to persuade him to sever himself from his wicked son Duryodhana, in order that he may not be guilty of causing the downfall of all the Kauravas. But he is deluded, and gives his consent; and a messenger is sent out, who catches up with the Pāṇḍavas, who are still on their homeward journey. Bewildered by fate, Yudhiṣṭhira accepts the invitation to the second game of dice. They all return, the game begins afresh, and he again loses. Now they must all go into banishment for thirteen years.

Clad in antelope-skins, the Pāṇḍavas prepare to go into the forest. Duryodhana and Duśśāsana rejoice in their triumph, and joke about them, but Bhīma hurls terrible threats at them. As Duryodhana pierces their hearts with sharp words, he says, even so will he pierce Duryodhana's heart in the fight. And once again he swears to drink the blood of Duśśāsana. Arjuna promises to slay Karṇa, Sahadeva, Śakuni and Nakula, the remaining sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra. But Yudhiṣṭhira takes leave of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Bhīṣma and the other Kauravas, and most affectionately of all, of wise, good Vidura. Kuntī, the mother of the Pāṇḍavas, stays behind in Vidura's house, but Draupadī follows her husbands into banishment, and her farewell from her mother-in-law is touching indeed. With tearful lamentations Kuntī sees her children go forth into banishment, but, with the exception of the gentle Yudhiṣṭhira, all of them swear to have their bloody revenge on the Kauravas in the fourteenth year. Omens of evil portent, and the prophetic words of the heavenly messenger Nārada announce to King Dhṛtarāṣṭra the downfall of his race, and he feels bitter remorse for having given his consent to the game of dice and the banishment.[1]

The twelve years' forest life of the Pāṇḍavas.[2]

Numerous citizens of Hastināpura accompany the Pāṇḍavas into the forest, and it cost Yudhiṣṭhira some trouble to persuade them to return home. Several Brahmins stayed with him for some considerable time. In order to be able to feed them, he practised asceticism, and prayed to the sun-god, whereupon he received from the latter a copper cooking-pot which filled itself at will. He fed the Brahmins with this,

[1]) Here ends the *Sabhāparvan*, the second book.

[2]) This forms the contents of the extensive third book, called *Vanaparvan* or "forest section."

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and then journeyed northward to the Kāmyaka forest. Bhīma soon slew the man-eating rākṣasa Kirmīra, a brother of Baka and a friend of Hiḍimba, who haunted this forest.

In the meantime Dhṛtarāṣṭra had a consultation with Vidura. The latter advises the king to recall the Pāṇḍavas from banishment and to effect a reconciliation with them. Dhṛtarāṣṭra is angry that Vidura always takes the part of the Pāṇḍavas, and ungraciously dismisses him with words intimating that he may go where he likes. Vidura goes to the Pāṇḍavas in the Kāmyaka forest, and tells them what has happened. The aged king, however, soon repents of his violence, and sends the charioteer Sañjaya to have his brother Vidura recalled. Vidura soon returns accordingly, and there is a complete reconciliation between the two brothers.

When the friends and relatives of the Pāṇḍavas heard of their banishment, they went to them in the forest, to visit them. One of the first was, of course, Kṛṣṇa. At the time of the game of dice, he had been entangled in a war, and thus had been unable to stand by his friends. Had he been with them, he would certainly have prevented the game. When, however, Kṛṣṇa suggests making war on Duryodhana and reinstating Yudhiṣṭhira in power, Yudhiṣṭhira will not fall in with it, though Draupadī complains in bitter terms of the disgrace which the Kauravas have brought upon her. Later on, too, Draupadī and Bhīma repeatedly urge Yudhiṣṭhira to pull himself together and regain his throne by force. Yudhiṣṭhira declares each time that he must remain true to his promise and spend twelve years in the forest. Bhīma reproaches him with unmanliness, telling him that the first duty of a warrior is to fight, that thirteen months have now elapsed, which Yudhiṣṭhira may count as thirteen years, or that he can make up for the breaking of the promise by performing an expiatory sacrifice. Thereupon Yudhiṣṭhira also objects that Duryodhana has mighty and unconquerable allies in Bhīṣma, Droṇa, Kṛpa and Karṇa. At this moment the old ṛṣi Vyāsa appears once again and gives Yudhiṣṭhira a charm by the help of which Arjuna is to obtain heavenly weapons from the gods, which will assist them in gaining a victory over the Kauravas. Soon afterwards, therefore, Yudhiṣṭhira sends Arjuna to Indra to obtain the heavenly weapons. Arjuna wanders to the Himālayas, where he meets Indra in the form of an ascetic. The latter sends him to Śiva, who must first give his consent for the weapons to be delivered to Arjuna. Then Arjuna practises severe asceticism, whereupon Śiva appears to him in the form of a Kirāta, a wild hill-man. Arjuna gets involved in a fierce fight with the supposed Kirāta, until the latter reveals

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himself as the god Śiva and presents him with irresistible weapons. The world-protectors Yama, Varuṇa and Kubera soon also appear, and lend him their weapons, but Mātali, Indra's charioteer, conducts him to Indra's celestial city, where he receives still more weapons. He lives very happily in Indra's heaven for five years, and at Indra's command, a gandharva gives him lessons in singing and dancing.

Meanwhile the other Pāṇḍavas live in the forest by the chase, obtaining scanty nourishment from wild animals, roots and fruits. As Arjuna is so long absent, they are most anxious about him. Though the ṛṣi Lomaśa, who has just been on a visit to Indra's heaven, comes to them and consoles them by telling them that Arjuna is dwelling safely with Indra, they are unsatisfied, and prepare to go and seek Arjuna. They wander forth into the Gandhamādana hills, where they are very much terrified by a fearful storm and awful thunder and lightning. Draupadī faints from fear and fatigue. Then Bhīma thinks of his son Ghaṭotkaca, whom he had begotten with the giantess Hiḍimbā; and this rākṣasa appears immediately and takes Draupadī on his back; he also fetches other rākṣasas, who carry the Pāṇḍavas on their backs, and thus all of them are carried to a hermitage on the Ganges near the divine mountain Kailāsa, where they rest under a mighty Badarī tree.

As Draupadī expresses a longing for the heavenly lotus flowers, Bhīma scours the mountain wilderness, to the terror of the wild beasts, for he slays one wild elephant with another one, and one lion with another lion, or simply kills them with a blow of his fist. Here he also encounters *Hanumat*, the ape king, who obstructs his path and warns him not to proceed further, where only immortals may tread. Bhīma, however, tells him who he is, and orders him out of his path. The ape does not move, pretends to be ill, and says that Bhīma need only push his tail aside, in order to be able to pass by. In vain does Bhīma now endeavour to raise the ape's tail. The latter now smilingly discloses that he is Hanumat, "so very well known from the Rāmāyaṇa."[1] Bhīma now rejoices exceedingly at seeing his brother, for both of them are sons of the wind god, and he engages in a conversation with him. Finally Hanumat shows Bhīma the way to Kubera's garden, but warns him not to pluck flowers there, whereupon they take affectionate leave of each other. Bhīma soon reaches the lotus lake and garden of Kubera, where

[1]) Thus Bhīma speaks of him, Mahābh., III. 147, 11 Hanumat here gives a short extract from the Rāmāyaṇa.

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the divine lotuses grow. He is confronted with rākṣasas who forbid him to pluck flowers, and inform him that, at any rate, he must first obtain Kubera's permission. Bhīma retorts that a warrior does not ask permission, but takes what he wants. He fights with the rākṣasas, puts them to flight, and plucks the flowers

After various adventures and fights with rākṣasas, the fifth year approaches, when Arjuna is to return from heaven. The brothers repair to the "white mountain" (the heavenly mountain of Kailāsa) to meet him. Bhīma again engages in a fight with yakṣas and rākṣasas, the guardians of Kubera's garden, and slays many of their number, among others Maṇimat, who had once spat on the head of the holy ṛṣi Agastya, wherefore Kubera had been cursed by the ṛṣi. Bhīma's deed now released Kubera from the curse, and for this reason he is by no means enraged at the bloodshed caused among the demons; on the contrary, he bids Bhīma and his brothers a very cordial welcome.

On the glorious mountain they at last meet Arjuna again, who comes careering along in Indra's chariot driven by Mātali. After the most cordial of greetings, Arjuna tells them of all his experiences and adventures, and especially how he has fought victoricusly with the Nivātakavaca demons who dwell by the sea, and with the inhabitants of Hiraṇyapura, the city which flies through the air.

The Pāṇḍavas now live happily in the pleasure groves of Kubera, and four years pass, as if they had been a single night. However, in order not to be diverted from their earthly cares and fights, they resolve to quit the heavenly regions. Having descended Kailāsa, they repair to the hills and forests on the bank of the Jumnā.

Here Bhīma had an unpleasant adventure, and his life was saved by Yudhiṣṭhira. Roaming in the woods, Bhīma espies an immense snake which hurls itself at him furiously, and clings around him so tightly that he cannot extricate himself. His brother Yudhiṣṭhira finds him in this predicament. Now the snake is none other than the famous old king *Nahuṣa*, who had been cast out from heaven as the result of a curse of Agastya, and transformed into a serpent. He is not to be released from this curse until he can find somebody who can answer all the questions which he puts. Yudhiṣṭhira gives satisfactory answers to all his philosophical questions, whereupon he sets Bhīma free, and himself released from the condition of a snake, Nahuṣa returns to heaven.

Soon after this, they return to the Kāmyaka forest. Here they are again visited by Kṛṣṇa. He brings Draupadī the desired news of her children, and exhorts Yudhiṣṭhira to make sure of allies for the fight against

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the Kauravas, and to make other preparations for the war. As usual, however, Yudhiṣṭhira assures him that he must remain faithful to his promise, and that he does not wish to think of war until the thirteenth year shall have elapsed.

Pious Brahmins, too, often visit the Pāṇḍavas in the forest. One of these Brahmins goes straight from the Pāṇḍavas to the court of King Dhṛtarāṣṭra, where he relates how much the Pāṇḍavas, and especially Draupadī, have to suffer in their struggle with the elements in the wilderness. Whilst the old king laments at this, and is overcome with remorse, his son Duryodhana is much rejoiced, and, incited by Śakuni and Karṇa, he decided to visit the Pāṇḍavas in the forest, so as to gloat over their distress. As a pretext they represent to Dhṛtarāṣṭra that they must visit the cattle-pens situated in the vicinity of the forest, to inspect the herds, count the heads of cattle and mark the young calves. They ride forth in a great cavalcade, inspect the cattle, and give themselves up to the pleasures of the chase. However, when they wish to proceed in the neighbourhood of the spot where the Pāṇḍavas are staying, they are held up by gandharvas. A fight ensues, and Duryodhana is ignominiously taken prisoner by the king of the gandharvas. The Kauravas hasten to the Pāṇḍavas for aid, which the noble Yudhiṣṭhira does not refuse. After a hard fight, Duryodhana is liberated by the Pāṇḍavas from the captivity of the gandharva king. Filled with shame and pain at this humiliation, Duryodhana is about to end his life, and it is only with some difficulty that his friends succeed in diverting him from his suicidal frame of mind.

Karṇa has now a new plan to annoy the Pāṇḍavas. He sallies forth on a great campaign of conquest in all the four regions of the earth, to win the rule over the whole earth for Duryodhana, so that he too may be able to offer a great king's sacrifice. After the campaign of conquest has been brought to a successful conclusion, a great sacrifice is indeed performed; but as the Rājasūya sacrifice can only be performed once in one and the same family, and as Yudhiṣṭhira has already offered a sacrifice of this kind, it has to be a different sacrifice, called the *Vaiṣṇava*, which is supposed to have been offered only by the god Viṣṇu himself. In order to vex the Pāṇḍavas, Duryodhana invites them to this great sacrificial feast. Yudhiṣṭhira declines politely, while Bhīma sends a message that the Pāṇḍavas will pour out the sacrificial ghee of their anger over the Kauravas after the thirteenth year, in the sacrifice of battle.

During the last year of their sojourn in the forest, the Pāṇḍavas were threatened by a great loss. One day when all the brothers were out hunting, their wife Draupadī, who had stayed behind alone, was stolen

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away by *Jayadratha*, king of the Sindhus, who passed by. The Pāṇḍavas immediately pursue him, and he is overcome, and chastised and humiliated by Arjuna and Bhīma. Bhīma would fain have killed him, but as he is Dhṛtarāṣṭra's son-in-law, Yudhiṣṭhira grants him his life.

The Pāṇḍavas are very sorrowful about the rape of Draupadī. Though Jayadratha has been punished, they nevertheless feel humiliated. Yudhiṣṭhira, especially, is often in a sad mood, reproaches himself for the misfortune of which he is the cause, and laments above all the sad fate of Draupadī. Now Yudhiṣṭhira fears none of the Kauravas so greatly as Karṇa, who had come into the world with a natural coat-of-mail and ear-rings which make him invulnerable. In order to release Yudhiṣṭhira from his fear of Karṇa, Indra appears before Karṇa in the form of a Brahmin, and begs him for the coat-of-mail and the ear-rings. Karṇa, who can refuse nothing to a Brahmin, gives him the coat-of-mail and the ear-rings, which he cuts from his body without blinking an eye-lash. By way of a return gift, Indra presents him with a never-failing spear, which, however, he is only to use against one enemy and in the case of extreme emergency.

Distressed by the rape of Draupadī, the Pāṇḍavas left the Kāmyaka forest and went to Dvaitavana. There they met with their last forest adventure. An antelope which is roaming through the forest happens to catch a Brahmin's fire-sticks with her antlers, and hurries away. The Brahmin, who requires the sticks for the sacrifice, requests the Pāṇḍavas to get them for him, and they pursue the animal in full chase, but cannot come up with it, and finally the animal vanishes from sight. They lament their bad luck. Wearied by the bootless chase and tortured by thirst, they look around for water. Nakula climbs a tree, and sees a lake in the distance. At the request of Yudhiṣṭhira, he goes thither, to fetch water in the quivers. He comes to a pretty lake, with beautiful, clear water, surrounded by cranes. However, just as he is about to drink, an invisible spirit (yakṣa) speaks from the air: "Do no violence, O friend, this is my property; first answer my questions, then drink and take water!" But Nakula gives no heed to these words, drinks and sinks lifeless to the ground. As he is so long away, Sahadeva goes to seek him, but he meets with the same fate. Yudhiṣṭhira now sends Arjuna, who fares no better, and finally Bhīma, who vainly endeavours to fight with the invisible yakṣa. He, too, drinks from the lake, and falls lifeless to the ground. Boding no good, Yudhiṣṭhira at last goes himself, to see what has become of his brothers. Horror-stricken, he sees them all lying dead, and begins to lament and

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complain. Now when he approaches the lake, he too hears the voice of the yakṣa warning him not to drink before he has answered his questions. Yudhiṣṭhira declares himself willing to answer the questions, and there ensues a most interesting play of questions and answers, in which, with the exception of a few riddles in the style of the ancient Vedic brahmodyas,[1] almost the whole of Indian ethics is recited. Only a few examples will be quoted here:

The yakṣa: "What is weightier than the earth? What is higher than the sky? What is swifter than the wind? What is more numerous than grass?"

Yudhiṣṭhira: "A mother is weightier than the earth. The father is higher than the sky. The spirit is swifter than the wind. Thoughts are more numerous than grass."

The yakṣa: "Who is the friend of the traveller? Who is the friend of him who remains at home? Who is the friend of the sick? Who is the friend of the dying?"

Yudhiṣṭhira: "A caravan is the friend of the traveller. The wife is the friend of him who remains at home. The doctor is the friend of the sick. Charity is the friend of the dying."

The yakṣa: "Who is the foe who is difficult to conquer and which is the never-ending disease? Which man is considered good, and which bad?"

Yudhiṣṭhira: "Anger is the foe that is difficult to conquer. Greed is the never-ending disease. He who is friendly towards all creatures is considered good; he who knows no mercy, is considered bad."

The yakṣa: "What, O king, is called delusion, and what is pride? What do we mean by idleness, and what is sorrow?"

Yudhiṣṭhira: "To be deluded with regard to Dharma,[2] is delusion; to be proud of oneself is pride. Inactivity with regard to Dharma is idleness, and ignorance is true sorrow."

The yakṣa: "What do the ṛṣis call constancy, and what is known as bravery? What is the best bath? What is charity?"

Yudhiṣṭhira: "Steadfastness in the fulfilment of one's duty is constancy; bravery is the control of the senses. The best bath is getting rid

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[1]) *Cf.* above pp. 183 f. The riddle there quoted from the Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā XXIII, 45 f. here recurs (Mahābh. III, 313, 65 f.).

[2]) There is no word in any European language which is quite synonymous with the Sanskrit word *dharma*. *Dharma* signifies "the norm of action," and includes the conceptions "law *and* custom, morality *and* religion, duty *and* virtue." It is therefore impossible to translate the word in the same way in each case. *Cf.* above p. 326.

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of uncleanliness of thought; but charity consists of affording protection to all creatures."

The yakṣa: "Tell me, O king, of what does Brahman-hood really consist, of descent, of the way of life, of the reading of the Veda, or of erudition?"

Yudhiṣṭhira: "Listen, dear Yakṣa! Brahman-hood is based neither on descent, on the reading of the Veda, nor on erudition, but solely on a good life; of this there can be no doubt. The Brahmin must pay more attention to the ordering of his life than to all else; so long as his good life is unimpaired, he himself is unimpaired; if his good life is ruined, he himself is ruined. Those who learn and teach and meditate on the sciences, are fools if they humour the passions. The wise man is he who does his duty. A scoundrel, though he know all the four Vedas, is worse than a Śūdra. He who but offers the fire-sacrifice, but curbs his senses, may count as a Brahmin."[1]

The yakṣa is so pleased with Yudhiṣṭhira's answers that he is willing to call one of his brothers back to life. Yudhiṣṭhira is to choose which of his four brothers shall be brought back to life. He chooses Nakula, on the grounds that his father had two wives, and that it is only right and fair that a son of the second wife, Mādrī, be alive too. This answer pleases the yakṣa so immensely that he calls all the brothers to life again. Now in reality the yakṣa is none other than the god Dharma himself, the "father"[2] of Yudhiṣṭhira, the god of right and morality. Before he vanishes, he grants the Pāṇḍavas the additional favour that they may remain unrecognised in the *thirteenth* year; for the twelve years of their life in the forest are now over, and, in accordance with the arrangement, they must still spend the thirteenth year unrecognised among people.

The Pāṇḍavas at the court of King Virāṭa.[3]

The Pāṇḍavas decide to go to the court of Virāṭa, king of the Matsyas, and to stay there under false names in appropriate disguise.

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[1]) III, 313. Similar definitions of the "brahman" are frequent in Buddhistic texts, *cf.* for instance, Vinayapiṭaka, Mahāvagga I, 2, 2 f. Suttanipāta, Vāsetthasutta and Milindapañha IV, 5, 26. A version of this story of Yudhiṣṭhira and the Yakṣa is found in the Jaina Hemavijaya's "Kathāratnākara," No. 21 (German translation by J. *Hertel*, Vol. I, pp. 58 ff.).

[2]) See above p. 330.

[3]) The events at the court of Virāṭa form the contents of the *fourth* book, called *Virāṭaparvan*.

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They conceal their weapons near the cemetery outside the city on a tree, upon which they hang a corpse so that no one shall venture near; they tell the herdsmen who watch them do this, that it is their mother who is one hundred and eighty years old, and whom they are "burying" in this way according to the custom of their ancestors. First of all Yudhiṣṭhira goes to Virāṭa, gives himself out as an excellent dice-player, and is appointed as the king's companion and counsellor. The others then come in their turn. Bhīma takes service as a cook. Arjuna, taking the feminine name Bṛhannalā, gives himself out as an eunuch, and is appointed as dancing-master to the king's daughter Uttarā. Nakula is engaged as a horse-tamer, Sahadeva as an overseer of cattle, whilst Draupadī is engaged by the queen as her chambermaid.

The Pāṇḍavas soon gain great popularity at Virāṭa's court, especially as Bhīma has distinguished himself by killing the world-famous athlete Jīmūta at a wrestling match organised in honour of the god Brahman.

Draupadī, on the other hand, had an unpleasant adventure. Kīcaka, a brother-in-law of the king and commander of his army falls in love with the beautiful chambermaid, and accosts her. Now Draupadī, at the time of her appointment by the queen, had given out that she was the wife of five gandharvas who would protect her in case of need. By promising him a rendezvous, Draupadī entices her pursuer at dead of night into the dancing hall, where Bhīma is on the watch for him and strangles him after a mighty struggle. Thereupon Draupadī summons the watchmen and says that one of her gandharvas has killed Kīcaka, because he had persecuted her with love-making. Kīcaka's mighty relatives wish to burn the chambermaid on the funeral pyre with the corpse; but Bhīma again comes to the rescue, and in his guise of a gandharva, kills 105 sūtas (for Kīcaka is a sūta) and releases Draupadī. Then the citizens of the town demand the dismissal of the chambermaid who is so dangerous by reason of her gandharvas, and the king gives a command accordingly. However, Draupadī begs the queen to let her remain for another thirteen days, after which time the gandharvas would fetch her away. (For all but thirteen days of the thirteenth year has expired.)

In vain does Duryodhana send out spies to find out the whereabouts of the Pāṇḍavas. The spies only bring back the news that Kīcaka has been killed by gandharvas, which is quite agreeable to Duryodhana, as the Matsyas are a hostile nation. Moreover Kīcaka had often oppressed Suśarman, the king of the Trigartas. Now the Trigartas arrange with the Kauravas to organise a joint raid on the land of the Matsyas. Just as the thirteenth year of banishment expires, there is news that the Trigartas

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have invaded the country and have stolen King Virāṭa's cattle. Virāṭa prepares for the fight, provides Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīma, Nakula and Sahadeva with weapons too, and sallies forth into the battle-field against the Trigartas. A mighty battle ensues. Virāṭa is taken prisoner, but is liberated immediately by Bhīma, and finally the Trigartas are defeated, thanks to the assistance of the Pāṇḍavas, who, nevertheless, remain unrecognised.

While Virāṭa is fighting against the Trigartas, the Kauravas invade the land of the Matsyas at another point, and steal much cattle. The cowherds approach the young prince *Uttara*, who has stayed behind in the city, and request him to go forth to battle against the Kauravas. Now he has no charioteer. Then Draupadī, through the agency of the princess, persuades him to take Arjuna as his charioteer. He receives a suit of armour, and they go forth to battle. When Uttara sees the mighty hosts of the Kauravas, he is seized with fear, leaps from the chariot and is about to flee; but Arjuna catches him up, drags him back on to the chariot by the hair, and exhorts him to courage. Then they drive to the tree on which the weapons are concealed, and Arjuna fetches his weapons. When he reveals himself to Uttara as the mighty hero Arjuna, the former takes courage again. Uttara now becomes Arjuna's charioteer. A mighty battle is now fought, in which Arjuna fights with Duryodhana, Karṇa, Bhīṣma and the other heroes of the Kauravas, and of course gains a glorious victory. Though the Kauravas harboured a suspicion that it was Arjuna who was fighting against them, they did not recognise him.

After he has won the victory, Arjuna takes the weapons back to the tree, and returns to the city as the dancing-master Bṛhannalā and Uttara's charioteer, having impressed upon Uttara that he must not betray him. In the meantime Virāṭa and the Pāṇḍavas have returned after defeating the Trigartas. The king is very anxious when he hears that his son has gone forth against the Kauravas, but the news of the victory soon reaches him. Uttara is received in triumph. He relates that it is not he who has defeated the Kauravas, but that a god in the form of a beautiful youth has aided him. Three days later the thirteenth year comes to an end. To the astonishment of the king, the five Pāṇḍavas appear in their true form in the hall, and disclose their identity. Virāṭa rejoices greatly, and immediately offers Arjuna his daughter as a wife. Arjuna accepts her, not for himself, but for his son *Abhimanyu*, for by making her his daughter-in-law, he would be testifying to the fact that, though he had lived in such close association with her for a whole year, she had remained

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pure. The wedding of Abhimanyu and Uttarā is soon celebrated with great pomp, and numerous kings amongst whom are, of course, Drupada and Kṛṣṇa, arrive with costly presents.

Peace negotiations and preparations for war.[1])

At this wedding feast the Pāṇḍavas and their friends consult together as to what attitude should be taken up with regard to the Kauravas. Kṛṣṇa proposes that an ambassador be sent to Duryodhana to request him to give back to the Pāṇḍavas their half kingdom. After a long consultation it is then accordingly decided to send the old family priest of King Drupada as an ambassador to the Kauravas.

But even before the beginning of the negotiations, the Pāṇḍavas as well as the Kauravas are seeking to enlist as many allies as possible on their respective sides; and both parties are simultaneously endeavouring to win over several mighty kings. Thus Duryodhana seeks to win Kṛṣṇa himself over to his side, whom we have hitherto known only as the intimate friend of the Pāṇḍavas. As chance will have it, Duryodhana comes to Kṛṣṇa while the latter is asleep, and Arjuna arrives immediately after him. When Kṛṣṇa awakens, his eyes first light on Arjuna. Now as Duryodhana had come first, but as Arjuna has first been beheld by Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa thinks that he ought not to give either of them an answer containing a refusal; he therefore says that he will assist the one with his advice, whilst he will place an army of herdsmen at the disposal of the other. Duryodhana chooses the latter, Arjuna the former. For this reason Kṛṣṇa promises that he will not actually participate in the fight, but will only stand by the Pāṇḍavas as a counsellor, as Arjuna's charioteer. Śalya, too, king of the Madras, who, accompanied by a host of warriors, is already on his way to Yudhiṣṭhira in order to join his side, is invited by Duryodhana to fight on the side of the Kauravas. Śalya agrees to do so, but goes to Yudhiṣṭhira nevertheless. The last named, who is otherwise always represented as a model of virtue, agrees upon disgraceful treachery with Śalya. Śalya is to fight on the side of the Kauravas, but as Karṇa's charioteer, he is to drive the chariot badly and thus cause Karṇa's fall, should there be single combat between him and Arjuna.

While both sides are thus already thinking of war, Drupada's venerable priest comes to King Dhṛtarāṣṭra as an ambassador, and puts the

[1]) These form the contents of the *fifth* book (*Udyogaparvan*).

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peace terms of the Pāṇḍavas before him. The king receives him in a very worthy manner, but gives him no definite answer, saying that he himself will send his charioteer Sañjaya as an ambassador to Yudhiṣṭhira. He does this after a few days; but Sañjaya's message is merely that Dhṛtarāṣṭra desires peace, and no offer is made to the Pāṇḍavas. Thereupon Yudhiṣṭhira sends back the reply that he must either receive Indraprastha and half of the kingdom back, or the fight shall commence. In order to avoid bloodshed among relatives, he even declares his willingness to accept the peace on condition that Duryodhana will place five villages at his disposal. The Kauravas now confer upon this reply which Sañjaya brings back. Bhīṣma, Droṇa and Vidura vainly strive to persuade Duryodhana to yield and make peace. As Dhṛtarāṣṭra shows himself entirely feeble and powerless, even this conference breaks up without the achievement of any result.

The Pāṇḍavas, too, again debate on the peace, and Kṛṣṇa offers to make another attempt, and to go in person to the Kauravas as a messenger of peace The Pāṇḍavas gratefully accept this offer. Even the defiant Bhīma speaks in favour of the peace in words whose mildness is so astonishing, "as if mountains had grown light and fire cold," that Kṛṣṇa himself is surprised. On the other hand some of the heroes, and more especially Draupadī, the wife of heroes, are impatient of any negotiations for peace, and would much prefer to declare war at once; but Yudhiṣṭhira insists upon the message of peace. In tender words he remembers their mother Kuntī, and he begs Kṛṣṇa to visit her, as she is living with Vidura at the court of the Kauravas, and to ask after her welfare.

Kṛṣṇa repairs to the Kauravas, taking benedictions on his way. He is received splendidly by Dhṛtarāṣṭra, but only accepts Vidura's hospitality. He immediately visits Kuntī and gives her Yudhiṣṭhira's greetings. The mother of heroes laments the separation from her sons in bitter words, but she is still more pained at the insult offered to Draupadī, and reproaches Yudhiṣṭhīra with weakness. She asks Kṛṣṇa to tell her sons that they should not forget their duty as warriors, and should not hesitate to stake their lives. She says that the moment has now come "for the sake of which a warrior's wife brings children into the world." The next morning Kṛṣṇa goes to the assembly of the Kaurava princes in festive array, and makes a speech as to peace. Dhṛtarāṣṭra announces that he, for his part, desires nothing better than peace, but that he is powerless to do anything against his son Duryodhana. Then Kṛṣṇa turns his peace exhortations to Duryodhana, and Bhīṣma, Droṇa and Vidura also do their utmost to persuade Duryodhana to accept the peace terms. The latter,

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however, announces that he will not cede to the Pāṇḍavas even as much land as will cover the point of a needle. After he has left the assembly in anger, Kṛṣṇa proposes that the well-disposed among the Kauravas should deliver Duryodhana and his associates as prisoners to the Pāṇḍavas. Dhṛtaraṣṭra does not agree to this, but he sends for his wife Gāndhārī, in order that she may endeavour to persuade the obstinate son to make peace. Gāndhārī comes in, and reproaches the aged king violently for having abdicated in favour of his son; but her exhortations to Duryodhana are just as fruitless as those of the others. On the contrary, Duryodhana and his associates hatch a plan to take Kṛṣṇa prisoner, so as to dispose of a powerful foe in this way. The plan, however, does not remain a secret, and Duryodhana is severely admonished by Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Vidura for having planned this violation of the law of embassy. After Bhīṣma and Droṇa, too, have vainly spoken in favour of peace, even this peace embassy of Kṛṣṇa's must be regarded as having failed.

Before Kṛṣṇa departs, he still has a secret interview with Karṇa. This brave hero is generally regarded as the son of a charioteer (sūta). The story goes, however, that in reality he was begotten by Sūrya, the sun-god, and Kuntī, when the latter was as yet a virgin, in a marvellous fashion, so that Kuntī's virginity was not violated. But after she had given birth to Karṇa, she was ashamed, and put the boy out on the river in a little water-tight basket. There he was found by a charioteer, who brought him up. Karṇa is therefore really an elder brother to the Pāṇḍavas. Kṛṣṇa refers to this, and tries to persuade him to seize the throne and to appoint his younger brother Yudhiṣṭhira as his successor, as the Pāṇḍavas would agree to this. Karṇa, however, refuses to listen to such treachery to his friend Duryodhana; and when Kuntī, supported by Sūrya himself, tries in similar fashion to persuade him to go over to the side of the Pāṇḍavas, Karṇa only answers her in hard words: he says that she has never been a good mother to him, and that he does not now want to be her son.

Kṛṣṇa therefore returns to the Pāṇḍavas with his mission unaccomplished, and reports on his vain attempts to establish peace. A wild battle-cry is raised when Kṛṣṇa relates that there was even an attempt to take him prisoner. Both sides now actively prepare for war. The Pāṇḍavas choose Dhṛṣṭadyumna, son of King Drupada, as their field-marshal, and the Kauravas choose Bhīṣma. The ranks for the battle are drawn up and arranged. Bhīṣma enumerates the heroes to Duryodhana as chariot fighters according to their rank; he places Karṇa lower than all the other heroes, therefore offering him deadly insult. Karṇa swears that he will

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not participate in the fight until Bhīṣma has fallen. Then Bhīṣma enumerates the principal heroes of the Pāṇḍavas, and declares that he is willing to fight with all of them, except with *Śikhaṇḍin*. The latter had come into the world as a maiden, the daughter of Drupada, and had only been transformed into a man later, when a yakṣa exchanged sexes with her.[1] Bhīṣma still regards this warrior as a woman, and he will not fight with a woman.

When the preparations for war have been completed, *Ulūka*, the son of a gambler, is sent to the camp of the Pāṇḍavas by the Kauravas with a declaration of war in the form of insulting speeches. He is sent back by the Pāṇḍavas with no less insulting and defiant words. Thereupon the two hosts march to Kurukṣetra.

The great eighteen day's fight.[2]

The two hosts range themselves with their auxiliaries on either side of the great Kuru field. Watchwords and signs are determined, by which friend can be distinguished from foe. Then certain covenants are agreed on among the combatants: only opponents of equal birth and bearing the same kind of arms are to fight each other; chariot-fighters are to fight only chariot-fighters, warriors on elephants only warriors on elephants, riders with riders, and foot-soldiers with foot-soldiers; no one is to fight without first having challenged his opponent to fight; those who have surrendered, or who are hors de combat, also the fugitives, are not to be killed; drivers, beasts of burden, armour-bearers and musicians are also to be spared.

Before the beginning of the battle, the saint Vyāsa appears and bestows on *Sañjaya*, King Dhṛtarāṣṭra's charioteer, the gift of being able to see everything that takes place on the field of battle. He also makes him invulnerable, so that he may be able to report daily to the old, blind king. The descriptions of the battle, which now follow, are put in the mouth of Sañjaya as an eye-witness, and this lends them a most realistic vividness.[3]

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[1]) On this and similar changes of sex in fairy-tale literature *cf.* Th. *Benfey*, "Das Pantschatantra," I, pp. 41 ff..

[2]) The *sixth* book (*Bhīṣmaparvan*) begins here and ends with the fall of the leader Bhīṣma.

[3]) Similarly the Langobardian poets frequently resort to the artifice "of observing the progress of the battle through the eyes of a scout who is set on an eminence, and then

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The venerable *Bhīṣma*, the great-uncle of the Kauravas as well as of the Pāṇḍavas, commands the Kaurava armies during the first ten days of the battle. In fiery speech he exhorts the warriors to fight bravely: "The great gate of heaven stands wide open to-day, O warriors! Enter in by this gate to the world of Indra and of Brahman!...It is not right for a warrior to die at home of a disease; the eternal duty of the warrior is to seek death in the fight."[1] Thus they go forth courageously to battle, and brilliantly adorned with the shining armour and weapons, the two hosts face each other.

Thundering war-cries and loud battle music give the signal for the commencement of the fight. Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas now meet in terrible conflict, without regard for relationship, for the father knows not the son, nor the brother his brother, the uncle knows not his sister's son, nor the friend his friend. The elephants cause dreadful devastation, and there is bloody slaughter. Now it is this, now that hero who is seen engaged in single combat; victory is now with the Pāṇḍavas, now with the Kauravs. But when night falls, the combatants retire, and it is not until the nex morning that the armies are drawn up again in fresh battle array, and the fight begins anew. Bhīṣma and Arjuna encounter each other repeatedly, and both of them fight so bravely that gods and demons watch the conflict in astonishment. But every time that things go badly for the Kauravas, Duryodhana reproaches Bhīṣma for showing too much regard whilst fighting against the Pāṇḍavas; and when the Pāṇḍavas suffer losses, Kṛṣṇa reproaches Arjuna for not shooting direct at Bhīṣma. Many of Duryodhana's brothers have already fallen in the fight. Now Duryodhana again blames Bhīṣma for showing too much mercy to the Pāṇḍavas. He is to defeat the foe, or else let Karṇa take command. Overwhelmed by pain and anger, Bhīṣma promises to fight mercilessly next day against all, with the sole exception of Śikhaṇḍin, who had once been a woman. "Sleep in peace, O son of Gāndhārī," says he (VI, 99, 23), "I shall gain a great victory to-morrow, which shall be spoken of, as long as the world endures." The Pāṇḍavas do, indeed, suffer heavy losses on the ninth day of the battle. Bhīṣma rages in the host of the foe like the god of death, whilst

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reports what he has seen; by this means the artist avoids a tedious description, and has the twofold advantage of being in a position to limit himself to the main incidents, and of thrilling his hearers to a greater degree." (R. *Koegel*, Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur, I, 1, Strassburg 1894, p. 120.)

1) VI, 17, 8 ff.

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Arjuna, who still reveres Bhīṣma as his "grandfather,"[1] shows too much consideration in fighting. When Kṛṣṇa observes this, he rushes himself upon Bhīṣma to kill him, but Arjuna holds him back forcibly, reminding him of his oath not to fight. Put to wild flight by Bhīṣma, the Pāṇḍava warriors return to their camp at nightfall.

The Pāṇḍavas use the night for a council of war. As they know that Bhīṣma will not fight against Śikhaṇḍin, they decide[2] to place the latter in the van the next day; but Arjuna is to be concealed behind Śikhaṇḍin, and direct his arrows against Bhīṣma. It is only unwillingly that Arjuna agrees to this treachery, and he remembers with pain and shame that, as a boy, he had played on Bhīṣma's lap and called him "daddy." Kṛṣṇa, however, succeeds in persuading him that only he can conquer Bhīṣma, and it is only by killing the mighty opponent that he will fulfil his warrior's duty.

Thus dawn breaks on the tenth day of the battle, and Śikhaṇḍin is placed in the van by the Pāṇḍavas, while the Kauravas advance with Bhīṣma at their head. All day long the conflict rages between the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas around Bhīṣma. Thousands and thousands sink to the ground on both sides. At last Śikhaṇḍin, behind whom Arjuna is concealed, succeeds in coming up with Bhīṣma. The latter smilingly awaits Śikhaṇḍin's arrows, without defending himself against him. But however violently the latter aims at Bhīṣma, the arrows do not hurt him. But soon Arjuna, hidden behind Śikhaṇḍin, begins to shower arrow upon arrow on the venerable hero. And Bhīṣma, turning to Duśśāsana who is fighting beside him, says: "*These* arrows, which are completely destroying my life-spirits like messengers of Yama, are not Śikhaṇḍin's arrows; these arrows, which penetrate into my limbs like raging, writhing serpents distended with venom, are not Śikhaṇḍin's arrows, they are shot by *Arjuna*."[3] Once more he pulls himself together, and hurls an arrow at Arjuna,

[1]) The *great-uncle* Bhīṣma is usually called thus by the sons of Pāṇḍu.

[2]) In the old poem it was probably *Kṛṣṇa* who gave this advice. The version given in our present "Mahābhārata" is simply absurd. The sons of Pāṇḍu, we are told, betake themselves at night time to Bhīṣma in the hostile camp, and ask him quite naively how they can best kill him. Bhīṣma *himself* then advises them to place Śikhaṇḍin opposite him, and to let Arjuna fight behind him. So it is narrated at the beginning of Canto VI, 107; in the middle of the same Canto we have the beautiful speeches in which Arjuna, full of tenderness, lets his thoughts dwell on his "grandfather" Bhīṣma, who had rocked him on his knees as a child; and at the end of the same Canto it is the same Arjuna who comes forward with the plan of killing Bhīṣma in so unfair a manner. *Cf.* Ad. *Holtzmann*, "Das Mahābhārata," II, 172 f.

[3]) VI, 119, 63 f.

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which the latter catches and shivers into three pieces. Then he takes his sword and shield to defend himself, but Arjuna smashes his shield into a hundred pieces. Then Yudhiṣṭhira orders his people to attack Bhīṣma, and the Pāṇḍavas rush from all sides on the warrior who is standing alone, until, just before sunset, bleeding from innumerable wounds, he falls headlong from his chariot.[1] And there are so many arrows sticking in his body on all sides that he does not touch the ground in his fall, but rests on a bed of arrows.

Loud is the jubilation among the Pāṇḍavas, but boundless the lamentation in the camp of the Kauravas. It is agreed to call a truce in honour of the fallen hero, who had been so closely related to both the belligerent parties. And Pāṇḍavas as well as Kauravas stand around the dying hero, filled with admiration and sorrow. He greets the warriors, and tries to speak to them. The head of the dying man hangs feebly down. He begs for a cushion. They hasten to bring fine cushions, but he waves them aside smilingly. Then Arjuna takes three arrows from his quiver and supports Bhīṣma's head on them.

Bhīṣma declares contentedly that this is what he wanted, and that this is a fitting bed for a hero. The dying hero exhorts Duryodhana in impressive words to conclude peace: "Let this battle end with my death, O my son," he says. "Make peace with the Pāṇḍavas." But like a man sick unto death who refuses medicine, Duryodhana refuses the wise counsel of Bhīṣma.

The defiant, but noble Karṇa also approaches to pay his respect to the dying hero. With dim eyes, the aged chief embraces him with *one* hand and exhorts him also to make peace with the Pāṇḍavas, the more so as, being the son of Kuntī, he is their brother. But Karṇa declares that he must remain faithful to Duryodhana and do his duty as a warrior in the fight against the Pāṇḍavas. He says that he cannot do otherwise. Reconciled, Bhīṣma gives the brave warrior permission to fight, though it is

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[1]) The foolish tale (VI, 116) in which Bhīṣma explains to Yudhiṣṭhira in the midst of the battle that he is weary of life, whereupon the latter, with cheap courage, exhorts his men to fight against the hero, is just as much in contradiction with this description (VI, 120, 58 ff.) as the childish story (VI, 120, 32 ff.) which tells how Vasus (divine beings) and Ṛṣis appear in the sky and approve of Bhīṣma's determination to die. These are later interpolations, which pursue the two-fold aim of whitewashing the Pāṇḍavas and making Bhīṣma himself into a demi-god. In the old poem Bhīṣma was surely only a mighty hero, whom the Pāṇḍavas brought low in an unchivalrous manner. But the story of VI. 116, is known in the "Dūtaghaṭotkaca" (v. 19), ascribed to Bhāsa.

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truly painful to him that all his efforts towards peace have been in vain.[1]

Now that Bhīṣma has fallen, Karṇa again participates in the battle, and at his suggestion the old teacher Droṇa is consecrated as commander-in-chief.[2] The fight is carried on under his command from the eleventh till the fifteenth day.

On the thirteenth day of the battle there is a sad event for the Pāṇḍavas. The youthful, but valiant son of Arjuna, Abhimanyu, ventures too far into the ranks of the enemy, is separated from his protectors by the Sindhu king Jayadratha, and is killed by Duśśāsana's son. Arjuna swears to take a terrible revenge on the murderer of his son, meaning Jayadratha. So the principal event of the fourteenth day of the battle is the combat between Arjuna and Jayadratha, which drags on all day, and ends in the death of the latter. As Arjuna swore, he is killed before sundown. At the same time Bhīma has been raging in the Kaurava army, killing many of Dhṛtarāṣṭra's sons.

But on this day the fight is not interrupted as usual when the sun goes down. The combatants on both sides are so embittered that they can brook no interval, in spite of the approaching darkness. They fight on, by the light of torches and lamps. Individual heroes perform astounding feats. But Karṇa bears down especially hard on the Pāṇḍavas, and on Kṛṣṇa's advice the rākṣasa Ghaṭotkaca is sent out against Karṇa. The hero wrestles manfully with the giant monster, and the rākṣasa does fearful damage in the Kaurava host, until he is at last killed by Karṇa. But even in his very fall the giant Ghaṭotkaca tears an entire army of the Kauravas to the ground and crushes it. The Pāṇḍavas are very sorrowful

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[1]) In the old poem Bhīṣma surely did not live longer after his downfall than was necessary to address a few words to Duryodhana and Karṇa. Our Mahābhārata relates the curious story that Bhīṣma fell in the sun's southerly course, *i.e.* in the half-year before the winter solstice, but postponed his death until the time of the sun's northerly course (*uttarāyaṇa*) *i.e.* the half-year before the summer solstice. The Upaniṣads teach that the soul, which traverses along the path of the gods to the world of Brahman, must pass the *uttarāyaṇa* (Chānd. Up. V, 10, 1; Bṛh. Up. VI, 2, 15). Out of this the theologians have derived the rule that a saint or yogin, who desires to be united with the Brahman, must die in the *uttarāyaṇa*. (Thus Bhagavad-gītā, VIII, 24.) The philosopher Śaṅkara (on Vedānta-sūtra IV, 2, 20 f.) already speaks of the fact that Bhīṣma had chosen the uttarāyaṇa for his death. At that time therefore, (8th century A.D.) the story of Bhīṣma's death must already have been related as in our present Mahābhārata.

[2]) The battle under the leadership of Droṇa forms the contents of the *seventh* book (*Droṇaparvan*).

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at the death of Bhīma's son Ghaṭotkaca, only Kṛṣṇa rejoices; for the fact is that Karṇa had used the spear given him by Indra, which he had saved up for Arjuna,[1] against the rākṣasa. This was the very thing that Kṛṣṇa had intended.

The fight rages on, until the warriors of both sides are overpowered by sleep. It is only with difficulty that the most conscientious of the warriors keep up. Many of them, weary and drowsy, drop on their elephants, chariots and horses, whilst others, blinded by sleep, reel about and even slay their own friends. Then Arjuna the warrior takes pity, and in a resounding voice gives the combatants permission to devote some time to sleep. The foes, too, joyfully welcome this proposal, and both gods and men bless Arjuna for these words. And in the midst of the field of battle, steeds, elephants and warriors lie down to slumber.

(The following literal prose translation of a few verses can only give a feeble impression of the poetic beauty of the nocturnal scene here described; the style recalls in some places the lyrics of a Kālidāsa.[2])

"Then, overpowered by sleep, all the great chariot-fighters grew silent. And they lay down, some on their steeds' backs, others in the body of their chariots, yet others on the necks of their elephants, and many others stretched themselves on the ground. With their weapons, with clubs, swords, battle-axes and lances, fully armed, they lay down to sleep, some here, others there.....The elephants, lying on the ground breathing heavily, looked like mounds, over which giant snakes hissed by.....And this slumbering host, lying there unconscious, in its deep repose, resembled a wondrous picture painted on the canvas by a skilful artist...Then the sublime moon appeared suddenly in the East with its ruddy beams of light...In the twinkling of an eye the earth was flooded with light, and the deep, unfathomable darkness sped swiftly away... But in the radiant moonlight this host of warriors awoke, as a grove of hundred-leaved day lotus blossoms awakens at the touch of the sun's rays. And as the tide of the ocean arises when the moon shines forth, so this sea of troops awoke at the rising of the constellation of night. But then, O King, the fight for the annihilation of the world began afresh among these people, who longed for the highest region of heaven."[3])

And the bloody strife lasts uninterrupted till the grey dawn. The fifteenth day of the battle is at hand. The sun rises in the East, and the

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[1]) He might only use it once, see above p. 351.

[2]) Even apart from a few verses inserted by a later writer of ornate poetry.

[3]) VII, 185, 37 ff.

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warriors of both armies dismount from their horses, elephants and chariots; gazing upwards towards the sun-god, they perform their morning devotions with folded hands. This interlude only lasts a moment, however, and the battle rages on. Two of the most excellent heroes, Kings Drupada and Virāṭa, fall by Droṇa's hand. The Pāṇḍava heroes try in vain to cut down this knight. An astonishing hand-to-hand fight between Droṇa and Arjuna, teacher and pupil, which even the celestial ones watch with admiration, leads to no result, as the pupil is not inferior to his teacher in any of his feats of arms. It is now again Kṛṣṇa who conceives a devilish trick. At his instigation, Bhīma kills an elephant which happens to answer to the name of Aśvatthāman, and then calls out loudly, approaching Droṇa, that Aśvatthāman, which is also the name of Droṇa's son, has been killed. Droṇa is frightened, but does not yet believe the report. It is only when Yudhiṣṭhira, who is famous for his love of truth, repeats the lie, at the persuasion of Kṛṣṇa, that Droṇa is compelled to believe it. Overcome with sorrow, he casts his weapons aside and stands, lost in deep meditation. This is the moment utilised by Drupada's son Dhṛṣṭadyumna to cut off the head of the eighty-five years old Droṇa. Vainly does Arjuna shout that the venerable teacher must not be slain. Dhṛṣṭadyumna has accomplished the deed, and thrown the commander-in-chief's head in the midst of the Kauravas, who, horror-sticken, take to flight. It is only now that Aśvatthāman hears the news of the death of his father, and he swears bloody vengeance on the Pañcālas and the Pāṇḍavas.

After the fall of Droṇa, *Karṇa* is chosen as commander-in-chief of the Kauravas, but he is in command for only two days.[1] On the sixteenth day of the battle, Bhīma and Aśvatthāman, Arjuna and Karṇa perform marvels of bravery, but there is no decisive result. On the morning of the seventeenth day of the battle, Karṇa demands that Śalya, king of the Madras, be given to him as his charioteer, for only then could he be a match for Arjuna, who had so excellent a charioteer in Kṛṣṇa. At first Śalya is unwilling to render service to a man of lower rank, but he finally consents on condition that he may be allowed to say what he pleases in Karṇa's presence. He then makes full use of this concession. While he is driving Karṇa's chariot, he heaps insult and scorn on the latter. It is true that Karṇa is not outdone by him: he abuses the Madras, Salya's people, in cutting words, and describes them as being false, hypocritical, addicted to drunkenness, immorality and incest. On the other hand Salya

[1] This fight forms the contents of the *eighth* book (*Karṇaparvan*).

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tells Karṇa that the Aṅgas, over whom he rules, sell their wives and children.[1] At length Duryodhana restores the peace between the two, and they go forth to the battle.

While Arjuna seeks to get at Karṇa, Bhīma causes dreadful slaughter among the sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, again killing many of them. With his weighty club he hurls Duśśāsana down from his chariot, springs at him, tears open his breast and drinks his warm life-blood, as he had once sworn.[2] The foes retreat shuddering at this sight. Meanwhile Arjuna and Karṇa have come to close quarters, and a terrible duel is fought, in which even the gods take part: Indra for Arjuna, and Sūrya for Karṇa. Like two wild elephants goring each other with their tusks, the two heroes shower each other with arrows. In vain does Arjuna endeavour to bring Karṇa to earth. Then one wheel of Karṇa's chariot begins to sink into the ground.[3] Karṇa now tries to pull the chariot out, and asks Arjuna to make a break in the combat, in accordance with the rules of warfare. Kṛṣṇa, however, persuades Arjuna to have no regard to this; and Arjuna, generally a model of chivalry, kills Karṇa *treacherously*, while the latter is still busy with his chariot. A light radiates from the body of the fallen hero, and he retains his beauty even in death.

There is great joy in the camp of the Pāṇḍavas, but the Kauravas flee in fear.

It is only with much trouble that Duryodhana succeeds in assembling and inspiriting his troops for further fighting. *Śalya* is the commander-in-chief on the eighteenth day of the battle.[4] Yudhiṣṭhira is selected to undertake single combat with Śalya. After a long and fierce contest, Yudhiṣṭhira slays Śalya at about midday. The Kauravas flee. Only Duryodhana and Śakuni with a small band still offer desperate resistance. Sahadeva kills Śakuni. Arjuna and Bhīma cause fearful carnage. The host of the Kauravas is now entirely annihilated.

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[1]) The whole of the very remarkable section (VIII, 33-45) is extremely interesting from the point of view of ethnology and the history of civilization.

[2]) See above, p. 344.

[3]) Although we already know (see above p. 356) that this happens in, consequence of the treachery of Śalya, the matter is here presented as though this mishap had befallen Karṇa as the result of the curse of a Brahman whom he had offended (VIII, 42, 41 and 90, 81). The entire narrative of the fight between Arjuna and Karṇa (VIII, 86-94) has been touched up to a great extent. *Cf. Oldenberg*, Das Mahabharata, pp. 50 ff., where he says that in this instance nothing is left of the old poem, but that "a new poem was created on the old theme."

[4]) This day of battle forms the contents of the *ninth* book (*Śalyaparvan*).

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Duryodhana flees alone to a pond, where he hides himself. Besides him, there are only three surviving heroes, Kṛtavarman, Kṛpa and Aśvatthāman. The sun has already set. The camp of the Kauravas lies there, empty and forsaken. The Pāṇḍavas seek the fugitive Duryodhana and at length find him. Yudhiṣṭhira challenges him to single combat. Duryodhana says that he is not prepared to fight until the following morning, and that he has fled to the pond from fatigue and not from fear. But Yudhiṣṭhira insists upon the duel being fought on the spot, and he promises him that he shall remain king, even if he kill only one of them. The duel is to be fought between Duryodhana and Bhīma. The fight with clubs is introduced by the usual duel of words. Baladeva, Kṛṣṇa's brother, who had not taken part in the battle, comes from a long distance, in order to be a spectator of the club fight. The gods, too, watch the spectacle in astonishment and admiration. As two bulls butt each other with their horns, so the two heroes rain blows on each other with their clubs. Covered with blood all over they both continue fighting. They lacerate each other with their clubs like two cats which are quarrelling over a piece of meat. They both accomplish marvels of valour, and the issue remains indecisive. Then Kṛṣṇa tells Arjuna that Bhīma will never be able to defeat Duryodhana in fair fight, for though Bhīma is the stronger fighter, Duryodhana is more skilful. But he reminds him of the words of Bhīma, when on the occasion of the insult to Draupadī,[1] the former had sworn to smash Duryodhana's thigh. Then Arjuna slaps his own left thigh, before Bhīma's eyes. Bhīma understands this hint, and whilst his opponent is taking a leap preparatory to striking, Bhīma smashes his thigh, so that he breaks down like a tree uprooted by the storm. But Baladeva, who has been watching the fight, hurls angry words at Bhīma, accusing him of fighting *dishonestly*, for in an honest club fight it is forbidden to strike one's opponent below the navel. His brother Kṛṣṇa has some difficulty in restraining him from chastising Bhīma; but in vain does Kṛṣṇa seek to persuade his brother by his sophistry that Bhīma has acted rightly. Honest Baladeva mounts his chariot in anger and drives away, promising that Bhīma shall always be known in the world as a dishonest fighter, but Duryodhana as an honest one.

Thereupon Yudhiṣṭhira sends Kṛṣṇa to Hastināpura to console and pacify Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Gāndhārī, and Kṛṣṇa performs his errand to the

[1]) See above, p. 345.

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best of his ability. The Pāṇḍavas decide to spend the night outside the camp, on the bank of a river.

No sooner do Aśvatthāman and his two companions hear the news of the fall of Duryodhana, than they hasten to the scene of the fight, and lament the hero, who lies there with his thighs smashed. But Aśvatthāman swears that he will annihilate all the Pāṇḍavas, whereupon the dying Duryodhana solemnly appoints him commander-in-chief, though it is not quite obvious os what, as there is no army left.

The nocturnal slaughter in the camp of the Pāṇḍavas.[1]

The three surviving Kaurava heroes, having taken leave of Duryodhana, have repaired to the shade of a tree at some distance from the field of battle, in order to spend the night there. Kṛpa and Kṛtavarman have fallen asleep, but Aśvatthāman is kept awake by rage and thirst for revenge. Then he sees a flock of crows nestling in the branches of the tree beneath which they are resting, and how suddenly, in the middle of the night, a dreadful-looking owl comes along and kills all the sleeping birds.[2] This sight suggests to him the idea of falling upon his foes in their sleep and murdering them. He awakens the two other heroes, and tells them of his plan. Kṛpa seeks to dissuade him, as it is wrong to fall upon the sleeping and the defenceless. Aśvatthāman, however, retorts that the Pāṇḍavas have long ago "broken the bridge of right in a hundred fragments," that they need now only obey the dictates of revenge, and that no man living shall prevent him from carrying out his intention. "I shall kill the Pañcālas, the murderers of my father, in the sleep-time of night, even though I be reborn as a worm or as a winged insect for the deed!"[3] With this resolve, he mounts his chariot and drives to the hostile camp. Like a thief he creeps in, whilst the two other heroes keep guard at the gate of the camp, so as to kill any who might attempt flight. He breaks into the tent of Dhṛṣṭadyumna (who had killed his father) awakens him with a kick, and strangles him like a head of cattle. Then he passes like the god of death from tent to tent, from bed to bed, and murders without mercy all the sleeping and drowsy heroes, one after another, including the five sons of Draupadī, and Śikhaṇḍin. Before

[1]) This forms the contents of the *tenth* book (*Sauptikaparvan*).
[2]) *Cf.* with this scene Th. *Benfey*, Das Pantschatantra 1, pp. 336 ff
[3]) X, 5, 18-27.

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midnight all the warriors of the hostile army are dead. Thousands are wallowing in their gore. Rākṣasas and Piśācas, the flesh-eating demons who swarm in the night, come prowling into the camp in their multitudes, to feast on the flesh and blood of the murdered. When morning light appears, deathly stillness again reigns supreme far and wide over the camp.

But the three heroes hasten to the spot where the dying Duryodhana still lies, so as to tell him the news of the slaughter of the hostile warriors. When Duryodhana has heard what to him are glad tidings, he gives up the spirit gratefully and joyfully.

In the meantime Dhṛṣṭadyumna's charioteer, the only survivor, has secretly informed the Pāṇḍavas of the terrible news that their and Drupada's sons have been murdered and the entire host annihilated. Yudhiṣṭhira loses consciousness, and is only supported at some pains by his brothers. Then he sends for Draupadī and the other women of the family. He goes to the camp, and almost breaks down at the sight which meets his eyes. Then Draupadī approaches, and in her overwhelming sorrow for her murdered sons and brothers, she congratulates her husband Yudhiṣṭhira on his splendid victory in words of bitterest irony. But as boundless as her mourning is her hatred for the murderer Aśvatthāman, and she refuses to take nourishment until this fearful deed be avenged.

Whether and how, in the original epic, the deed of Aśvatthāman was avenged, is no longer evident from our Mahābhārata, owing to insertions and recastings. The following is related in a rather unintelligible and confused manner:

Bhīma pursues Aśvatthāman and fights with him, but really gets the worst of it. At all events he does not kill him, but Aśvatthāman voluntarily gives him a jewel desired by Draupadī, which has grown on his head. (There was never any previous mention of this remarkable head-ornament.) He is, moreover, in possession of a wonderful weapon, with which he destroys the last scion of the Kuru race, who is still lying in the womb of Uttarā, Arjuna's daughter-in-law, as an embryo; for this reason Uttarā later on gives birth to a dead child, which is, however, revived by Kṛṣṇa. This is *Parikṣit*, the father of that *Janamejaya*, at whose snake-sacrifice the Mahābhārata is supposed to have been first recited. But Kṛṣṇa pronounces a curse on Aśvatthāman, condemning him to wander about the world for three thousand years—a kind of

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Ahasuerus—alone, avoided by all human creatures, spreading the odour of blood and festering discharge, and laden with all diseases.

It is difficult to say whether any of all this belongs to the old poem. Certainly the lament for the dead still belonged to it.

The women's lament for the dead.[1]

In vain do Sañjaya and Vidura endeavour to console the old, blind King Dhṛtarāṣṭra in his unspeakable grief. He breaks down again and again, and at length Vyāsa also comes to give him consolation. The funeral ceremonies for the dead must now, however, be performed. The king therefore sends for his consort Gāndhārī and the other ladies of the court, and, lamenting loudly, they wend their way out of the city towards the field of battle. On the way they meet the three surviving Kaurava heroes, who tell them of the terrible carnage which they have made in the night in the hostile camp. They do not stay, however, but make good their escape, as they fear the vengeance of the Pāṇḍavas. Soon afterwards, indeed, the five sons of Pāṇḍu come along with Kṛṣṇa, and fall in with the procession of the mourners. After some difficulty, Kṛṣṇa succeeds in effecting some kind of reconciliation between the Pāṇḍavas and the aged king and queen, though it is very difficult for Gāndhārī to forgive Bhīma who has not left alive a single one of her hundred sons. But Draupadī, too, has lost all her sons, and community of grief contributes towards the reconciliation.

Here follows the *Lament of Gāndhārī*, which is one of the most beautiful parts of the whole epic, as a masterpiece of elegiac poetry, as well as for the clear descriptions of the battlefield, recalling the pictures of a Wereschagin. The whole scene becomes so much the more impressive, owing to the fact that the poet does not himself tell the story, but lets the aged mother of heroes recount what she sees with her own eyes.[2]

[1]) It forms the contents of the *eleventh* book (*Strīparvan*).

[2]) Although it is expressly stated (XI, 16,10 f.) that Dhṛtarāṣṭra and the women have arrived at Kurukṣetra and see the bloody battle-field before them, yet it is related

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The procession of the mourners reaches the battlefield. Awful is the sight of the mangled corpses, around which birds of prey, jackals and flesh-eating demons swarm, whilst the mothers and wives of the fallen heroes wander about, lamenting, among the corpses. All this is seen by Gāndhārī who begins her lament addressed to Kṛṣṇa. She also espies Duryodhana, and painfully remembers how he had said farewell to her on the eve of the battle. "He, whom once lovely women cooled with their fans, is now fanned only by the birds of prey with their wings." But still more than at the sight of her valiant son, at the sight of all her hundred sons lying there in the dust but nevertheless assured of a place in heaven, she is moved with compassion toward her daughters-in-law who are running hither and thither among the corpses of their husbands and sons, in wild despair, and with their hair flying. She sees her intelligent son Vikarṇa lying, with dismembered limbs, in the midst of slain elephants—"as when the moon is surrounded by dark clouds in the autumnal sky." Then she sees the youthful Abhimanyu, Arjuna's son, whose beauty even death has not been able entirely to destroy. His unfortunate young wife draws near to him, strokes him, removes his heavy armour, binds his bloody curls together, lays his head on her lap, and speaks to the dead hero in the tenderest words: she begs him to remember her sometimes, when he is taking delight in beautiful heavenly women in the divine regions. Then her gaze rests on Karṇa, the hero who had once been so much feared by all, and who now lies there like a tree brought low by the storm. Then she sees her son-in-law, the Sindhu king Jayadratha, whose wives vainly strive to chase the greedy birds of prey from the corpse, whilst her own daughter Duśśalā is seeking her husband's head amid lamentations. There, again, she sees Śalya, the Madra king, whose tongue is just being eaten by vultures, while his lamenting wives sit around him, "like passionate female elephants around an elephant that has sunk into the mire." She sees Bhīṣma, too, reposing on his bed of arrows—"this sun among men goes to his rest, as the sun sets in the sky." And after she has lamented also for Droṇa and Drupada and all the great heroes who have fallen, she turns with angry words to Kṛṣṇa and reproaches him with not having prevented

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at the beginning of the canto that Gāndhārī, by her pious austerities, has received divine vision by the mercy of Vyāsa, enabling her to survey the battle-field from a great distance. This is certainly a feature which is foreign to the old poem, the clumsy idea of a later pedant.

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the annihilation of the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas. And she pronounces a curse upon him, that after thirty-six years he shall cause the destruction of his own race, and that he himself shall perish miserably in the wilderness.

Then Yudhiṣṭhira gives orders for the performance of the funeral ceremonies for all the fallen. Pyres are erected and butter and oil are poured over them. Sweet-scented woods and costly silk garments, broken chariots and weapons are burned with the corpses. After the rites and lamentations for the dead have been completed, at which the strangers and the friendless are not forgotten, they all repair to the bank of the Ganges, in order to offer the usual libations for the dead.

This is probably the point at which the old poem ended. Our Mahābhārata continues the story of the heroes.

The horse-sacrifice.[1])

It is only on the occasion of the offering of the gifts to the departed, that Kuntī first tells her son Yudhiṣṭhira that Karṇa, too, was one of her sons, and asks him to offer the libation for Karṇa as his eldest brother. Yudhiṣṭhira is now sad, not only at having caused the downfall of so many relatives and friends, but at having been guilty even of fratricide to Karṇa. Inconsolable, he announces his intention of going into the forest and becoming an ascetic. In vain do his brothers and Kṛṣṇa endeavour to persuade him to take over the reins of government—he insists upon his resolve, until at length Vyāsa comes and advises him to offer a horse-sacrifice, thereby purging himself of all his sins. Yudhiṣṭhira acts on this advice. Arrangements are made for the great sacrifice. As required by the ritual, the sacrificial horse is let loose, to wander about at will for one year. Arjuna is selected to accompany and protect the horse. He follows the horse from land to land throughout the world. In these wanderings he has to fight many a battle, for everywhere he encounters tribes whose warriors have been defeated in the Kuru battle, and which take up a hostile attitude towards him. He performs feats of great heroism, but avoids unnecessary bloodshed as far as possible, and invites all the defeated kings to the horse-sacrifice. At the end of a year he returns with the

[1]) This forms the contents of the *fourteenth* book (*Aśvamedhikaparvan*). Regarding Books XII and XIII see below.

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sacrificial horse to Hastināpura, where he is received amid great rejoicings. Now the sacrificial feast begins, and all the invited kings flock in. The horse is killed with exact observance of all the sacrificial requirements and is sacrificed in the fire. The Pāṇḍavas breathe the smoke of the burnt marrow, whereby all their sins are made as nought. After the completion of the sacrifice, Yudhiṣṭhira presents Vyāsa with "the whole earth." The latter generously returns the gift to him, and exhorts him to give the priests much gold. After Yudhiṣṭhira has accordingly given away vast quantities of gold to the priests, he is free of his sins, and thenceforward rules his kingdom as a good and pious king.

Dhṛtarāṣṭra's end.

The old king Dhṛtarāṣṭra,[1] as head of the family, is still consulted on all matters, and he and his consort Gāndhārī are always held in high esteem. Thus the old king still lives for fifteen years at the court of Yudhiṣṭhira in the best understanding with the Pāṇḍavas, which is only spoilt to some extent by the king's relation to Bhīma. The king could never find it in his heart entirely to forgive this man who had robbed him of all his sons, and the defiant Bhīma hurt his aged uncle's feelings only too often by his unseemly speech. Thus after fifteen years the aged king resolved to retire into the forest as a hermit. Yudhiṣṭhira consented only unwillingly. But Kṛṣṇa says that it has always been the custom for pious kings to end their days either as a warrior on the field of battle or else as a hermit in the forest. Thus Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Gāndhārī go forth into the forest, and Kuntī, Sañjaya and Vidura join them. After a time the Pāṇḍavas visit their relatives in the forest hermitage, just as the sage Vidura is dying. Two years later the Pāṇḍavas receive the news that Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Gāndhārī and Kuntī have lost their lives in a forest fire, whilst Sañjaya has gone to the Himālayas.

The destruction of Kṛṣṇa and his race.[2]

Thirty-six years after the great battle in the Kuru field the Pāṇḍavas receive the sad news that Gāndhārī's curse[3] has come true, and that Kṛṣṇa has perished with all his race. At a drinking bout the chiefs of

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[1]) Here begins the *fifteenth* book (*Āśramavāsikaparvan*).
[2]) Related in the *sixteenth* book (*Mausalaparvan*).
[3]) See above, p. 372.

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two clans fall to quarrelling, in which they are soon joined by others. A general club fight ensues, Kṛṣṇa transforming sedges into clubs, and the men of the Yādava clans kill each other. Kṛṣṇa looks around for his brother Baladeva, but is just in time to witness his dying hour. A white snake runs out of Baladeva's mouth, and hastens to the ocean,[1] where it is received by the most famous snake demons. Then Kṛṣṇa lies down in the desolate forest, and becomes absorbed in deep meditation. Here he is mistaken by a hunter named Jarā (*i.e.* "Old Age") for an antelope, and is shot and killed by an arrow in the sole of his foot, the only spot at which he is vulnerable.

The last journey of the Pāṇḍavas.

The Pāṇḍavas are inconsolable for the death of their faithful friend, and soon afterwards they resolve to go forth upon their last journey.[2] Yudhiṣṭhira appoints Parikṣit as king, and says farewell to his subjects. Then the five brothers and their wife Draupadī, all clothed in garments of bast, and accompanied only by a dog, wander forth to the Himālayas which they ascend, and reach the divine mountain Meru. On the way to heaven Draupadī first falls dead, then Sahadeva, next Nakula, soon afterwards Arjuna, and lastly Bhīma. Then Indra comes driving in his celestial chariot, to fetch Yudhiṣṭhira to heaven.[3] The latter, however, does not wish to accompany him, as he does not desire to dwell in heaven without his brothers. Then Indra promises him that he shall see his brothers as well as Draupadī again in heaven. But Yudhiṣṭhira also insists upon his dog entering heaven as well, and this Indra will not allow under any circumstances. At length the dog reveals himself as the god Dharma, and evinces his great satisfaction at Yudhiṣṭhira's faithfulness. Thus they reach heaven, but Yudhiṣṭhira by no means wants to stay there,

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[1]) A beautiful example of the idea of the soul assuming the form of a snake, prevalent among so many peoples. In the German legend, too, of King Guntram, the soul, in the form of a snake, issues *out of the mouth* of the sleeping king into a hill.

[2]) With this begins the *seventeenth* book (*Mahāprasthānikaparvan*).

[3]) In an essay "Points de contact entre Mahâbhârata et le Shâh-nâmah" JA. s. 8 t. X, 1887, pp. 38 ff., *cf.* JBRAS 17, Proceed., pp. ii ff.) J. *Darmesteter* has compared Yudhiṣṭhira's ascent to heaven with the disappearance of *Kai Khosru* in the Persian heroic epic. Kai Khosru, too, climbs a high mountain and reaches heaven in the flesh. Like Yudhiṣṭhira's brothers, the Pehlevans (heroes) accompanying Kai Khosru, also perish on the way. Nevertheless the two episodes are fundamentally so different that I cannot believe in any connection. (*Cf.* also *Barth* in RHR t. 19, 1889, pp. 162 ff.)

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as he does not see either his brothers or Draupadī. Now when he even [1] sees Duryodhana seated upon a heavenly throne, and honoured by all, he has had enough of heaven, and demands to be conducted to the worlds where his brothers and heroes like Karṇa are. Then the gods give him a messenger to accompany him to hell, where he sees the terrible tortures of the damned. He is already turning away from this awful sight, when he hears voices imploring him to stay, as a beneficent breath of air emanates from him. Full of pity he asks the tortured souls who they are, and he is informed that they are his brothers and friends. Then he is seized by pain and anger at the injustice of Fate, and he sends the messenger back to the gods to tell them that he will not go to heaven, but will remain in hell. But soon the gods come down to him, and Indra explains to him that those who have sinned most are sent first to heaven and then to hell, whereas those who have only committed a few sins, atone for these rapidly in hell, and then enjoy eternal blessedness in heaven. He himself had to visit hell first, owing to his having deceived Droṇa, and in the same way his brothers and friends had to be purged of their sins in hell. Soon, however, all the horror of hell vanishes; they all find themselves in heaven, and assume the form of gods.[2]

This principal story, which has here been briefly sketched, constitutes not quite one-half of the eighteen books of the Mahābhārata.[3] The other half consists of those parts of the work, partly narrative and partly didactic, which have no bearing, or only a very slight one, on the conflict of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas. An account of this will be given in the following chapters.

Ancient Heroic Poetry in the Mahābhārata.

Among the tasks of the ancient Indian bards was also that of tracing the genealogical trees of the kings, or, if

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[1] Here begins the *eighteenth* (last) book (*Svargārohaṇaparvan*).

[2] *Cf.* with this episode the legend of Vipaścit in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (below) and see also L. *Scherman*, Materialien zur Geschichte der indischen Visionslitteratur, Leipzig, 1892, pp. 48 ff.

[3] The eighteen parvans or books of the Mahābhārata contain together 2,109 Adhyāyas or cantos (in the Bombay edition): of these about 1,000 deal with the principal narrative.

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necessary, of inventing them. Genealogical verses (anuvaṃśa-śloka) therefore, form an essential part of the old heroic poetry. And the first book of the Mahābhārata contains a whole section, entitled Sambhavaparvan or "section of the origins," in which the genealogy of the heroes is traced back to their first ancestors who were descended from the gods, and many interesting legends about these old kings of ancient times are related. Of course, among these ancestors of the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas belonging to the Bhārata race, that *Bharata* is not missing, from whom the Mahābhārata itself has derived its name. Bharata is the son of King *Dusyanta* and of *Śakuntalā*, so famous from the drama of Kālidāsa, and whose story is also told in the Sambhavaparvan.

Unfortunately, however, this very *Śakuntalā episode* of the Mahābhārata [1] has been handed down to us in a much deteriorated and probably also mutilated, form which seems to have retained only a few features of the old heroic poem and could hardly have formed the prototype of Kālidāsa's poem. The descriptions of the forest, the chase and the hermitages, are spun out not to "epic" but to pedantic length partly after the pattern of the later ornate poetry. The story itself is unattractive and has no artistic basis. The fact that Śakuntalā is not acknowledged by the king is not accounted for, as in Kālidāsa's play, by a curse and the story of the lost ring, but by the king's desire to remove every doubt, on the part of his courtiers, as to the genuineness of the royal birth of his son. Therefore he provokes as it were, a divine judgment. He pretends not to know Śakuntalā. and refuses to

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[1]) I, 68-75. An English translation of the Śakuntalā episode by Charles Wilkins appeared as early as 1794 in A. Dalrymple's Oriental Repertory and separately, (London, 1795); a French translation by A. *Chézy* as an appendix to his edition of Kālidāsa's Śakuntalā drama (Paris, 1830); German translations by B. *Hirzel* (1833), A. F. Graf *von Schack* (1877, Stimmen vom Ganges, pp. 32 ff.), J. J. *Meyer*, Das Weib im altindischen Epos, pp. 68 ff., and W. *Perzig* (Indische Erzähler, Vol. 12, Leipzig 1923, pp. 50 ff.). The Kumbhakonam edition has enlarged and spoiled the traditional text still more, S. M. *Winternitz*, Ind. Ant. 1898, p. 136; J. J. *Meyer*, l.c., p. 76 note, and *Porzig*, l.c., pp. 123 ff.

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acknowledge his son, until a heavenly voice announces, before the whole court, that Sakuntalā has spoken the truth and that her child is really the son of King Duṣyanta. Here we meet the two verses which we know for certain belong to the oldest part of the Śakuntalā poem and are taken from the old bard poetry.[1]

"The mother is but the leathern bag (for the preservation of the seed), it is to the father that the child belongs; the son, whom he has begotten, is himself.[2] Cherish[3] thy son, Duṣyanta, do not scorn Śakuntalā!

A son, O King, who begets offspring again, leads (the fathers) up (to heaven) out of Yama's abode. And thou art the creator of this seed, Śakuntalā has spoken the truth."

There are very probably also many old and genuine verses preserved in the dialogue between Śakuntalā, who stands up for her rights and those of her son, and the king who does not wish to acknowledge her. In any case a dialogue of this kind must have formed one of the principal parts of the old narrative, and moralising maxims, like the following beautiful verse, may have occurred in Śakuntalā's speech:

"None sees me": so when bent on sin,
The fool imagines, madly bold;
For gods his evil deeds behold;
The soul, too, sees the man within."[4]

Śakuntalā also probably spoke of the happiness and blessing which a son brings to his father, as in the verses:

"He himself has begotten himself again as a son,[5] thus say the wise ones. Therefore shall a man look upon his wife, the mother of his sons, as upon his own mother."

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[1]) This is proved by their repeated occurrence, for we find the same verses (I, 74,109 f.) quoted again as "genealogical verses" (anuvaṃśaślokau) in the Mahābhārata (I, 95, 29 f.), and they recur in the Harivaṃśa (32, 10 ff.), Viṣṇu-Purāṇa (IV, 19), Vāyu-Purāṇa (99, 135 f. AnSS ed.), Matsya-Purāṇa (49, 12 f. ĀnSS ed.) and Bhāgavata-Purāṇa (IX, 20, 21 f.).

[2]) *Cf.* the verses translated above, on pp. 211 f.

[3]) Because of this word "cherish" (*bhara*), the boy received the name *Bharata*.

[4]) I, 74, 17. Translated by J. *Muir*, Metrical Translations from Sanskrit Writers, p. 8.

[5]) Similarly Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa VII, 13; *cf.* above, pp. 211 f.

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"Is there any higher blessedness than to see the little son return from play, covered with dust, and run to embrace his father's knees?"

"He has sprung from thy loins, from one soul another soul has sprung forth. Behold thy son, like a second self in a lake clear as a mirror!" [1]

Yet it is not probable that *all* the beautiful sayings which are placed in the mouth of Śakuntalā really belonged to the old heroic poem, sayings which deal with the happiness of marriage, and the duties of husband and wife, with paternal duties, and with truthfulness. Some of the verses, which refer to matrimonial laws and right of succession and which have been taken directly from the legal literature, rather indicate that Brahmanical *scholars* utilised the speeches of Śakuntalā for the purpose of bringing in as many sentences as possible on morality and law. This does not prevent our finding in these very speeches some of the most magnificent examples of Indian gnomic poetry, like the following:

"A wife is half the man, transcends
In value far all other friends.
She every earthly blessing brings,
And even redemption from her springs."

"In lonely hours, companions bright,
These charming women give delight;
Like fathers wise, in duty tried,
To virtuous acts they prompt and guide.
Whene'er we suffer pain and grief,
Like mothers kind they bring relief."

"The weary man whom toils oppress,
When travelling through life's wilderness,
Finds in his spouse a place of rest,
And there abides, refreshed and blest." [2]

Among the ancestors of the heroes of the Mahābhārata a king *Yayāti* is mentioned, whose history is also related in

[1] I, 74, 47; 52; 64.
[2] I, 74, 40, 42; 49 translated by J. *Muir*, l. c., pp. 134 f.

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the "Sambhavaparvan," the section of the genealogical bard-poetry.[1] But just as the old Śakuntalā poem was utilised for the purpose of pointing Brahmanical teachings on law and morality, so also the old Yayāti legend, which seems originally to have been a kind of Titan legend, was transformed into a moral narrative, whereby it became a popular subject for ascetic poetry. However, the traces of the old heroic poetry are by no means entirely effaced; they are discernible particularly in a certain racy humour, with which the story of the two wives of the king is related. Out of the contents of the Yayāti episode only the following extract can be given:

Devayānī, daughter of the Asura priest Śukra, has been insulted by Śarmiṣṭhā, daughter of the Asura king. For this reason the priest wishes to leave the king. Now the latter, in order to appease the priest, gives his daughter to Devayānī as her handmaiden. Soon afterwards Devayānī becomes the wife of King Yayāti, who has to promise to have no intercourse with her "servant," Princess Śarmiṣṭhā. But the king breaks his promise, marries Sarmiṣṭha secretly, and begets three sons with her. Jealous Devayānī finds it out, and complains to her father Śukra. The latter pronounces a curse upon Yayāti that he shall immediately lose his youth and become old and decrepit; however, at the request of Yayāti, he tones the curse down in as much as Yayāti may transfer his old age to someone else.

Now Yayāti, after having become suddenly old and wrinkled and grey, asks his sons, one after the other, to relieve him of his old age and to give him their youth, as he has not yet enjoyed life sufficiently. None of the elder sons will agree to this exchange, whereupon they are cursed by their father. Only the youngest, Pūru, declares his willingness. He

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[1]) The story is first told briefly in I, 75, then repeated with many details in I, 76-93. The last part of the legend, with a few additions, is then told once again in V, 120-123. The episode has been translated into German by A. *Holtzmann* (Indische Sagen), J. J. *Meyer* (Das Weib im altindischen Epos, pp. 8 ff.) and W. *Porzig* (Indische Erzähler, Vol. 12, pp. 12 ff.). On the different versions of the story in Sanskrit literature, s. Porzig, l.c., pp. 105 ff. On a mythological interpretation of the legend s. A. *Ludwig* in Sitzungsberichte der K. böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Prague 1898.

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relieves his father of the burden of old age and gives him his own youth in exchange. Then Yayāti rejoiced in another thousand years of the most blooming youth, and enjoyed the pleasures of life to the very full. Not only did he take delight in his two wives, but also in a heavenly nymph, the beautiful Apsaras Viśvācī ("gracious to all"). But however much he enjoyed, he was never fully satisfied. And when the thousand years had elapsed, he came to the conclusion as expressed in the following verses:

"Truly, desire is not satisfied by the gratification of desires;
Nay, it grows and waxes stronger, as the fire fed by
sacrificial ghee.
The earth filled with treasures, gold, cattle and women too,
Is not enough for one man:—think on this, and seek thy
soul's contentment.
Only he who has never wrought evil to any creature,
In thought, word or deed, only he may dwell with the
Brahman.
He who is unafraid, and who is feared by no creature,
Who has no desires and knows no hate, only he may
dwell with the Brahman." [1]

Then he returned his son Pūru his youth, took up the burden of his own old age, and after having instated Pūru on the throne, repaired to the forest, where he lived as a hermit, practising the severest austerities for a thousand years. On the strength of this he attained to heaven, where he lived for a long time, honoured by all the gods and saints. One day, however, he boasted during a conversation with Indra, and was cast out from heaven for this offence. Later on, however, he returns to heaven with his four pious grandchildren.

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[1]) I, 75, 49-52. Only the first verse recurs literally in all the other places where the Yayāti legend is related. (It also occurs in Manu II, 94.) The remaining verses are found again with variations in I, 85, 12-16, Harivaṃśa 30, 1639-1645, Viṣṇu-Purāṇa IV, 10, Bhāgavata-Purāṇa IX, 19, 13-15. But only in I, 75, 51-52 and Harivaṃśa 30, 1642 is there any talk of union with the Brahman in the sense of the Vedānta philosophy. In all other places the corresponding verses only talk of the curbing of desires as the worthy aim of the morality of asceticism, and this morality is the same for Buddhists and Jainas as for the Brahmanical and Viṣṇuite ascetics. Hence we find quite similar sayings amongst all Indian sects which practise asceticism.

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The legend of Nahuṣa, the father of Yayāti, which is related in the Mahābhārata several times,[1] is also a kind of Titan legend, which ends with a fall from heaven:

Nahuṣa, a grandson of the Purūravas of Vedic fame,[2] was a mighty king, who annihilated the robber bands (dasyusaṃghātān). But he levied taxes on the ṛṣis, too, and commanded them to carry him on their backs, like beasts of burden. He even overpowered the gods, and ruled the heavens for a long time in Indra's stead. He desired Indra's wife Śacī as his wife, and grew so overbearing that he yoked the divine ṛṣis to his chariot, treading on Agastya's head. Now this was a bit too much for this great saint, and he cursed Nahuṣa, with the consequence that he fell out of heaven and was obliged to live on the earth as a snake for ten thousand years.[3]

Some of the poems which have found admission into the Mahābhārata are of such proportions, and form a complete whole to such an extent, that we can speak of them as epics within the epic. Of this kind is above all the rightly famous poem of Nala and Damayantī.[4] While the Pāṇḍavas are in banishment in the forest they receive a visit from the Ṛṣi Bṛhadaśva. Yudhiṣṭhira complains to him of his own misfortune and that of his people, and asks him the question whether there has ever been a more unfortunate king than himself. Thereupon Bṛhadaśva relates the story of the unfortunate king Nala, who loses all his possessions and his kingdom in a game of dice with his brother Puṣkara, and then goes forth into the forest as an exile with his beautiful and faithful wife Damayantī; pursued and blinded still further by the wicked demon of gambling, he deserts his

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[1]) First in I, 75 as an introduction to the Yayāti episode, then in greater detail in V, 11-17; in a short extract also XII, 342 and XIII, 100. A free poetical adaptation by Ad. *Holtzmann*, Indische Sagen I, pp. 9-30.

[2]) Purūravas too (*cf.* above, pp. 103 f., 209 f.) was like Nahuṣa, according to the Mahābhārata (I, 75, 20 ff.) an enemy of the priests, oppressing the ṛṣis and being annihilated by their curse.

[3]) He was then redeemed by Yudhiṣṭhira (III, 179 f.), see above, p. 349.

[4]) III, 52-79: Nalopākhyāna.

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faithful wife in the midst of the forest, while she lies deep in slumber, fatigued from her wanderings. The adventures of King Nala, and of Damayantī, deserted by her husband, how they wander about in the forest separated from each other, how Damayantī, after much sorrow and hardship, obtains a friendly reception from the queen-mother of Cedi, how Nala, after the snake-king Karkoṭaka has made him irrecognisable, serves King Ṛtuparṇa as charioteer and cook, until finally the husband and wife, after a long and painful separation, are reunited in love, all this is related in the touchingly simple, genuinely popular, tone of the fairy tale, which also is not lacking in humour.

Since the year 1819 when Franz Bopp first published this poem of King Nala, together with a Latin translation, it is recognised as one of the gems of Indian literature, nay more, as one of the gems of universal literature. Bopp's edition and translation of the poem was welcomed by A. W. v. Schlegel [1] with the words: "I will only say that, in my estimation, this poem can hardly be surpassed in pathos and ethos, in the enthralling force and tenderness of the sentiments. It is made expressly to attract old and young, the high-born and the lowly, the connoisseurs and those who are merely guided by instinct. Also, the fairy-tale is tremendously popular in India,.....there the courageous constancy and devotion of Damayantī is equally famous as that of Penelope amongst us; and in Europe, the gathering-place of the productions of all continents and all ages, it deserves to become equally so." And indeed it has become so. The German poet Friedrich Rückert, that past master in the art of translation, rendered the poem into German verse in the year 1828 [2] with his incomparable talent, making it as

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[1]) Indische Bibliothek, I, 98 f.

[2]) New editions appeared in 1838, 1845, 1862 and 1873. A very free poetical rendering was given by Ad. *Holtzmann* in his "Indische Sagen."

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popular in Germany as it has become famous in England by means of Dean H. H. Milman's version.[1]

Nala Naiṣadha, the hero of the narrative, is surely no other than the Naḍa Naiṣidha, mentioned in the Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa, of whom it is there said, that "day after day he bears Yama (the god of death) to the South." He must therefore have lived at that time, and undertaken warlike expeditions towards the South. The name of the hero thus indicates high antiquity. The poem itself probably belongs among the old parts of the Mahābhārata, though not among the oldest. In any case it is free from all purāṇa-like accessories, and only the old Vedic gods, like Varuṇa and Indra, are mentioned, but not Viṣṇu or Śiva. The state of civilisation, too, described in the poem is, on the whole, quite simple and has the appearance of antiquity. On the other hand we find hardly anywhere in the oldest poetry such delicacy and so much romance in the representation of courtship and of love itself, as especially in the first cantos of the Nala poem. Only the very ancient poem of the love of Purūravas and Urvaśī allows us to suspect that love-romance was no stranger to India even in the most ancient times. But how very congenial romance is to the Indian mind in general, is proved by the enormous popularity of this poem, which has again and again been imitated by later poets, in Sanskrit as well as in modern Indian languages and dialects.[2] Few Indian poems also suit European taste so extremely well as the Nala poem. It has been translated into practically all the languages of Europe,[3] and a dramatic adaptation by A. de Gubernatis

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[1] Nala and Damayantī and other Poems translated from the Sanskrit into English verse, Oxford, 1835.

[2] *Cf.* the enumeration in A. *Holtzmann*, Das Mahabharata, II, 69 ff.

[3] A. *Holtzmann*, loc. cit., II, 73 ff. mentions translations into German, English, French, Italian, Swedish, Czech, Polish, Russian, Modern Greek and Hungarian. I will only mention the translations into English by Monier *Williams* (1860), Charles *Bruce* (1864), Edwin *Arnold* (Indian Idylls, 1883, Poetical Works, 1885); into German by E.

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was even produced on the stage in Florence in 1869. And since a long time it has been the custom, at almost all Western universities, to begin the study of Sanskrit with the reading of this poem, for which purpose it is excellently adapted in language as well as contents.[1]

The Rāma[2] episode, too, is a kind of epic within an epic. But while the Nala poem (in spite of some disfiguring additions and insertions, from which indeed *no* part of the Mahābhārata is quite free) is a work of art and a valuable survival of the ancient bard-poetry, the narrative of Rāma has only a purely literary significance for the history of the second great epic of the Indians, the Rāmāyaṇa. For the Rāma episode can scarcely be regarded as anything but a rather inartistically abridged rendering of either the Rāmāyaṇa itself,[3] or of those heroic songs from which Vālmīki composed his great poem. In no case is it these oldest heroic songs of Rāma themselves, which we find in the Mahābhārata. The Rāma episode is related by the ṛṣi Mārkaṇḍeya to console Yudhiṣṭhira, who is much depressed on account of the rape of Draupadī[4]; for Rāma's wife, too, Sītā, was abducted, and was held in captivity for a long time by the demon Rāvaṇa. References to the Rāma legend are not rare in other parts

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Lobedanz (1863), H. C. *Kellner* (in Reclams Universalbibliothek), L. *Fritze* (1914); into French by S. *Lévi* (Paris, 1920 in "Les classiques de l'orient," Paris 1920).

[1]) The text of the Nala story has often been published, with glossary and notes, for beginners in Sanskrit, *e.g.*, by G. *Bühler* (Third Book of Sanskrit, Bombay, 2nd Ed. 1877), Monier *Williams* (London, 1879), J. *Eggeling* (London, 1913), H. C. *Kellner* (Leipzig 1885), W. *Caland* (Utrecht, 1917).

[2]) III, 273-290: Rāmopākhyāna.

[3]) H. *Jacobi* (Das Râmâyaṇa, (Bonn, 1893), pp. 71 ff.) has given such good reasons for this assumption that it seems to me the most probable one, in spite of the objections of A. *Ludwig*, Über das Râmâyaṇa und die Beziehungen desselben zum Mahâbharata, pp. 30 ff., and *Hopkins*, The Great Epic of India, pp. 63 f. *Cf.* also A. *Weber*, Über das Rāmāyaṇa, pp. 34 ff.

[4]) See above, pp. 350 f. Probably this story of the rape of Draupadī is itself only a clumsy imitation of the stealing of Sītā in the Rāmāyaṇa.

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of the Mahābhārata either. I point out only the meeting of Bhīma with the monkey Hanumat.[1]

A much more valuable remnant of ancient Indian bard-poetry, unfortunately preserved only as a fragment, is found in the fifth book of the Mahābhārata. It is the episode of the *hero-mother Vidulā*.[2] Kuntī sends a message by Kṛṣṇa to her sons, the Pāṇḍavas, telling them not to forget their duty as warriors,[3] and on this occasion relates how the warrior's wife Vidulā once urged her son Sañjaya on to fight. The latter was quite discouraged after a shameful defeat which he had suffered at the hands of the king of the Sindhus, and lived with his wife and his mother Vidulā in misery. Then, in extremely forceful language Vidulā reproaches him with his cowardice and inactivity, and with fiery words spurs him on to new deeds of heroism. In order to give an idea of the racy vigour of the language of this fragment of ancient heroic poetry, I give a few verses from this speech in literal prose translation:[4]

"Up, coward! Lie not there so idle, when thou hast suffered defeat, to the joy of thy foes, to the sorrow of thy friends!"

"A shallow brooklet is soon filled, the fist of a mouse is easy to fill. The coward is soon satisfied, he is contented even with little."

"Die not like a cur before thou hast at least robbed the serpent of its fangs! Be brave, though it cost thee thy life!"

"Why liest thou there like a dead man, like one who has been struck by lightning? Up, coward! Sleep not, when thou hast been defeated by the foe!"

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[1]) Above, p. 348.

[2]) V, 133-136: Vidulāputrānuśāsana. *Cf.* H. *Jacobi*, Über ein verlorenes Heldengedicht der Sindhu-Sauvīra (in Mélanges Kern, Leyden, 1903, pp. 53 ff.). A free poetical rendering of the poem is given by J. *Muir*, Metrical Translations from Sanskrit Writers, pp. 120-133. He justly refers to the women of Rājputānā who "maintain in more recent times the character of heroism ascribed to Vidulā in this passage of the Mahābhārata. (l.c., p. 132).

[3]) See above, p. 357.

[4]) The translation by *Muir*, l.c., pp. 121 f. gives no sufficient idea of the raciness of the original.

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"Flare up like a torch of tinduka wood,[1] though it be but for a moment, but smother not like a fire of chaff, just to prolong life!"

"Better flare up for a moment than smother for hours! O that a mild ass should have been born in a royal house!

"That man whose deeds do not form the subject of tales of wonder, serves but to increase the great heap, he is neither woman nor man."[2]

To all the admonitions and reproaches of his mother, the son, who is sharply characterised by his short speeches, has only the reply that he lacks the means for a victorious battle, and that, in any case, his death would not benefit her:

"Thou hast a hard, an iron heart,
And play'st no loving mother's part,—
True daughter of a warrior line;
A fierce unbending soul is thine.
To all thy Kshatriya instincts true,
Thou dost not yield to love its due;
Nor seek to guard me as thy one
Supreme delight, thine only son!
But spurr'st me on, devoid of ruth,—
As if I were an alien youth,—
To join again in hopeless strife,
And all in vain to peril life.
What worth would earth, its wealth, its joys,
Its power, its state, its glittering toys,—
What worth would life—possess for thee,
My mother, if thou hadst not me?"[3]

But his mother always answers him again with fresh exhortations, that a warrior may not know fear, and must in any case fulfil his duty as a warrior. And at last she succeeds in rousing her son, "even though he had little intelligence."

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[1]) Tinduka, the *Diespyros embryopteris* tree.

[2]) V, 132, 8-10, 12, 15, 22.

[3]) V, 134, 1-3. Translated by J. *Muir*, l.c., pp. 127 f.

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"Like a noble steed when it is chastised, the son, goaded by the shafts of his mother's words, did all she asked of him." [1]

This torso of a heroic poem is one of the few portions of the Mahābhārata which have remained almost entirely untouched by brahmanical influence. Only too often has the old bard-poetry, which was inspired by the warrior-spirit, been quite watered down in form and contents under the influence of the Brahmin scholars. Thus we find—this is one of the many instances—an "old itihāsa" quoted in the twelfth book of the Mahābhārata, which Nārada relates to Sṛñjaya, in order to console him after the death of his son. Many kings of primitive times are named, who all had to die, though they were famous heroes. But of what do the "heroic deeds" of these kings consist? They offered countless sacrifices, and what was still more important, gave enormous presents to the priests. One king, for example, gives the priests as sacrificial gift "a thousand times a thousand" maidens adorned with gold, each of whom sits on a four-horse chariot; each chariot is accompanied by a hundred elephants garlanded with gold; behind each elephant follow a thousand horses, and behind each horse a thousand cows, behind each cow a thousand goats and sheep.[2] It is often difficult to say whether they are remnants of ancient heroic poetry, spoilt through the priests' attempts at recasting, or independent brahmanical compositions.

Brahmanical Myths and Legends in the Mahābhārata.

The fact that the old Indian bard-poetry has not been preserved in its pure originality is due to the circumstance that the Brahmans took possession of the Mahābhārata. To the same circumstance, however, we are indebted for the

[1]) V, 135, 12; 16.

[2]) XII, 29. A similar list of ancient kings who were noted for their generosity is to be found in VII, 56-71.

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preservation in the Mahābhārata not only of numerous myths of gods, and legends, important for the history of mythology and tradition, but also of some remarkable creations of Brahmanical poetic art and valuable specimens of Brahmanical wisdom.

Interesting from the point of view of mythology and tradition is the frame-story of the Snake sacrifice of Janamejaya,[1] into which there is again interwoven a tangle of stories, snake-legends, myths of the bird Garuḍa and others. But what is here called "*Snake-sacrifice*" is in reality a snake-charm, *i.e.* an exorcism for the annihilation of snakes. Janamejaya's father, Parikṣit, had been bitten to death by the snake-king Takṣaka. In order to avenge the death of his father, King Janamejaya arranges a great sacrifice,[2] at which all the snakes of the earth are compelled, by the exorcisms of the priests, to come from near and far and cast themselves into the fire. This is described in our epic with great vividness:

"The sacrificial ceremonial now began in accordance with the prescribed rules for the snake-sacrifice. Hither and thither hurried the priests, each one eagerly fulfilling his appointed task. Wrapped in black garments, their eyes inflamed by the smoke, they poured the sacrificial ghee into the blazing fire, whilst saying the incantations. They caused the hearts of

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[1]) I, 3, 13-58; XV, 35. Freely rendered in German verses by A. *Holtzmann*, "Indische Sagen"; literally translated into German prose by W. *Porzig* (Indische Erzähler, Vol. 15, Leipzig, 1924). Similar legends also exist in Europe, especially in the Tyrol; *cf.* my treatise "Das Schlangenopfer des Mahābhārata (in Kulturgeschichtliches aus der Tierwelt, Festschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde und Linguistik," Prague, 1904).

[2]) The Mahābhārata is supposed to have been recited in the intervals of this sacrifice. See above, p. 324. *Porzig* (l.c.) suggests that the Āstīkaparvan was originally much more closely connected with the Mahābhārata as a frame-story, and that it was not Vaiśampāyana, but Āstīka himself who related the whole of the Mahābhārata, and thereby saved the snake-king Takṣaka. There are but very weak grounds for this hypothesis. It is more probable that the whole of the Āstīkaparvan was originally an independent poem, which was only later connected with the recitation of the Mahābhārata. *Cf.* V. *Venkatachellam Iyer*, Notes of a Study of the Preliminary Chapters of the Mahābhārata, Madras, 1922, pp. 352 ff.

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all snakes to quake, and called them all forth into the jaws of the fire. Then the snakes fell into the flaming furnace, distorting their bodies and calling piteously on one another. Palpitating and hissing, embracing one another with their heads and their tails, they hurled themselves in their masses into the brightly glowing fire.....great snakes and small snakes, many, of many colours, terrible biters of mighty strength as that of a club, snakes full of venom; driven by the curse of the mother, the snakes fell into the fire."[1]

With this legend of the snake-sacrifice, the ancient myth of Kadrū and Vinatā, occurring already in Vedic texts,[2] is here combined. Kadrū, "the red-brown one," is the earth and the mother of the snakes, Vinatā, "the curved one," is the vault of heaven and the mother of the mythical bird Garuḍa. And there is also interwoven the myth of the *twirling of the ocean*,[3] which occurs also in the Rāmāyaṇa and in the Purāṇas, and is again and again related, or used for purposes of illustration and comparison by poets of later times. How gods and demons, united in ardent labour, twirl the ocean in order to obtain the draught of immortality, the mountain Mandara serving as a twirling-stick and the snake-prince Vāsuki as a rope, how the moon then arises out of the foaming mass, then Lakṣmi, the goddess of good fortune and of beauty, the intoxicating drink Surā and other precious things, until at last the beautiful god Dhanvantari, holding the draught of immortality in a shining white goblet, appears from out of the ocean,—all this is described, if one may say so, with "life-like" graphicness.

One more of the snake-legends interwoven into the frame-story deserves mentioning, namely the story of Ruru partly only a duplicate of the legend of the snake-sacrifice

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[1]) I, 52.

[2]) Taittirīya Saṃhitā, VI, 1, 6, 1; Kāṭhaka, 23, 10; Śatapatha-Br. III, 6, 2. The myth of Kadrū and Vinatā from the Āstīka-parvan translated by J. *Charpentier*, Die Suparṇasage, pp. 167 ff. On the same myth in the Suparṇādhyāya S. above, pp. 312 f.

[3]) I, 17-19.

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itself, for, like Janamejaya, Ruru vows to annihilate all snakes. This happens as follows:

Ruru, son of a Brahman, once saw the lovely virgin Pramadvarā, daughter of an Apsaras, and was seized with love for her. She becomes his bride, but a few days before the wedding, she is bitten by a poisonous snake while she is at play. She lies there lifeless, as though asleep, more lovely than ever. All the pious hermits approach, and, moved by pity, burst into tears, but Ruru goes forth into the depth of the forest in his sorrow. Lamenting loudly, he invokes the gods to have regard to his penance and his pious life, and to give his beloved back to him. Then a messenger from the gods appears, and announces that Pramadvarā can only be recalled to life if Ruru will yield half of his own life for her. Ruru agrees at once, and the King of Law, *i.e.* the god of death, gives his consent for Pramadvarā to be recalled to life. Soon afterwards, on a happy day, the two are wedded. Now Ruru vowed to destroy all the snakes in the world, and thenceforth, whenever he saw a snake, he killed it. But one day he happened on a non-poisonous snake, which asked him to spare it. It was in reality a ṛṣi who was compelled to live as a snake in consequence of a curse, and who was now released from the curse by his meeting with Ruru. In his human form he admonishes him to desist from destroying living creatures.[1])

Ruru, the hero of this legend, is a descendant of that *Cyavana*, of whom it is already related in the Ṛgveda,[2]) that the Aśvins made him young again. The story of this rejuvenation is told in detail in the Brāhmaṇas,[3]) and a version of the legend is to be found in the Mahābhārata too.[4]) It is instructive to compare the Vedic form of the legend with that in the epic. I therefore give below the contents

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[1]) Extract from I, 8-12.

[2]) Rv. 1, 116, 10, where he is called Cyavāna.

[3]) Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa IV, 1, 5. Translated into German by A. *Weber* Indische Streifen I (Berlin, 1868), pp. 13 ff. Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa, III, 120 f. *Cf.* the interesting study of E. W. *Hopkins*, "The Fountain of Youth" (JAOS., Vol. XXVI, 1905, pp. 1-67, and 411 ff.), in which the legend of the *fountain of youth* is traced not only in India, but also among other peoples.

[4]) III, 122-125. References to the last part of the narrative also XII, 342; XIII, 156 and XIV, 9.

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according to the Mahābhārata, and draw attention in the notes to the most important deviations of the Brāhmaṇa narratives.

Cyavana, a son of Bhṛgu, practised severe austerity on the shore of a lake. He stood motionless as a post for so long that a mound of earth formed over him, on which the ants crawled about, and he himself looked like an ant-hill.[1] Into the neighbourhood of this lake King *Śaryāti* once came with many followers. His young daughter *Sukanyā*, romping about in the forest with her playmates, came upon the ant-hill, in which only the two eyes of the ascetic were visible like glow-worms. Out of wantonness and curiosity the young girl poked about in the two shining things with a thorn and—poked out the eyes of the ascetic.[2] Filled with anger, the saint caused retention of urine and constipation in the army of Śaryāti.[3] The king for a long time sought the cause of the misfortune, and when it transpired that the great ascetic had been offended, he went to him to obtain his forgiveness. The latter will only be reconciled if the king gives him his daughter as his wife. So the young girl becomes the wife of the frail old man. One day the two Aśvins see the young wife just as she is stepping out of her bath, and try to persuade her to choose one of them as her husband instead of the ugly old man. She, however, declares that she wishes to remain faithful to her husband. Then the two physicians of the gods propose to her that they should make her husband young, and she should then choose between them both and the rejuvenated Cyavana. As Cyavana agrees to this, she consents also. Thereupon the Aśvins let the old ascetic step into the lake and they themselves also dive into the water, whereupon they all three come out quite alike and in the dazzling beauty of youth. Now Sukanyā is to choose, and after mature consideration, she decides for her own husband Cyavana.[4] The latter, in return for having been rejuvenated, promises

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[1]) The Brāhmaṇas know nothing of these ascetic practices. Cyavāna is there only an "old, ghostly-looking" saint.

[2]) In the Brāhmaṇas it is the young lads in the retinue of the king who insult the old ṛṣi, pelting him with lumps of earth.

[3]) According to the Brāhmaṇas the punishment consisted in the arising of discord in the retinue of the king. "The father fought with his son, the brother with his brother." (Śat-Br.) "The mother did not know her son, nor the son his mother" (Jaim-Br.)

[4]) The Śat-Br. knows nothing of the fact that the Aśvins also step into the lake. But the Jaim.-Br. records that Cyavāna had already previously given Sukanyā a sign by which she would recognise him.

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to make the Aśvins into Soma-drinkers. At a great sacrifice which he performs for Śaryāti, he presents the Aśvins with the Soma. The king of the gods, Indra, however, will not concede that the Aśvins, who wander about as physicians among mortals, can be worthy of the Soma. But Cyavana takes no notice of the objections of Indra, and continues to sacrifice to the Aśvins. The enraged Indra is about to hurl the thunderbolt upon him. At that moment, however, the saint paralyses the arm of the god; and in order to humble him thoroughly,[1] he creates, by virtue of his asceticism, a terrible monster, *Mada, Intoxication*. With his huge mouth (the one jaw touches the earth, while the other reaches up to the sky) he approaches Indra and threatens to swallow him. Trembling with fear, the prince of gods implores the saint to have mercy, and the latter, satisfied, lets *Intoxication* vanish again, dividing him among the intoxicating drink Surā, women, dice and the chase.[2]

We see here clearly, as in many other cases, that the brahmanical poetry which is contained in the epic, represents a much later phase of development than that of Vedic literature. The characteristic of this later brahmanical poetry, however, is exaggeration, lack of moderation in general, and especially immoderate exaltation of the saints—Brahmans and ascetics—over the gods. Even in the actual *Indra-myths* connected with the Vedic legends of the gods, Indra is no longer the mighty champion and conqueror of demons, as we knew him in the hymns of the Ṛgveda.[3] It is true that the old legend of the battle between Indra and Vṛtra survives, it is even related twice in considerable detail in the Mahābhārata,[4]

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[1]) In the Śat. Br. there is no question of any humiliation of the god; Cyavāna only provides the Aśvins with the means by which they are voluntarily made participators in the Soma-drink by Indra and the other gods. In the Jaim. Br. there is, it is true, a trial of strength between ṛṣis and gods, and the ṛṣis create *Mada* to *support* them. But as Indra and the gods flee from the monster, the sacrifice threatens to become an Indra-less and god-less one, and the ṛṣi begs Indra most politely, with prayers and invocations, to return. It is only in the version of the Mahābhārata that the god is completely humiliated by the saint.

[2]) In the Jaim-Br. the demon Intoxication is transferred *only* to the Surā (brandy).

[3]) *Cf.* above, pp. 82 ff.

[4]) III, 100 f.; V, 9-18. The references to this fight are numerous. The legend of the fight of Indra with *Namuci*, IX, 43, is a duplicate of that of the Vṛtra-battle.

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but the main stress is laid upon the circumstance that Indra, by killing Vṛtra, burdened himself with the guilt of Brāhman-murder. It is related in great detail how he first had to free himself from this terrible guilt, suffering many humiliations. We have seen, that for a time he was even robbed of his heavenly throne, and Nahuṣa occupied his place.[1] The belief that the supremacy of Indra may be shaken by the austerities of pious Brahmans is exemplified by numerous legends. It is even said[2] that asceticism can compel Indra himself to enter the home of Yama (the god of death). And often indeed does Indra have recourse to the proved expedient of allowing a beautiful Apsaras to seduce a saint who, through his severe austerities, threatens to become dangerous to the gods.[3]

Agni, too, the friend of Indra, has, in the myths of the Mahābhārata, lost much of his old glory as a god. Yet the myths related of him are still connected with the Vedic ideas of fire and of the god of fire. Already in the Ṛgveda he is called "the lover of maidens, the husband of women."[4] But the Mahābhārata tells of Agni's definite love affairs. Thus he once became enamoured of the beautiful daughter of King *Nīla*, and the sacred fire in the king's palace would burn only if fanned by the beautiful lips and the sweet breath of the king's daughter. There was nothing for it but the king must give his daughter in marriage to Agni. In gratitude for this, the god grants him the favour that he may become invincible and that the women of his town may enjoy complete freedom with regard to sexual intercourse.[5] The gluttony, too, of Agni, is already spoken of in the Veda. The legends of the Mahābhārata relate, however, that in consequence

[1]) See above, p. 381.
[2]) III, 126, 21.
[3]) *Cf.* A. *Holtzmann*, in ZDMG. 32, 1878, pp. 290 ff., about Indra in the Mahābhārata.
[4]) See above, p. 88.
[5]) II, 31. A similar love-story of Agni, XIII, 2.

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of the Ṛṣi *Bhṛgu's* curse he became an "eater of all things." That Agni has several brothers and that he conceals himself in the water or in the friction-sticks, are also Vedic ideas, which already in the Brāhmaṇas led to the formation of myths [1]; but it is only in the Mahābhārata that detailed stories are told about the reason why Agni hid himself, and how the gods found him again.[2]

To the legends which are known already in the Veda and which recur in the Mahābhārata belongs also the flood-legend of Manu and the fish, which has been related above [3] according to the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa. The narrative of the Mahābhārata, the "fish episode," [4] as it is called, differs from the legend as it is related in the Brāhmaṇa, in its greater detail and the poetical presentation, which is not lacking in poetic flights—as when it is described how the ship, "like a drunken wench," staggers to and fro on the agitated ocean. As regards the details of the story it is of importance that in the Mahābhārata, exactly as in the Semitic flood-legends, the taking of *seeds* in the ship is mentioned.[5] I see in this one of the strongest proofs that the Indian flood legend was borrowed from the Semitic one.[6] The conclusion of the legend in the Mahābhārata differs from that in the Brāhmaṇa. In the epic the fish declares that he is the god Brahman, and

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[1]) *E. g.*, Śatapatha-Br. I, 2, 3, 1; Taittirīya-Saṃhitā, II, 6, 6.

[2]) *Cf.* A. *Holtzmann*, Agni nach den Vorstellungen des Mahâbhârata, Strassburg, 1878.

[3]) Pp. 209 f.

[4]) Matsyopākhyāna, III, 187. German translations by F. *Bopp* (1829), F. *Rückert*, and H. *Jacobi* (in H. *Usener*, Die Sintflutsagen, Bonn 1899, pp. 28 ff.).

[5]) Similarly in the Matsya-Purāṇa and in the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, where the legend recurs.

[6]) *Cf.* my treatise "Die Flutsagen des Altertums und der Naturvölker in Vol. XXXI of the Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien (Vienna), 1901, especially pp. 321 f. and 327 ff. I do not know how those who, like R. *Pischel*, Der Ursprung des christlichen Fischsymbols (SBA., XXV, 1905) deny the connection between Indian and Semitic flood-legends, account for this remarkable agreement.

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invites Manu to create the world anew, which the latter does by means of undergoing severe austerities.[1]

Less familiar is the profound and beautiful myth of the Goddess Death, which is related twice in the Mahābhārata.[2] "Whose child is Death? Whence comes Death? Why does Death sweep away the creatures of this world?" Thus asks Yudhiṣṭhira, sorrowing at the departure of so many heroes who had fallen in the battle. Then Bhīṣma (resp. Vyāsa)[2] tells him the story which Nārada once related to King Anukampaka, when the latter was inconsolable at the death of his son. The contents of the narrative are briefly as follows:

When Grandfather Brahman had created the beings, they multiplied unceasingly and did not die. The worlds became over-filled, and the Earth complained to Brahman that she could no longer bear her burden. Then the Grandfather considered how he could reduce the number of beings, but he could think of no remedy. This enraged him, and the fire of his wrath issued from all the pores of his body, flames engulfed the world and threatened to annihilate everything. But god Śiva felt pity for the beings, and at his intercession Brahman withdrew into himself the fire which had arisen from his wrath, and ordered the origin and passing away of the beings; while so doing, however, there came forth out of the pores of his body, a dark-eyed, beautifully adorned woman, draped in a dark red garment. She wished to go on her way towards the South, but Brahman called to her and said: "Death, kill the beings of this world! For thou art born of my thought about world-annihilation and out of my wrath,

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[1]) At the new creation of the world there is no longer any mention of the "seeds" which he took with him!

[2]) VII, 52-54, where Vyāsa comforts Yudhiṣṭhira, who is in deep distress at the death of Abhimanyu (see above, p. 363), with the story; and XII, 256-258, where Bhīṣma again tells the same story of consolation to Yudhiṣṭhira, who is lamenting at the departing of so many heroes who have fallen in the great battle. Probably the story was originally *only* in Book XII, for verses XII, 256, 1-6, in which there is mention of the many fallen ones *in the plural number*, are found again literally in VII, 52, 12-18, although here it is really only the lament for Abhimanyu which provides occasion for the narration. The poem has been translated into German by Friedrich *Rückert* (in Rob. Boxberger's "Rückert-Studien," Gotha 1878, pp. 114 ff.), and by *Deussen*, Vier philosoph ische Texte des Mahābhāratam," pp. 404-413.

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therefore annihilate the creatures, the fools and the sages, all together!" Then the lotus-crowned *Goddess Death* wept aloud, but the lord of creatures caught up her tears in his hands. She implored him to release her from this gruesome task:

"I bow to thee, O lord of beings, be merciful to me, that I may not sweep away innocent creatures—children, old men and people in the prime of life: beloved children, trusted friends, brothers, mothers and fathers! I shall be reproached if they die away thus. Of this I am afraid. And I fear the tears of the unhappy ones, whose moisture will burn me in eternity."

But a decision of Brahman is irrevocable. She must submit to it, but the Grandfather grants her the favour that greed, anger, jealousy, envy, hatred, infatuation and shamelessness may ruin men and that the tears which were shed by the goddess and which he holds in his hand, may become diseases to kill the creatures. Thus no blame for the death of the beings rests upon her. On the contrary, the sinners perish through their own sin. But she, the Goddess Death, free from love and free from hate, is justice itself and mistress of justice,[1] sweeping away the living creatures.

A proof of the fairly high antiquity which must be ascribed to this myth, as well as to that of Manu and the flood, is the exalted position which is allotted to the god *Brahman* in them. In the myth of the Goddess Death, the god Śiva is subordinate to Brahman, who addresses him as "little son." Myths in which the god Śiva occupies a position far above all gods, indicate a much later stratum of brahmanical poetry in the Mahābhārata. The same is true also of the myths in which the god *Viṣṇu* plays the principal part. Frequently older brahmanical myths and legends were revised in accordance with Viṣṇu- or Śiva-worship, which is mostly not difficult to recognise. Such Viṣṇuite and especially Śivaite additions often appear like blots on a painting. They are easy to distinguish, and their removal only enhances the value of the poetry. As poetical productions, the narratives

[1]) VII, 54, 41.

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which are dedicated to the glorification of the gods Viṣṇu and Śiva, are quite inferior.[1]

A *Goddess Death* plays no part elsewhere in Indian mythology.[2] But, just as, in the above-related myth, the goddess of death becomes the goddess of justice, so in the whole of the Mahābhārata the idea prevails that *Yama*, the god of death, is one with *Dharma*, the personification of Law.[3] But nowhere is the identification of the king of the realm of death with the lord of law and justice expressed so beautifully as in the most magnificent of all brahmanical poems which the epic has preserved, the wonderful poem of faithful Sāvitri.[4] The partly religious character of the poem, the intermingling of mythology, indeed of the ancient brahmanical mythology, in which Grandfather Brahman determines the destinies of mankind, and neither Śiva nor Viṣṇu plays a part—and the scenery of the forest hermitage in which the greater part of the action takes place, induce me to classify the Sāvitrī-episode among the *brahmanical* legend-poetry. Yet I am not quite certain whether it may not be a pious legend belonging to the old bard-poetry. For the independent action of the princess Sāvitrī, who goes forth in search of a husband, and remains steadfast to her choice, although the saint and her father raise warning protestations, the independence with which she practises asceticism,

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[1]) Devoted exclusively to the sectarian cult are portions such as the *Viṣṇusahasranāmakathana* (XIII, 149), the enumeration of the thousand names of Viṣṇu, the *Śatarudriya* (VII, 202), "the hundred names of Śiva," and the *Śivasahasranāmastotra* (XII, 284, 16ff.) "Praise of Siva in a thousand names." *Cf.* above, pp. 185 f.

[2]) To my knowledge it only recurs once again in the Brahmavaivartta-Purāṇa by the side of Yama (Th. *Aufrecht*, Catalogus codicum MSS. Sanscriticorum in Bibl. Bodleiana, p. 22*a*).

[3]) Concerning the god Dharma also see above pp. 330 and 374.

[4]) III, 293-299: *Sāvitryupākhyāna* "episode of Sāvitrī" or *Pativratāmāhātmya* "the song in praise of the faithful wife." The story is told by the seer *Mārkaṇḍeya*, who, though many thousand years old, is eternally young, to Yudiṣṭhira in order to comfort him with regard to the fate of Draupadī.

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offers sacrifices, and takes vows upon herself,[1] and above all, her courageous intercession for the life of her husband, as well as her knowledge of wise sayings, by means of which she even impresses the god of death— all this recalls more the women of heroic poetry, such as Draupadī, Kuntī and Vidulā, than the brahmanical ideal of woman.[2] But whoever it was who sang the song of Sāvitrī, whether a Sūta or a Brahman, he was certainly one of the greatest poets of all times. Only a great poet was capable of placing this noble female character before us so that we seem to see her before our eyes. Only a true poet could have described in such a touching and elevating manner the victory of love and constancy, of virtue and wisdom, over destiny and death, without even for an instant falling into the tone of the dry preacher of morality.[3] And only an inspired artist could have produced as if by magic such wonderful pictures before us. We see the deeply distressed woman walking by the side of her husband who is doomed to death; the husband, mortally ill, wearily laying his head on his wife's lap, the dreadful form of the god of death, who binds the man's soul with fetters and leads it away; the wife, wrestling with the god of death for the life of her husband; and finally, the happily re-united pair, wandering homewards in the moonlight with their arms around each other. And we see all these pictures in the splendid setting of a primeval Indian forest, whose

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[1]) According to brahmanical precept a woman as such (separate from her husband) is not entitled to perform sacrifices nor to undertake fasts and other vows. (Manu, V. 155.)

[2]) This ideal is, in short, the "Griselda ideal"—the unconditionally obedient, submissive wife, of whom Manu teaches, V, 154: "Even if a husband is lacking in all virtues, only indulges in sensual pleasure and possesses no good qualities of any kind, he must ever be honoured as a god by a virtuous wife."

[3]) The conversation between Sāvitrī and Yama, the god of death, who is at the same time Dharma, forms the nucleus of the poem. Some of the verses may have been badly transmitted Yet the fundamental thought of all the verses by means of which Sāvitrī so greatly pleases the god and vanquishes him, is sufficiently clear; it is the doctrine of wisdom that is one with love and goodness.

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deep stillness we seem to feel, and whose delicious fragrance we seem to breathe, when we surrender ourselves to the magic of this incomparable poem.

How well the Hindus themselves appreciate the treasure which they possess in this immortal poem, is shown in the closing words which have been added to the poem in our Mahābhārata:

"He who has heard with devotion the glorious story of Sāvitrī, that man is fortunate, his affairs will prosper, and never will sorrow visit him."

Still at the present day, Hindu women annually celebrate a festival (Sāvitrīvrata) in remembrance of faithful Sāvitrī, to secure married happiness for themselves, in which festival the recitation of this poem from the Mahābhārata, forms an essential part of the celebration.[1]

The poem has frequently been translated into European languages including German.[2] But all translations, adaptations and imitations can only give a feeble idea of the incomparable charm of the Indian poem.

Not all brahmanical legends are so pious and moral as that of Sāvitrī. Indeed, a whole volume could easily be filled with disgusting and obscene stories from the Mahābhārata which pleased the Brahmans. One of these legends has, however, rightly attained fame as a poem, and is, moreover, very important for the criticism of the Mahābhārata. This is the legend of *Ṛṣyaśṛṅga*,[3] the ṛṣi who had never seen a

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[1]) *Cf. Shib Chunder Bose*, The Hindoos as they are, 2nd ed., Calcutta, 1883, pp. 293 ff.

[2]) English translations by R. T. H. *Griffith* (1852, and Idylls from the Sanskrit, Allahabad 1912, pp. 113 ff.) and J. *Muir* (Edinburgh, 1880). German renderings by F. *Bopp* (1829), F. *Rückert* (in "Brahmanische Legenden," 1836), H. C. *Kellner* (Reclams Universal bibliothek, 1895). For other translations s. *Holtzmann*, Das Mahābhārata II, pp. 92 f. The Sāvitrī poem has also been adapted for the stage by Ferdinand Graf *Sporck*, with music by Hermann *Zumpe*, and produced in German theatres.

[3]) III, 110-113. Freely rendered into German by A. *Holtzmann* in "Indische Sagen," and by J. V. *Widmann* (Buddha, Bern 1869, pp. 101 ff.). Very freely dramatised by A. Christina *Albers* in Calcutta Review, Nov. 1923, pp. 231 ff. ("The Great Drought"). J. *Hertel* (WZKM. 18, 1904, pp. 158 f.) and L. v. *Schroeder*, Mysterium und Mimus im

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woman. The contents of this ancient Indian tale are briefly as follows:

Ṛṣyaśṛṅga,[1] born miraculously of an antelope, is the son of a saint, who grows up in a hermitage in a forest, without ever having seen any person besides his father. Above all, he has never seen a woman. Now there was once a great drought in the kingdom of King Lomapāda, and the sages declared: the gods are angry, and the rain will fall only if the king succeeds in bringing Ṛṣyaśṛṅga into his country. The king's daughter Śāntā[2] undertakes the task of enticing the young saint into the land. A floating hermitage is constructed of artificial trees and shrubs, and in this Śāntā sails to the dwelling place of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga. Arriving in the vicinity of the forest hermitage, the king's daughter steps ashore and takes advantage of the absence of the father of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, in order to approach the youthful ascetic. She gives him magnificent fruits and delicious wine, plays coquettishly with a ball, and clings in a tender embrace to the youth, who thinks he sees before him a hermit lad like himself. Thereupon the maiden returns to the ship, as the father of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga approaches the hermitage. The old man notices the excitement of his son, and asks him what has happened. The latter then describes his adventure with the beautiful "youth" and his rapture at meeting him, in glowing terms, and says that he would fain practise the same "ascetic discipline" as yonder youth, for the yearns to see him again. But the father warns him that these are evil demons (rakṣas) who go about in that shape to disturb the asceticism of pious men.

But no sooner has the father departed again, than Ṛṣyaśṛṅga goes in search of his young "friend." Soon he has found beautiful Śāntā, is

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Rigveda, pp. 292 ff., have tried to explain the Ṛṣyaśṛṅga poem as an ancient drama, a kind of "mystery play." It is really a *ballad* of the type of the Vedic Ākhyānas. H. *Lüders* (NGGW., 1897, pp. 1 ff.; 1901, pp. 1 ff.) has traced the older forms of this ballad, by comparing its different versions in Indian literature.

[1]) The name means "the antelope-horned." As he has *one* horn on his head, he is also in Buddhistic versions called *Ekaśṛṅga*, *i.e.* "Unicorn."

[2]) In our Mahābhārata it is not Śāntā, but a courtesan, who seduces the saint. *Lüders* (l. c.) has proved convincingly, however, that not only in the original form of the legend, as it has come down to us in the *Jātaka*-book of the Buddhist Tipiṭaka but also in an earlier form of the Mahābhārata itself, the princess Śāntā was the seducer. Only some later rhapsodist or copyist took exception to a king's daughter being said to have seduced Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, and put a courtesan in her place, so that we do not know why the king finally gives his daughter in marriage to the saint. It may be mentioned that *Holtzmann*, in his free rendering (l. c.) has already made the princess Śāntā the seducer of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga.

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enticed by her into the floating hermitage, and is carried away into Lomapāda's kingdom. The moment the young saint enters the land, the rain begins to fall in torrents. The king makes him his son-in-law, after he has conciliated the old father by means of rich gifts.

Various versions of this legend may be found in other Indian works of literature, especially in the Rāmāyaṇa, in the Padma-Purāṇa and in the Buddhist Jātaka book. It is easy to recognize that though the ballad is based on an old legend with a religious background, it was related in its original form with a racy humour whose indecencies the various revisors endeavoured to mitigate. The scene in which the ascetic's son, who has never seen a woman, catches sight of the beautiful maiden, whom he takes for an ascetic, though her charms do not leave him unmoved, was certainly the central point of the story in the original version, and was described with a coarse humour, of whose rudeness some examples are still preserved in the Buddhistic Jātaka.[1] But how popular this humorous tale was, is shown by its being familiar in different versions in Tibet, China and Japan, and in its having left traces behind even in the unicorn-legend of the West.[2]

The Ṛṣyaśṛṅga-legend is in the so-called *Tīrthayātrā*-section.[3] The Ṛṣi Lomaśa, who has come in order to console the brothers of Arjuna,[4] makes a pilgrimage with them. At every sacred place (Tīrtha) which they visit, the ṛṣi relates

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[1]) In the Gāthās of the Jātakas Nos. 523 and 526. These Gāthās are, according to *Lüders* (l. c., 1897, p. 38), "the oldest remnants of a literary setting of the Ṛṣyaśṛṅga-legend," "and these verses were, at any rate, partly known to the author of the Mahābhārata version, and, translated into Sanskrit and more or less transformed, were included in his work."

[2]) *Cf.* F. W. K. *Müller*, Ikkaku seunin, eine mittelalterliche japanische Oper, transkribiert und übersetzt, Nebst einem Exkurs zur Einhornsage (in the Festschrift für Adolf Bastian zu seinem 70. Geburtstag, Berlin 1896, pp. 513-538).

[3]) *i.e.*, "section of pilgrimages," III, 80-156. Sacred places to which pilgrimages (yātrā) are undertaken, are called *Tīrthas*.

[4]) See above, p. 348.

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a story referring to that place. Thus there are collected in this section (certainly not belonging to the oldest parts of the Mahābhārata) numerous brahmanical legends. Here we find, for example, the above-related legend of Cyavana,[1] similarly the legends of the famous Ṛṣi *Agastya*. This great saint is asked by the gods, among other things, to dry up the ocean, so that they may fight against certain demons who dwell on the bottom of the ocean. The saint does this quite simply by drinking up the whole ocean. He is also the hero of numerous other brahmanical legends.[2]

While these Agastya-legends are intended to show the tremendous ascendancy of the brahmanical saint over gods and men, we find in the Mahābhārata also a whole cycle of legends, the heroes of which are the famous Ṛṣis *Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra*,[3] and in which, though in the end they also serve for the glorification of the Brahmans, there can still be perceived distinct traces of the struggle for supremacy between priests and warriors. The roots of these legends reach back far into the Vedic period, and they recur in various versions also in the Rāmāyaṇa epic and in the Purāṇas. The contents of the legend according to the Mahābhārata are briefly as follows:

Viśvāmitra was a warrior, the son of King Gādhin of Kanyākubja (Kanauj). One day, in the course of his hunting, he came to the hermitage of Ṛṣi Vasiṣṭha. The latter had a marvellous cow which fulfilled all his wishes. When he desired anything, whether food or drink, jewels or garments, or whatever it might be, he had only to say: "Give," and the cow Nandinī granted it to him. When Viśvāmitra saw the excellent cow, he desired to have it, and offered Vasiṣṭha ten thousand ordinary cows for it. But the latter would not give it up, as it gave him everything he

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[1]) Pp. 391 f.

[2]) III, 96-109.

[3]) I, 177-182; V, 106-119; IX, 39 f.; 42 f.; XII, 141; XIII, 3 f. *Cf.* J. Muir, Original Sanskrit Texts. Vol. I, 3rd ed. (London 1890), pp. 388 ff., 411 ff., and F. E. Pargiter in JRAS. 1913, pp. 885 ff.

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ever wanted for sacrificial purposes. Viśvāmitra now wanted to steal the cow, according to "warriors' custom." Vasiṣṭha, as a gentle Brahman, did not hinder him in this, but the marvellous cow itself brought forth out of its body, mighty hosts of warriors, by whom the troops of Viśvāmitra were defeated and put to flight. Then the proud king sees that the power of Brahmans is after all greater than that of warriors; he gives up his kingdom and performs severe austerities in order to become a Brahman, in which he succeeds after unutterable efforts.

I may quote one other remarkable legend in this cycle of myths, because it recalls certain features of the Ahasuerus-legend:

Even after Viśvāmitra has become a Brahman, his enmity with Vasiṣṭha continues. Instigated by Viśvāmitra, Kalmāṣapāda, who is possessed by a Rākṣasa, kills the sons of Vasiṣṭha. But the latter is so full of mildness that he will rather die than give vent to his anger. He is about to end his life, and throws himself down from Mount Meru, but falls on a pile of wool. He enters the fire, but it does not burn him. With a stone around his neck he throws himself into the sea, but is thrust out again living. So he returns with a sorrowful heart to his hermitage. But when he sees his home empty of children, grief brings him back anew to thoughts of suicide. He hurls himself into a swollen mountain stream, after having tied his limbs fast with ropes, but the current tears his fetters and throws him on to a bank. Wandering further, he comes to a river which is full of crocodiles and horrible monsters; he throws himself in, but the wild animals timidly shrink away from him. As he sees that he cannot die by his own hand, he returns again to his hermitage, after having wandered over hills and countries. On the way he meets his daughter-in-law Adṛśyantī, and he hears a voice like that of his son singing Veda hymns. It is the voice of his as yet unborn grandchild, who already in his mother's womb—Adṛśyantī has been pregnant with him since twelve years—has learned all the Vedas. As soon as he knows that he is to have descendants, he gives up his thoughts of suicide.

While the literary value of this kind of brahmanical legends cannot be gainsaid, there are also numerous stories in the Mahābhārata which are invented purely for the purpose of the glorification of the Brahmans or for the inculcation of some brahmanical doctrine or other. We have, for instance,

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tales of pupils who go to the utmost extremes in obedience towards their teacher, like that Uddālaka Āruṇi, who is commissioned by his teacher to block a leaking dam, and does this, as no other way presents itself to him, with his own body. Or the story is told of a king who, as a punishment for having given a Brahman's cow to someone else, was changed into a lizard.[1] Other stories are intended to prove that there is no greater merit than giving cows to Brahmans. In a famous Upaniṣad the youth Naciketas, thirsting for knowledge, utilises his sojourn in the underworld to question the god of death about the Beyond. In the Mahābhārata, the youth, who is here called Nāciketa, asks to see the paradise of the cow-givers, and Yama delights him with a long lecture upon the merit which one acquires by presenting cows.[2] In order to prove that it is meritorious to give sunshades and shoes, it is related that Ṛṣi Jamadagni was once angry with the sun, and was just about to shoot it down from the sky, when the sun-god pacified him in the nick of time, by giving him a sunshade and a pair of shoes.[3] Such stories are frequent especially in the didactic sections and books (XII and XIII). In these didactic portions of the Mahābhārata we find finally also numerous frame-stories called "Itihāsas" which serve only to introduce and give a certain form to the talks upon law, morality or philosophy. It is noteworthy that, in these Itihāsas, we occasionally meet with the same personages as speakers whom we met in the Upaniṣads, *e.g.*, Yājñavalkya and Janaka.[4] And as in the Upaniṣads and the Buddhistic dialogues, so in the didactic Itihāsas of the

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[1]) I, 3; XIII, 70 f.
[2]) XIII, 71. *Cf.* above, pp. 261 f.
[3]) XIII, 95 f.
[4]) XII, 18; 290; 310-320.

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Mahābhārata too, we meet learned women [1] as well as kings and sages.[2]

Fables, Parables and Moral Narratives in the Mahābhārata.[3]

These Itihāsa-Saṃvādas, as we may call those discourses clothed in the form of narratives (saṃvāda), for the greater part no longer belong to the brahmanical legend-poetry, but to what, for lack of a better expression, we have called Ascetic poetry.[4] The latter is clearly distinguishable from the brahmanical poetry connected with the ancient legends of the gods, which are already forgotten to a considerable extent among the people; it is far more closely related to the *popular* literature of fables and fairy-tales, partly because it draws upon the latter, and partly because it approaches it as closely as possible. And while the brahmanical legends, like the brahmanical Itihāsa-Saṃvādas, serve the special interests of the priests and teach a narrow priestly morality, reaching its climax in the sacrificial service and in the worship of the Brahmans (more than of the gods), the ascetic poetry rises to a general morality of mankind, which teaches, above all, love towards all beings and renunciation of the world. Traces of this literature are first to be found in the Upaniṣads, but later just as much in the Mahābhārata and in some Purāṇas, as in the sacred texts of the Buddhists and the

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[1]) King Janaka disputes with the nun Sulabhā, XII, 320. King Senajit is comforted by the verses of the courtesan Piṅgalā, XII, 174.

[2]) Occasionally also gods, e.g., Indra and Bṛhaspati, XII, 11; 21; 68; 84; 103; XIII, 111-113.

[3]) A selection of moral narratives, especially out of Book XII, from the Mahābhārata, is given in French translation by A. *Roussel*, Légendes Morales de l'Inde empruntées au Bhagavata Purāṇa et au Mahabharata traduites du Sanskrit. (Les littératures populaires t. 38 et 39). Paris 1900. On fables and parables s. *Oldenberg*, Das Mahābhārata, pp. 66 ff.

[4]) See M. *Winternitz* in Calcutta Review, Oct. 1923, pp. 1 ff.

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Jainas. Therefore it is not to be wondered at, that in these different literatures we often meet with the same legends of saints and the same maxims of wisdom and ethics, often literally the same.

The oldest Indian fables are to be found, indeed, already in the actual epic, and they serve for the inculcation of rules of *Nīti, i.e.* worldly wisdom, as well as of *Dharma* or morality. Thus a minister advises Dhṛtarāṣṭra to deal with the Pāṇḍavas in a similar manner as a certain jackal, who utilised his four friends, a tiger, a mouse, a wolf and an ichneumon, for the purpose of obtaining his prey, but then cunningly got rid of them, so that the prey remained for him alone.[1] In another place Śiśupāla compares Bhīṣma with that old hypocritical flamingo, which always talked only of morality and enjoyed the confidence of all its fellow-birds, so that they all entrusted it with the keeping of their eggs, until they discover too late, that the flamingo eats the eggs. Delightful also is the fable of the treacherous cat, which Ulūka, in the name of Duryodhana, relates to Yudhiṣṭhira, at whom it is aimed. With uplifted arms the cat performs severe austerities on the bank of the Ganges; and he is ostensibly so pious and good that not only the birds worship him, but even the mice entrust themselves to his protection. He declares himself willing to protect them, but says that in consequence of his asceticism he is so weak that he cannot move. Therefore the mice must carry him to the river—where he devours them and grows fat.[2] The wise Vidura, into whose mouth many wise sayings are placed, also knows many fables. Thus he advises Dhṛtarāṣṭra not to pursue the Paṇḍavas out of self-interest, that it may not befall him as it befell the king who, out of

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[1]) I, 140. On similar fables, *cf.* Th. *Benfey*, Pantschatantra I, pp. 472 f.

[2]) II, 41; V, 160. Such fables, in which animals appear as hypocritical ascetics, are not at all rare in Indian fable literature, *cf.* Th. *Benfey*, l. c., I, pp. 177 f., 352; and M. *Bloomfield*, JAOS. 44, 1924, pp. 202 ff.

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greed, killed the birds which disgorged gold, so that he then had neither birds nor gold.[1] In order to bring about peace, he also relates the fable of the birds which flew up with the net which had been thrown out by the fowler, but finally fell into the hands of the fowler, because they began to quarrel with one another.[2]

Most of the fables, as well as all the parables and moral narratives, are to be found in the didactic sections and in Books XII and XIII. Many of these recur in the Buddhistic and later collections of fables and fairy-tales, and some have been transmitted into European narrative literature. Thus Benfey has traced through the literature of the world a series of fables which all deal with the subject of the impossibility of friendship between cat and mouse.[3]

Many a pretty parable, too, is to be found in the didactic portions of the Mahābhārata. Thus "the old Itihāsa, the conversation between the river and the ocean,"[4] is related in order to inculcate the wise theory that it is good to stoop:

"The ocean asks the rivers how it is that they uproot strong mighty trees and bring them to him, while they never bring the thin weak reed. Gangā answers him: 'The trees stand, each in its place, firmly rooted to one spot. Because they oppose the current, they must move from their place. Not so the reed. The reed bends as soon as it sees the current

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[1]) II. 62. Related to this is the fairy-tale of Suvarṇaṣṭhīvin (*i.e.*, "he who drops gold out of his mouth"), the son of King Sṛñjaya. The latter had desired a son whose entire evacuations should be gold. The wish is fulfilled, and the gold accumulates in his palace. But finally the son is kidnapped by robbers (dasyus) and murdered, and all the gold vanishes. VII, 55. *Cf. Benfey*, l. c., I, 379.

[2]) V, 64. *Cf.* also the fable of the crow which desires to enter on a flying-race with the flamingo, VIII, 41, translated by *Benfey*, l. c., I, pp. 312 ff., where also other related fables are indicated.

[3]) XII, 111; 138; 139 (also Harivaṃśa, 20, 1117 ff.) translated and traced in other literatures by *Benfey*, l. c., I, 575 ff., 545 ff., 560 ff. Other fables of the Mahābhārata which are part of universal literature, are that of the three fishes XII, 137 (*Benfey*, l. c., I, 243 f.) and that of the saint's dog which is changed into a leopard, a tiger, an elephant, a lion, a Śarabha and finally again into a dog, XII, 116 f. (*Benfey*, l. c., I, 374 f.).

[4]) XII, 113.

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approaching—not so the trees—and when the force of the current has passed by, it stands erect again."

Great fame and almost universal propagation has been attained by the parable of the "Man in the well" which the wise Vidura relates to King Dhṛtarāṣṭra.[1] For its own sake as well as on account of its significance in universal literature, it deserves to be quoted in an extract and partly in translation:

A Brahman loses his way in a dense forest full of beasts of prey. In great terror he runs here and there, looking in vain for a way out. "Then he sees that the terrible forest is surrounded on all sides by traps and is embraced by both arms of a dreadful-looking woman. Great and terrible five-headed dragons, which reach up like rocks to the sky, surround this great forest." And in the middle of this forest, covered by underwood and creeping plants, there is a well. The Brahman falls into it and is caught on the intertwined branches of a creeper. "As the great fruit of a bread-fruit tree, held by its stalk, hangs down, so he hung there, feet upwards, head downwards. And yet another even greater danger threatens him there. In the middle of the well he perceived a great, mighty dragon, and at the edge of the lid of the well he saw a black, six-mouthed and twelve-footed giant elephant slowly approaching." In the branches of the tree which covered the well, swarmed all kinds of dreadful-looking bees, preparing honey. The honey drips down and is greedily drunk by the man hanging in the well. For he was not weary of existence, and did not give up hope of life, though white and black mice gnawed the tree on which he hung. The forest, so Vidura explains the metaphor to the king who was filled with pity, is the saṃsāra, existence in the world: the beasts of prey are the diseases, the hideous giantess is old age, the well is the body of beings, the dragon at the bottom of the well is time, the creepers in which the man was caught, the hope of life, the six-mouthed and twelve-footed elephant, the year with six seasons and twelve months: the mice are the days and nights, and the drops of honey are sensual enjoyments.

There can be no doubt that this parable is a genuine Indian production of ascetic poetry. It has been called

[1]) XI, 5.

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"originally Buddhistic," [1] but it does not correspond more with the Buddhists' view of life than with that of the Jainas and of other Indian ascetic sects. However, it probably was the Buddhistic versions of the parable which paved the way for it to the West; for it penetrated into the literature of the West principally with that stream of literature which flowed to the West through the popular books "Barlaam and Joasaph" and "Kalîlah and Dimnah," which originated in *India*, but later became absolutely international. But in Germany it is most familiar through Rückert's beautiful poem "Es war ein Mann in Syrerland," whose immediate source is a Persian poem by Jelâled-dîn Rûmî.[2] Ernst Kuhn has traced throughout all the literatures of the world the "circulation of this truly non-sectarian parable which has served equally for the edification of Brahmans, Jainas, Buddhists, Mohammedans, Christians and Jews." [3]

As with this parable, so with many *moral narratives* of the Mahābhārata, one might be inclined to trace them back to Buddhistic sources. On closer scrutiny, however, they could equally well have been drawn from that source of popular narratives which was alike at the disposal of Brahmans, Buddhists and other sects. Thus, for example, the stories of King Śibi not only look very Buddhistic, but, in a text belonging to the Tipiṭaka [4] the legend is actually already related, how this self-sacrificing king tears out both his eyes in order to give them to a beggar. In the Mahābhārata the

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[1]) Thus *Benfey*, l. c., I, pp. 80 ff., and M. *Haberlandt*, Der altindische Geist (Leipzig 1887), pp. 209 ff.

[2]) Friedrich *Rückerts* Werke, publ. by C. Beyer, Vol. I, pp. 104 f. The Persian poem from the second Diwan of Jelâl-ed-dîn Rûmî, translated by Joseph v. *Hammer*, Geschichte der schönen Redekünste Persiens, Vienna 1818, pp. 183. *Cf.* also R. *Bozberger*, Rückert Studien, pp. 85 f., 94 ff.

[3]) In the "Festgruss an O. v. Böhtlingk," Stuttgart 1888, pp. 68-76.

[4]) Cariyāpiṭaka, I, 8. *Cf.* also the Sivi-Jātaka (Jātakas ed. V. *Fausböll*, IV, 401 ff., No. 499) and *Benfey*, l. c., I, 388 ff.

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story is told in three different versions,[1] how the king cuts the flesh from his own body piecemeal and gives up his life, in order to save the life of a dove which is pursued by a hawk. This same king Śibi, however, already plays a part in the old heroic legends of Yayāti. He is one of the four pious grandsons of this king, who offer him their places in heaven and finally ascend to heaven with him.[2] The description, too, of the immeasurable riches and the tremendous generosity of Śibi in another place, where he is glorified as a pious sacrificer, who gives the Brahmans as many oxen as raindrops fall upon the earth, as there are stars in the sky and grains of sand in the bed of the Ganges, is distinctly brahmanical in colouring.[3]

To the stories of self-sacrifice so popular in ascetic poetry, belongs also the touching narrative of the huntsman and the doves,[4] which has also been included in *one* recension of the Pañcatantra.[5] Love of one's enemy, and self-denial can hardly go further than in this "sacred, sin-destroying Itihāsa," which relates how the male dove burns himself in the fire for the wicked hunter, who has caught his beloved wife because he has no other food to offer the "guest;" how the dove follows her husband into death, and how the wicked hunter, deeply touched by the great love and self-sacrifice of the pair of doves, gives up his wild

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[1]) III, 130 f; 197, XIII, 32. See *Griffith*. Idylls from the Sanskrit, pp. 123 ff. (The Suppliant Dove).

[2]) I, 86 and 93. *Cf.* above, p. 380.

[3]) VII, 58. The legend of Śibi, too, which is related in III, 198, is quite brahmanical. Here, at the wish of a Brahman, he unhesitatingly kills his own son and—even eats him himself, because the Brahman commands it. On the other hand the narrative of King Suhotra and Śibi (III, 194) looks more Buddhistic, and, in fact, though no longer referring to Śibi, actually recurs in Buddhist literature (Jātaka No. 151). *Cf.* T. W. *Rhys Davids*, Buddhist Birth Stories, London 1880, pp. xxii-xxviii, R. O. *Francke*, WZKM. 20, 1906, pp. 320 ff.

[4]) XII, 143-149.

[5]) See *Benfey*, l. c., I, pp. 365 f., II, 247 ff.

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life, becomes an ascetic and finally also seeks death in the fire.[1]

Another side of ascetic morality is illustrated by the story of the pious ascetic Mudgala, who does not want to go to heaven:

As Mudgala is so wise and pious, a messenger of the gods appears, in order to lead him up to heaven. But Mudgala is careful enough to enquire first what the heavenly life is like. The messenger of the gods then describes to him all the glories of heaven and all the bliss which there awaits the pious. Certainly, he cannot conceal the fact that this bliss is not of eternal duration. Everyone must reap the fruits of his actions. When once the *Karman* is exhausted, then one must descend again from heaven and begin a new existence. Then Mudgala will have none of such a heaven; he devotes himself afresh to ascetic practices and finally through deep meditation (dhyānayoga) and complete indifference towards the sense-world attains to that highest place of Viṣṇu, in which alone the eternal bliss of Nirvāṇa is to be found.[2]

The doctrine of *Karman*, Action, which is the fate of man, the first appearance of which we observed in the Upaniṣads,[3] forms the subject of many profound narratives in the Mahābhārata. One of the most beautiful is that of the Snake, Death, Fate and Action. The contents are briefly as follows:

Gautamī, an old and pious Brahman woman, one day finds her son dead. A snake has bitten him. The grim hunter Arjunaka drags the snake along by a rope and asks Gautamī how he shall kill the wicked murderer of her son. Gautamī replies that through the killing of the snake her child will not be restored to life; nor would any good arise from it; for by the killing of a living being one only burdens oneself with guilt. The hunter objects, saying that it is good to kill enemies, even as Indra

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[1]) The story can hardly be Buddhistic, as Buddhism does not advise religious suicide. Other sects, *e.g.*, the Jainas, recommend it.

[2]) III, 260 f. E. *Windisch* (Festschrift Kuhn, pp. 4 f.) sees in this Mudgala the prototype of the Buddhist Maudgalyāyana who visits the heavens and hells.

[3]) See above, pp. 258 f.

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killed Vṛtra. But Gautamī can see no good in torturing and killing enemies. Then the snake also joins in the conversation. It says that it is not to blame for the death of the boy. It was *Mṛtyu*, Death, who only employed it as his instrument. Now, while the snake and the hunter are in violent dispute as to whether the snake was to blame for the death of the child or not, the god of death, Mṛtyu, appears himself and declares that neither the snake nor he himself were to blame for the boy's death, but *Fate* (*Kāla*, "time"): for everything that happens, happens through Kāla; everything that exists, exists through Kāla. "As the clouds are driven hither and thither by the wind," so also death is under the sway of fate. While the hunter insists on the point of view that both the snake and Mṛtyu are guilty of the child's death, *Kāla* himself appears, and declares: "Neither I nor death (Mṛtyu) nor this snake here are to blame for the death of any being, O hunter, we are not the cause. *Action* (*Karman*) it is, which has driven us to it; there is no other cause of his destruction, only through his own action was he killed.....As the potter shapes out of a lump of clay everything he desires, so man attains only that fate which he has prepared for himself by his action. As light and shade are always most closely connected with each other, so also the deed and the doer are closely connected through everything which he himself has done." Then Gautamī consoles herself with the thought that the death of her son was the necessary effect of his and her own Karman.[1])

How human beings are to behave towards *death*, is a question which Indian thinkers and poets have again and again treated in innumerable maxims, and also in many a consolatory story.[2]) One of the most beautiful of these stories is that of the Vulture and Jackal and the Dead Child, the contents of which shall again only be briefly indicated:

The only little son of a Brahman had died. Lamenting and weeping, the relatives carried the corpse of the little child out to the place of burial. In their grief they could not bear to part from their dead darling. Attracted by the sounds of lamentation, a vulture comes flying to the place, and

[1]) XIII, 1.

[2]) See above, p. 313, and *Lüders* in ZDMG. 58, 1904, pp. 707 ff.

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explains to them how futile are all lamentations for the dead. No mortal returns to life when he has once succumbed to Kāla;[1] therefore they should return home without delay. Consoled to some extent, the mourners begin the homeward journey. Then a jackal comes towards them and reproaches them with want of love, because they leave their own child so quickly. Sadly they turn back again. Here the vulture awaits them and reproves them for their weakness. One should not mourn for the dead, but for one's own self. This one should above all cleanse from sin, not weep for the dead; for all the weal and woe of man depends only on the Karman. "The wise man and the fool, the rich man and the poor man, they all come into the power of Kāla, with their good and bad deeds. What do you want with your mourning? Why do you complain of death?" and so on. Again the mourners turn homewards and again the jackal exhorts them not to give up their love towards their offspring; one should make efforts against fate, for it may perhaps after all still be possible to restore the child to life. Whereupon the vulture remarks: "A thousand years old am I, but I have never seen a dead person come to life again.....Those who do not care for their mother and father, their relatives and friends *so long as they are alive*, commit a crime against morality. But of what benefit is your weeping to one who does not see with his eyes, who does not move and is absolutely dead?" Again and again does the vulture urge the mourners to return home, whilst the jackal tells them to return to the burial place. This is repeated several times. Vulture and jackal thereby pursue their own ends, for they are both hungry, and greedy for the corpse. At last god Śiva, urged by his wife Umā, has pity on the poor relatives and lets the child become alive again.[2]

But it is not only the morality of asceticism which finds expression in the moral narratives of the Mahābhārata. Many of them appeal to us particularly for the reason that they teach more the every-day morality which is rooted in the love between husband and wife, parents and children. One of the prettiest of these narratives is that of Cirakārin or the Youth Ponder-well,[1] who is instructed by his father to

[1]) *Kāla* is not only "time" and "fate", but also "destiny of death."
[2]) XII, 153.

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kill his mother who has sinned grievously. As he is by nature slow and considers everything at length, he delays the execution of the command, and considers from this and that point of view, whether he should carry out his father's command and burden himself with matricide, or neglect his duty to his father. While he is pondering so long, his father returns, and, as his anger has in the meantime vanished, he rejoices deeply that his son Ponder-well has, true to his name, pondered the matter so long. In the centre of this narrative, which is presented in simple popular tone with a certain humour, stands the soliloquy of the youth. In beautiful words he speaks of paternal love and filial duties, and in still more beautiful words, of maternal love:

"So long as one has a mother one is well cared for; when she is lost, one is without protection. He who enters his house with the cry 'O mother!' is oppressed by no sorrow, is undisturbed by age though he were robbed of all his wealth. Though one has sons and grandsons, even though one is full a hundred years old, when he comes to his mother he behaves like a two-year old child.....When he has lost his mother, then a man becomes old, then he becomes unhappy, then the world is empty for him. There is no cool shade like a mother, there is no refuge like a mother, there is no beloved like a mother....."

The main point of all these narratives lies in the speeches of the characters. But I have already mentioned that many so-called *Itihāsas* are actually only short introductions and frames of didactic *dialogues*, so that we can call them *Itihāsa-saṃvādas*. Some of these dialogues rank equally with the best similar productions of the Upaniṣad-literature and of the Buddhistic literature. The saying of King *Janaka* of Videha, after he has obtained peace of mind sounds as though it had been taken from an Upaniṣad: "O, immeasurable is my

[1]) XII, 265, translated by *Deussen*, "Vier philosophische Texte des Mahâbhârata," pp, 437-444.

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wealth, for I possess nothing. Though the whole of Mithilā burn, nothing of mine burns." [1] And the verses of the courtesan *Piṅgalā*, who is bereft of her lover at the trysting-place, and after overcoming her grief, attains to that deep calmness of soul which has always been the highest aim of all Indian ascetic wisdom, verses which end in the words: "Calmly sleeps Piṅgalā, after she has put non-desire in the place of wishes and hopes," [2] recall the Buddhist nun-songs (Therīgāthā). As occasionally in the Upaniṣads,[3] so also in the dialogues in the Mahābhārata, it is often people of despised caste and low rank, who are in the possession of the highest wisdom. Thus the Brahman Kauśika is instructed by *Dharmavyādha*, the pious hunter and dealer in meat, upon philosophy and morality, and especially about the theory that not birth, but virtuous life, makes one a Brahman.[4] Thus also the pedlar *Tulādhāra* appears as the teacher of the brahmanical ascetic Jājali.[5] This Itihāsa-dialogue is so important in the history of Indian ethics, that it merits being given here in extract:

The Brahman Jājali lived as a hermit in the forest, and gave himself up to the most frightful austerities. Clothed in rags and skins, stiff with dirt, he wandered through the forest in rain and storm undertook severe fasts, and defied every inclemency of the weather. Once he stood in the forest, deep in yoga, like a wooden post, without moving. There a pair of

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[1]) XII, 178. J. *Muir* (Metrical Translations, p. 50) translates:

"How vast my wealth, what joy I taste,
Who nothing own and nought desire!
Were this fair city wrapped in fire,
The flame no goods of mine would waste."

Mithilā is the residence of Janaka. *Cf.* Jātaka (ed. Fausböll), Vol. V, p. 252 (Verse 16 of the Sonakajātaka No. 529), and Vol. VI, p. 54 (No. 539). R. O. *Franke*, WZKM., 20, 1906, pp. 352 f.

[2]) XII, 174; 178, 7 f. *Cf.* O. *Böhtlingk*, Indische Sprüche, Nos. 1050 f. Buddhistic parallels are quoted by R. O. *Franke*, WZKM., 20, 1906, pp. 346 f.

[3]) See above, pp. 228 f.

[4]) III, 207-216.

[5]) XII, 261-264; translated by *Deussen*, "Vier philosophische Texte des Mahâbhâratam," pp. 418-435.

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birds came flying towards him, and in the hair of his head, which was dishevelled by the storm and matted with the dirt and rain, they built a nest. When the yogin noticed this, he did not stir, but remained standing immovable as a pillar, till the female bird had laid eggs in the nest on his head, till the eggs were hatched and the young birds were fledged and had flown away After this mighty feat of asceticism, Jājali, filled with pride, shouts exultingly into the forest: "I have reached the essence of all devotion." Then a heavenly voice answered him out of the regions of the air: "In devotion thou art not even equal to Tulādhāra, O Jājali, and not even this very wise Tulādhāra, who dwells in Benares, may speak of himself as thou speakest." Then Jājali becomes very disheartened, and went to Tulādhāra at Benares, to see in what manner the latter had advanced so far in devotion. Tulādhāra, however, is a pedlar in Benares, where he keeps an open shop and sells all kinds of spices, healing herbs, and so on. To the enquiry of the Brahman Jājali as to whereof his renowned devotion consists, he replies in a long speech upon morality, beginning with the words:

"I know, O Jājali, the eternal law with all its secrets: it is known to men as the old doctrine, beneficial to all, the doctrine of *love*.[1] A manner of life which is combined with complete harmlessness, or only with slight harm, to all beings, that is the highest devotion; in accordance with this I live, O Jājali. With wood and grass which others have cut, I have built myself this hut. Red lac, lotus-root, lotus-fibres, all kinds of sweet perfumes, many kinds of juices and drinks, with the exception of intoxicating drinks, I buy and sell without deception. He, O Jājali, who is a friend of all beings and always rejoices in the well-being of all in thought, word and deed, he knows the moral law. I know neither favour nor disfavour, neither love nor hatred. I am the same towards all beings: see, Jājali, that is my vow. I have equal balances[2] for all beings, O Jājali.....If one fears no being, and no being fears one, if one has preference for nobody and hates nobody, then he becomes united with Brahman....."

Then follows a long explanation of *Ahiṃsā*, the commandment of non-violence. There is no higher law than forbearance towards all living

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[1]) *Maitra* (in the Pāli of the Buddhists, *mettā*) means "friendship" and is the technical expression for *love towards all beings*, which differs from the Christian brotherly love in extending beyond human beings to the animals also.

[2] The name of the pedlar, *Tulādhāra*, signifies: "He who holds the scales."

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beings. Therefore the breeding of cattle is cruel, because it involves the torturing and killing of animals. Cruel, too, is the keeping of slaves, and traffic in living creatures. Even agriculture is full of sin, for the plough wounds the earth and kills many innocent animals. Jājali objects that without agriculture and cattle-breeding people could not exist and could not find food, and that sacrifices, too, would be impossible if animals might not be killed and plants not be destroyed. Thereupon Tulādhāra replies with a long discourse upon the true sacrifice, which should be offered without the desire for reward, without priestly deception, and without the killing of living beings. Finally Tulādhāra calls on the birds which had nested in the hair of Jājali's head as witnesses for his doctrine, and they, too, confirm that the true religion consists in forbearance towards all human beings.

The sharp contrast between the brahmanical morality and that of Indian asceticism can nowhere be so well observed as in the Dialogue between Father and Son,[1] in which the father represents the standpoint of the Brahman, and the son that of the ascetic who has severed himself from the priestly religion. The view of life represented by the son is that of the Buddhists and the Jainas,[2] without, however, being limited to these. It would be premature to declare the dialogue, of which a partial translation here follows, or even only single verses of it, to be "Buddhistic" or "borrowed from the Buddhists":

A Brahman, who took delight in learning the Veda, had an intelligent son, *Intelligent* (Medhāvin) by name. This son, who was learned in all things pertaining to salvation, morality and practical life, and saw clearly into the true nature of the world, spoke in this wise to his father, who took delight in learning the Veda:

Son.

"Since soon the days of mortals end,
How ought the wise their lives to spend?

[1]) XII, 175, repeated in but slightly different wording in XII, 277; translated into English by J. *Muir*, Metrical Translations from Sanskrit Writers, pp. 28-32; into German by *Deussen*, "Vier philosophische Texte des Mahâbhâratam," pp. 118-122.

[2]) Almost every verse which is uttered by the son here in the Mahābhārata could just as well occur in a Buddhistic or Jainistic text. As a matter of fact XII, 174, 7-9,

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What course should I, to duty true,
My sire, from youth to age pursue?

Father.

"Begin thy course with study; store
The mind with holy Vedic lore.
That stage completed,—seek a wife,
And gain the fruit of wedded life,
A race of sons by rites to seal,
When thou art gone, thy spirit's weal.
Then light the sacred fires, and bring
The gods a fitting offering.
When age draws nigh, the world forsake,
Thy chosen home the forest make;
And there, a calm, ascetic sage,
A war against thy passions wage,
That, cleansed from every earthly stain,
Thou may'st supreme perfection gain.[1])

Son.

"And art thou then, my father, wise,
When thou dost such a life advise?
What wise or thoughtful man delights
In formal studies, empty rites?
Should such pursuits and thoughts engage
A mortal more than half his age?
The world is ever vexed, distressed;
The noiseless robbers never rest.

Father.

"Tell how the world is vexed, distressed;
What noiseless robbers never rest?
What means thy dark, alarming speech?
In plainer words thy meaning teach.

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does recur in the Uttarādhyāyana-Sūtra (14, 21-23) of the Jainas, and XII, 174, 13 corresponds almost literally with the verses of the Buddhist Dhammapada, 47 f. A similar dialogue occurs also in the Jātaka No. 509, *cf.* J. *Charpentier*, ZDMG. 62, 1908, 725 ff.

[1]) That is the brahmanical doctrine of the Āśramas, see above, pp. 232 f.

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Son.

"The world is vexed by death ; decay
The frames of mortals wears away.
Dost thou not note the circling flight
Of those still robbers, day and night,
With stealthy tread which hurrying past,
Steal all our lives away at last ?
When well I know how death infests
This world of woe, and never rests,
How can I still, in thoughtless mood,
Confide in future earthly good ?
Since life with every night that goes,
Still shorter, and yet shorter grows,
Must not the wise perceive how vain
Are all their days that yet remain ?
We, whom life's narrow bounds confine,
Like fish in shallow water, pine.

While men on other thoughts are bent,—
Like those on gathering flowers intent,—
As lambs by wolves are snatched away,—
They fall to death a sudden prey,
Before they yet the good have gained
For which they every nerve had strained.

No moment lose; in serious mood
Begin at once to practise good ;
To-morrow's task to-day conclude ;

The evening's work complete at noon:—
No duty can be done too soon.
Who knows whom death may seize to-night?
And who shall see the morning light?
And death will never stop to ask,
If thou hast done, or not, thy task.
While yet a youth, from folly cease;
Through virtue seek for calm and peace.
So shalt thou here attain renown,
And future bliss thy lot shall crown.

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Death interrupts the futile dreams
Of men who, plunged in various schemes,
Are thinking: "This or that is done;
This still to do; that just begun."
As torrents undermine the ranks
Of stately trees that crown their banks,
And sweep them downwards to the main,
Death tears from earth those dreamers vain.

While some are all on traffic bent,
And some on household cares intent,
Are fighting hard with pressing need,
And struggling wives and babes to feed,
Or with some other ills of life
Are waging an incessant strife;
Death these hard toiling men uproots,
Before they yet have reaped the fruits
Of all their labour, all their thought,
Of all the battles they have fought.

Death spares no class, no rank, no age;
He carries off the fool, the sage,
The knave, the saint, the young, the old,
The weak, the strong, the faint, the bold.

As soon as men are born, decay
And death begin to haunt their way.
How can'st thou, thoughtless, careless, rest,
When endless woes thy life infest;
When pains and pangs thy strength consume,—
Thy frame to dissolution doom?

Forsake the busy haunts of men,
For there has death his favourite den.
In lonely forests seek thy home,
For there the gods delight to roam.

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Fast bound by old attachment's spell,
Men love amid their kin to dwell,
This bond the sage asunder tears;
The fool to rend it never dares.

Thou dost advise that I should please
With sacrifice the deities.
Such rites I disregard as vain;
Through these can none perfection gain.
Why sate the gods, at cruel feasts,
With flesh and blood of slaughtered beasts?
Far other sacrifices I
Will offer unremittingly;
The sacrifice of calm, of truth,
The sacrifice of peace, of ruth,
Of life serenely, purely, spent,
Of thought profound on Brahma bent.
Who offers these, may death defy,
And hope for immortality.

And then thou say'st that I should wed,
And sons should gain to tend me, dead,
By offering pious gifts, to seal,
When I am gone, my spirit's weal.
But I shall ask no pious zeal
Of sons to guard my future weal.
No child of mine shall ever boast
His rites have saved his father's ghost." [1]

There is no greater treasure for the Brahman than solitude, equanimity, truth, virtue, steadfastness, mildness, uprightness, and the renunciation of all dealings. How shall treasures, relatives, or a wife, profit thee, O Brahman, as thou must die? Seek the self (the ātman) which is hidden within thee! Whither have thy ancestors, whither has thy father departed?"

Thus this dialogue, apparently moving entirely in Buddhistic ranges of thought, leads into the ātman-theory of the

[1] Translated by J. *Muir*, l.c.

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Vedānta, with which we became acquainted in the Upaniṣads. And this is by no means remarkable. The ancient Indian sects of ascetics hardly differed more distinctly from one another than, for instance, the various Protestant sects in Great Britain to-day. It is therefore no wonder that, in the edifying stories, dialogues and maxims of the ascetic poetry which has been embodied in the Mahābhārata, there are to be found so many thoughts which are in accord with the Upaniṣads, as well as with the sacred texts of the Buddhists and the Jainas.

The Didactic Sections of the Mahābhārata.[1]

Most of the Itihāsas and Itihāsa-saṃvādas discussed in the preceding chapter are to be found in the numerous and extensive didactic sections of the Mahābhārata. Such sections, now shorter, now longer, are scattered in almost all the books of the Mahābhārata, and they deal with the three things which the Indians term *Nīti*, *i.e.* worldly wisdom, especially for kings, therefore also "politics," *Dharma*, *i.e.* systematic law as well as general morality, and *Mokṣa*, *i.e.* "liberation," as the final aim of all philosophy. These things are, however, not always presented in the form of pleasing narratives and beautiful sayings; we also find long sections containing dry-as-dust discussions, especially upon philosophy in Book XII and upon law in Book XIII.

It may already be seen from our outline of the contents that Books XII and XIII have nothing at all to do with the actual epic, but that the events related in Book XIV are connected directly with the end of Book XI. The interpolation of these two extensive books is made possible by the singular legend which we have already considered above. Bhīṣma, pierced by countless arrows, lies on the battle-field,

[1]) On the style and contents of these didactic sections *cf.* O. *Strauss*, ZDMG. 62 1908, pp. 661 ff., and Ethische Probleme aus dem Mahābhārata, Firenze 1912 (from GSAI. 24, 1911).

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but, as he can determine the hour of his death for himself, decides to die half a year later.[1] The intervening period is used by the mortally wounded hero, who is at the same time a lawyer, a theologian, and a yogin, to lecture Yudhiṣṭhira upon philosophy, morality and law. Book XII begins with Yudhiṣṭhira being in despair because so many brave warriors and near relatives have been massacred. He bursts out into self-accusations, and resolves, in his despair, to withdraw from the world and end his life as a forest hermit. The brothers try to dissuade him from it, and this gives rise to long detailed discussions whether renunciation and retirement from the world, or whether the fulfilment of the duties of a householder and king are right. The wise Vyāsa also is present, and declares that a king should first fulfil all his duties, and retire into the forest only in the evening of his life. However, he refers Yudhiṣṭhira to Bhīṣma, who will instruct him fully in all the duties of a king. So Yudhiṣṭhira, after he has been consecrated as king, actually goes with a great retinue to Bhīṣma, who is still lying on the battle-field, in order to question him first upon the duties of a king, and further upon other matters. The speeches of Bhīṣma upon law, morality and philosophy fill Books XII and XIII.

The first half of Book XII (*Śānti Parvan*), consisting of the two sections "Instruction in a king's duties" and "Instruction in the law in cases of distress and danger,"[2] deals above all with the dignity and duties of a king, teachings of politics (nīti) being occasionally inserted, and further also with the duties of the four castes and the four stages of life (āśramas) generally, with duties towards parents and teachers, the right conduct in distress and danger, self-restraint, asceticism and

[1] *Cf.* above, p. 363 Note 1. V. V. *Iyer*, Notes of a Study of the Preliminary Chapters of the Mahâbharata, pp. 271 ff.; and *Oldenberg*, Das Mahābhārata, pp. 76 ff. *Hopkins*, Great Epic of India, pp. 381 ff., applies to these books (XII, XIII) the term "pseudo-epic."

[2] Rājadharmānuśāsanaparvan (1-130) and Āpaddharmānuśāsanaparvan (131-173).

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love of truth, the relationship between the three aims of life,[1] and so on. The second half of the book, containing the section of the "Instruction in the duties which lead to liberation,"[2] is principally of philosophical content. Yet we find here besides long, dry and often confused discussions upon cosmogony, psychology, the principles of ethics or the doctrine of liberation, many of the most beautiful legends, parables, dialogues and moral aphorisms, some of which have already been discussed in the preceding chapter. And though this Book XII as a whole only presents an inartistically jumbled compilation, it yet contains many a priceless gem of poetry and wisdom. This book is of inestimable value, too, as a source for Indian philosophy.

While Book XII can be termed, in a certain sense, a "manual of philosophy," Book XIII (*Anuśāsana-Parvan*) is essentially nothing but a manual of law. Indeed, there are large portions in this book which contain nothing but quotations from, or exact parallels to, well known law-books, *e.g.* that of *Manu*. We shall see in a later section that Indian legal literature, too, consists mainly of metrical text-books and can be classed as didactic poetry. The only distinction between Book XIII of the Mahābhārata and the law-books (Dharmaśāstras) is that in the former the dry presentation is frequently interrupted by the narration of legends, which indeed are mostly extremely silly and insipid.[3] While Book XII, even though it did not belong to the original epic, yet was probably inserted at a comparatively early date, there can be no doubt with regard to Book XIII, that it was made a component part of the Mahābhārata at a still later time. It bears all the marks of a later fabrication. Nowhere in the

[1]) Dharma, artha and kāma, *cf.* above, p. 326 Note.

[2]) Mokṣadharmānuśāsana (174 ff.), completely translated in *Deussen's* "Vier philosophische Texte des Mahâbhâratam."

[3]) Of the kind quoted above, pp. 402ff.

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Mahābhārata, to mention only one thing, are the claims of the Brahmans to supremacy over all other strata of society vindicated in such an arrogant and exaggerated manner as in Book XIII. A large part of the book deals with the Dānadharma, *i.e.* the laws and precepts upon generosity; generosity, however, is always to be understood only in the sense of the giving of presents to the Brahmans.

Besides in these two books, and apart from smaller passages not exceeding one or two cantos, we also find large didactic sections in Books III, V, VI, XI and XIV. We find in Book III (28-33) a long conversation between Draupadī, Yudhiṣṭhira and Bhīma upon ethical questions, in which Draupadī quotes a dialogue between Bali and Prahlāda and a "Nīti of Bṛhaspati." [1] In the same book we find (205-216) the dissertations of *Mārkaṇḍeya* upon the virtues of women (205 f.), upon forbearance towards living beings (Ahiṃsā, 206-208), upon the power of destiny, renunciation of the world and liberation, upon doctrines of the Sāṅkhya philosophy (210) and of the Vedānta (211), upon the duties towards parents (214 ff.) and others. Book V contains long lectures of *Vidura* upon morality and worldly wisdom (33-40) and the philosophical doctrines of the eternally young *Sanatsujāta* (41-46). In Book VI (25-42) we meet with the famous Bhagavadgītā, to which the *Anugītā* in Book XIV (16-51) forms a kind of continuation or supplement.[2] The consolatory speeches of Vidura in Book XI (2-7) again move in the province of ethics.

Of all these didactic portions of the Mahābhārata, none has attained to such popularity and fame as the Bhagavadgītā [3]

[1] III, 32, 61.

[2] The three philosophical poems Bhagavadgītā, Sanatsujātīya and Anugītā have been translated into English by Kâshinâth Trimbak *Telang* in SBE., Vol. 8, and into German by *Deussen*. "Vier philosophische Texte des Mahâbhâratam."

[3] The full title is *Bhagavadgītā upaniṣadaḥ*, "the esoteric doctrines delivered by the Exalted One." *Bhagavat* "the Exalted One, the Adorable," is the epithet of the god

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or the "Lord's Song." In India itself there is scarcely any book which is read so much and esteemed so highly as the Bhagavadgītā. It is the sacred book of the Bhāgavatas, a Viṣṇuite sect, but it is a book of devotion and edification for every Hindu, to whatever sect he may belong. The historian Kalhaṇa [1] relates of a king of Kashmir, Avantivarman, who died in 883 A. D., that in the hour of his death he had the Bhagavadgītā read to him from beginning to end, whereupon, thinking of Viṣṇu's heavenly abode, he gladly yielded up his spirit. And he was not the only Hindu to find consolation in this book in the hour of his death. There are many educated Hindus to-day who know the whole poem from memory. Countless are the manuscripts of it which have been preserved. And since it was printed for the first time in the year 1809 in Calcutta, hardly a year elapses without a new reprint of the work appearing in India. Countless also are the translations into modern Indian languages.

Outside India, too, the Bhagavadgītā has gained many admirers. The Arabian traveller Albērūnī knew the poem perfectly and appreciated it very highly.[2] In Europe the poem was first made known by means of the English translation by Chas. Wilkins (London, 1785). The critical text-edition by August Wilhelm von Schlegel, which appeared in 1823, with a Latin translation appended, was of great importance. It was through this work that Wilhelm von Humboldt became acquainted with the poem, and his great enthusiasm about it has already been mentioned.[3] He placed the Bhagavadgītā far above Lucretius and even above Parmenides and Empedokles, and declared "that this episode

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Viṣṇu incarnated as Kṛṣṇa, who recites to Arjuna the doctrines contained in the poem. Besides "Bhagavadgītā the short title "Gītā" (*i.e.* "the song" *par excellence*) is current in India.

[1]) Rājataraṅgiṇi, V, 125.

[2]) See E. C. *Sachau*, Alberuni's India, I, p. xxxviii; II, Index s.v. Gītā.

[3]) See above, pp. 17 f. *Cf.* Ges. Werke of W. v. Humboldt, I, pp. 96 and 111.

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of the Mahābhārata is the most beautiful, nay perhaps even the only truly philosophical poem which we can find in all the literatures known to us." Wilhelm von Humboldt dealt in detail with the poem in a long dissertation of the Berlin Academy (1825-26), "Über die unter dem Namen Bhagavadgītā bekannte Episode des Mahābhārata,"[1] and in a lengthy review of Schlegel's edition and translation.[2] It was translated repeatedly into European languages.[3]

The poem is to be found in a place where one would least of all expect it, at the beginning of Book VI, where the descriptions of the great fight commence. All preparations for the battle have been made. The two armies confront each other ready for the fray. Then Arjuna lets his war-chariot halt between the two armies and surveys the hosts of the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas armed for the fight. And as he sees on both sides "fathers and grandfathers, teachers, uncles and brothers, sons and grandsons, friends, fathers-in-law and companions," he is overcome by a feeling of deepest pity; horror seizes him at the thought that he is to fight against relatives and friends; it appears to him sin and madness to intend to murder those for whose very sake one otherwise goes to war. When Kṛṣṇa reproaches him with weakness and soft-heartedness Arjuna declares that he is quite at a loss, that he does not know whether it is better to be victorious or to be defeated, and finally he implores Kṛṣṇa

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[1]) Also Ges. Werke, I, 26-109.

[2]) In Schlegel's "Indische Bibliothek," Vol. II, 1824, pp. 218 ff., 328 ff. Also Ges. Werke, I, 110-184.

[3]) English translations by J. C. *Thomson*, Hertford, 1855; K. T. *Telang* (in verse, Bombay, 1875; prose in SBE., Vol. 8); John *Davies* (1882); Edwin *Arnold* (1885); C. C. *Caleb* (1911); L. D. *Barnett* (in Temple Classics). Sanskrit text with English Translation by Annie *Besant* and Bhagavan *Das*, Benares, 1905. German translations by C. R. *S. Peiper* (1869); F. *Lorinser* (1869); R. *Boxberger* (1870); P. *Deussen* (in "Vier philosophische Texte des Mahâbhâratam"); R. *Garbe* (1905, 2nd ed. 1921); and L. v. *Schroeder* (Jena, 1912). For other translations both in Indian vernaculars and in European languages s. *Holtzmann*, Das Mahābhārata, II, 129 ff.

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to instruct him as to what he should really do in this conflict of duties. Thereupon Kṛṣṇa answers him with a detailed philosophical discourse,[1] whose immediate purpose is to convince Arjuna that it is his duty as a warrior to fight, whatever the consequences may be. Thus he says:

"Thou hast grieved over them for whom grief is unmeet, though thou speakest words of understanding. The learned grieve not for them whose lives are fled nor for them whose lives are not fled.

"Never have I not been, never hast thou and never have these princes of men not been; and never shall time yet come when we shall not all be.

As the Body's Tenant goes through childhood and manhood and old age in this body, so does it pass to other bodies; the wise man is not confounded therein.....

It is these bodies of the everlasting, unperishing, incomprehensible Body-Dweller that have an end, as it is said. Therefore, fight, O thou of Bharata's race.

He who deems This to be a slayer, and he who thinks This to be slain, are alike without discernment; This slays not, neither is it slain.

This never is born, and never dies, nor may it after being come again to be not; this unborn, everlasting, abiding Ancient is not slain when the body is slain.....

As a man lays aside outworn garments and takes others that are new, so the Body-Dweller puts away outworn bodies and goes to others that are new.

Weapons cleave not This, fire burns not This, waters wet not This, wind dries it not.....

Unshown is This called, unthinkable This, unalterable This; therefore, knowing it in this wise, thou dost not well to grieve....."[2]

So Kṛṣṇa says: There is no cause for mourning over the imminent murder, for *man* himself, *i.e.* the *spirit*, is eternal

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[1]) On the teaching of the Bhagavadgītā see R. G. *Bhandarkar*, Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, etc. (Grundriss III, 6), pp. 14 ff.: and J. E. *Carpenter*, Theism in Mediaeval India, London, 1921, pp. 250 ff. Some less known monographs on the Gītā are discussed by P. E. *Pavolini*, GSAI., 24, 1911, pp. 395 ff.

[2]) II, 11-13. 18-20. 22. 23. 25, translated by L. D. *Barnett*.

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and indestructible, it is only the bodies which are destroyed.[1] And from this he leads on to exhort Arjuna to go forth into the righteous war in the spirit of his duty as a warrior. Happy the warrior to whose lot such a fight falls, which opens the gates of Heaven for him! If he does not fight he burdens himself with shame worse than death. If he falls in the battle, he is assured of heaven; if he is victorious he will rule the earth. Therefore he must in any case fight. However, all the subsequent explanations of the *sage* Kṛṣṇa and later of the *god*, for in the course of the poem it is more and more the *god* Kṛṣṇa who speaks to Arjuna, are in irreconcilable contradiction to this speech of the *hero* Kṛṣṇa. For all the other expositions of the Bhagavadgītā upon the ethics of action culminate in the doctrine that man should, indeed, act according to his duty, but without any consideration for success or failure, without troubling about the possible reward. For it is only such *desire-less* action which is to a certain extent compatible with the real ethical ideal which consists in the giving-up of all works, in non-action, in complete renunciation of the world. In fact, in spite of this, there still runs through the whole poem an unsolved contradiction between the quietistic *morality of asceticism* which points to meditation pursued quite apart from the world and the striving for the highest knowledge as the way to salvation, and the *morality of action* which, at least among the philosophers, has never been properly acknowledged in India. It is true that Kṛṣṇa teaches that there exist two paths to salvation, the path of knowledge and the path of action. But so long as the spirit is bound to the body, it would only be hypocrisy to say that man can live without performing

[1]) There is no murder or act of violence which could not be justified by this miserable sophistry. It is surprising that the pious readers of the Gītā do not see this. On the unsolved and insoluble contradiction between the principles of the Gītā and the morality of war forming the starting-point of Kṛṣṇa's speeches, see W. L. *Hare*, Mysticism of East and West, London, 1923, pp. 159 ff.

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actions. For matter is always connected with Guṇas[1] (constituents)—sattva (lightness, goodness), rajas (energy, passion), tamas (darkness, heaviness, ignorance)—through which of necessity actions arise. All that man can do, therefore, is to fulfil his duty without wishes, without desires. For "as the fire is concealed by smoke, as the mirror is covered by dirt, as an embryo is protected by the amnion, so knowledge is surrounded by desire, that eternal enemy of the knower."[2] Therefore, he who acts without desire approaches the most closely to the real ideal, which lies on the path of knowledge. How high the Bhagavadgītā places *knowledge* as a way to salvation is shown by these verses (IV, 36 f.):

"Even if you are the most sinful of all sinful men, you will cross over all trespasses by means of the boat of knowledge alone. As a fire well kindled, O Arjuna! reduces fuel to ashes, so the fire of knowledge reduces all actions to ashes."[3]

And according to the Bhagavadgītā, too, he who, turned away entirely from all earthly things, strives for knowledge in meditation only, is a *yogin*, the ideal of the saint and the sage. The yogin maintains his calmness of soul "in cold and heat, in joy and sorrow, in honour and dishonour." A block of earth, a stone and a lump of gold are alike in value to him. He is one and the same to friends and foes, to strangers and relatives, to good people and bad. Sitting in a lonely place deep in contemplation, "he gazes without moving, at the tip of his nose." 'As a light does not flicker in a place where there is no wind': that is the simile, known from of old, for the yogin, who curbs his thoughts and yields himself entirely to absorption (yoga)."[4] But while

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[1]) On the Sāṃkhya doctrine of the three Guṇas see R. *Garbe*, Die Sāṃkhya-Philosophie, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1917, pp. 272 ff.; and S. *Dasgupta*, History of Indian Philosophy, I, pp. 243 ff.

[2]) III, 38 f.

[3]) Translated by K. T. *Telang*, SBE., Vol. 8, p. 62.

[4]) VI, 7-19. In a letter to Gentz, Wilh. v. *Humboldt* writes that the former will

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in the Upaniṣads meditation and thought are regarded as the only path to knowledge and salvation, the Bhagavadgītā knows yet another path, that of *Bhakti, i.e.* love and devotion towards God.[1] In answer to the question of Arjuna whether he who is unable to lend his spirit absolutely and entirely to abstraction is lost, Kṛṣṇa replies: "No one who

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understand how deeply the Indian poem must have impressed him. "For I am not so unlike the *absorbed ones* (*i.e.* yogins) who are described in it." (Schriften von Friedrich von Gentz, published by G. Schlesier. Mannheim, 1840, V, p. 300.)

[1]) It is this idea of *Bhakti* which, more than anything else in the Bhagavadgītā, reminds us of *Christian* ranges of thought. Elsewhere too, the accord with Christian ideas is so marked that the attempt of F. *Lorinser*, in the appendix to his translation (Breslau 1869), to prove Christian influence in the Bhagavadgītā, must not be repudiated from the outset. But Lorinser's thorough investigation in itself proves that this is parallelism of development, highly interesting for the history of religion, and not a case of borrowing. Lorinser is convinced "that the author of the Bhagavadgītā not only knew and frequently utilised the scriptures of the New Testament, but also wove into his system Christian ideas and views in general," and he wishes to prove "that this much-admired monument of the ancient Indian mind, this most beautiful and most exalted didactic poem, which can be regarded as one of the most precious blossoms of heathen philosophy, owes its purest and most highly praised doctrines for the most part" to Christian sources. Guided by such tendencies, Lorinser has compared *everything* which in any way admits of comparison. But of the more than a hundred passages from the Gospels which Lorinser quotes as parallel with passages in the Bhagavadgītā, I have found twenty-five at the most that are of such a kind that a case of borrowing could be at all *thought of*. Not in one single instance, however, is the resemblance such that the supposition of borrowing were more probable than that of an accidental agreement. Mystical love towards God, too, is not limited to Christianity. I need refer only to Sufism, in which it plays no less a part than with the Christian mystics. The expositions of Lorinser have indeed convinced few Indologists up to the present. Even A. *Weber*, who himself ("Griechen in Indien," SBA., 1890, p. 930) traces Bhakti back to Christian influences, is of opinion that Lorinser goes too far. E. W. *Hopkins*, India, Old and New, New York, 1902, 146 ff.) is the only scholar who has expressed a decided opinion in favour of the theory that the Bhagavadgītā was influenced by Christianity. G. *Howells* (The Soul of India, London, 1913, 425 ff.) compares the doctrines of the Gītā with those of the New Testament, and seeks to trace points of agreement, without asserting that the Gītā was dependent on Christianity. Most scholars agree that the doctrine of Bhakti can be explained by earlier Indian teachings, and that the hypothesis of Christian influence on the Bhagavadgītā is unlikely, on historical grounds. *Cf.* J. *Muir*, Ind. Ant., 4, 1875, pp. 77 ff.; A. *Barth*, RHR., 11, 1885, pp. 57 f. (Oeuvres I, 370 f.) and The Religions of India, transl., London, 1889, 220 f.; J. *van den Gheyn*, Le Muséon 17, 1898, pp. 57 ff.; L. J. *Sedgwick*, JBRAS., 23, 1910, 111 ff.; A. B. *Keith*, JRAS. 1907, 490 ff.; *Grierson*, ERE. II (1909), pp. 547 ff.; and esp. R. *Garbe*, Die Bhagavadgîtâ (2nd Ed.), pp. 66 ff., and Indien und das Christentum, 1914, pp. 227 ff.

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has done good is quite lost." He who has done his duty in this world, is after death born again according to his merits, in a good, pious family, and after several rebirths gradually obtains the capability of becoming a yogin. "And even among all devotees," says Kṛṣṇa,[1] "he who, being full of faith, worships me, with his inmost self intent on me, is esteemed by me to be the most devoted." Out of the *love of God* arises the knowledge of God, and true liberation. Kṛṣṇa teaches this again and again:

"Even if a very ill-conducted man worships me, not worshipping any one else, he must certainly be deemed to be good, for he has well resolved. He soon becomes devout of heart, and obtains lasting tranquillity. (You may) affirm, O son of Kuntī! that my devotee is never ruined. For, O son of Pṛthā! even those who are of sinful birth, women, Vaiśyas, and Sūdras likewise, resorting to me, attain the supreme goal. What then (need be said of) holy Brahmans and royal saints who are (my) devotees?....." [2]

The moral action and all the virtues of the yogin, too, gain their chief value through the love of God:

"Hateless toward all born beings, friendly, and pitiful, void of the thought of a Mine and an I, bearing indifferently pain and pleasure, patient,

ever content, the Man of the Rule subdued of spirit and steadfast of purpose, who has set mind and understanding on Me and worships Me, is dear to Me.

He before whom the world is not dismayed and who is not dismayed before the world, who is void of joy, impatience, fear and dismay,

desireless, pure, skilful, impartial, free from terrors, who renounces all undertakings and worships Me, is dear to Me." [3]

The kernel of all the ethical teachings of the Bhagavadgītā, however, is contained in the verse which the commentators rightly call the "quintessence verse":

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[1]) VI, 47. Transl. by K. T. *Telang*, SBE., Vol. 8, p. 73.

[2]) IX, 30-33. Transl. by K. T. *Telang*, SBE., Vol. 8, p. 85.

[3]) XII, 13-16. Transl. by L. D. *Barnett*.

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"He who does My work, who is given over to Me, who is devoted to Me, void of attachment, without hatred to any born being, O son of Pāṇḍu, comes to Me." [1]

Here is also expressed what, according to the Bhagavadgītā, constitutes liberation or the highest good: coming to, or union with, God. This is to be understood "as elevation of the soul to a god-like state, as individual perpetuation in the presence of God." [2]

There are, then, *three* paths which lead to this goal: the path of dutiful, desireless action, the path of knowledge, and the path of the love of God. And it is at least attempted, though not always successfully, to bring the three paths into harmony with one another. The first path can, indeed, be combined with the third, and the love of God leads to the knowledge of God, thus meeting the second path. Thus the contradictions in the ethical teachings of the Bhagavadgītā can to a certain extent be overcome.[3]

There are, however, other contradictions in the poem staring us in the face at every turn. Kṛṣṇa invariably speaks of himself as a *personal god*, as the creator, who is eternal and imperishable, but is nevertheless born into the world or creates himself at such times when a decrease in religion is imminent; this is especially the case in the passages dealing with bhakti (IV, 5 ff.). In other places, again, he teaches that *he* is in all beings, and all beings in *him* (VI, 30 f.). "This All is strung on me, like pearls on a string. I am the taste in the water, O son of Kuntī, I am the light in the sun and moon, the syllable Om in all the Vedas, the sound in the atmosphere and the bravery in men," etc. (VII, 7 ff.). This doctrine, according to which God is separate from the

[1]) XI, 55. Transl. by L. D. *Barnett*.

[2]) *Garbe*, Die Bhagavadgîtâ (2nd Ed.), p. 65.

[3]) Otto *Strauss*, Ethische Probleme aus dem "Mahābhārata," Firenze 1912 (GSAI. 24, 1911), pp. 309 ff., gives a good summary of the ethics of the Gītā, which he presents as a compromise between the contradictory doctrines.

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world, though at the same time immanent in it, is taught as a great secret (IX, 1 ff.). There is, however, a third category of passages where Kṛṣṇa is not mentioned at all, but which speak quite abruptly of the brahman (neuter) as the sole and highest world principle in the sense of the monism of the Upaniṣads. Moreover, side by side with verses mentioning the Veda in an almost scornful tone (II, 42 ff.), we find other passages recommending the sacrifices prescribed in the Veda, and even describing the sacrifice as "a magic cow which fulfils all wishes" (III, 10), which is difficult to reconcile with that "desireless action" that is so often praised.

This doctrine of desireless action is sometimes described by the term *Yoga*. The same term is, however, used to denote various things. The usual meaning is what is generally understood by Yoga in Indian literature, *i.e.*, the doctrine of absorption, and of the methods by which man can withdraw from the sense-world and become entirely absorbed in the deity. It is in this sense that the Bhagavadgītā is sometimes called a *Yogaśāstra*, or manual of Yoga. This "practical philosophy" of the yoga has its psychological and metaphysical foundation in the *Sāṃkhya*.[1] The Sāṃkhya, however, teaches differentiation between spirit (puruṣa) and matter (prakṛti), plurality of souls, and independence and eternity of matter, and explains the creation as an unfolding of the world from original matter. Now all these are doctrines diametrically opposed to the doctrine of unity taught by the Upaniṣads and the Vedānta. In spite of this, the passages dealing with the brahman, teach the doctrine of universal unity as well.

How can all these contradictions be explained? Scholars are by no means unanimous on this point. Some are content

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[1]) In V, 4 f., it is explained with great emphasis that Sāṃkhya and Yoga are one. In XVIII, 13, sāṃkhye kṛtānte cannot mean anything but "in the Sāṃkhya system." In XVIII, 19, guṇasaṃkhyāna is explained by Śaṅkara as Kāpila Śāstra. Kapila, the founder of the Sāṃkhya system, is called the first of the perfect sages, in X, 26.

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to say that all these contradictions simply result from the fact that the Bhagavadgītā is not a systematic philosophical work, but a mystical poem, and that, in the words of Franklin Edgerton, the most decided and consistent exponent of this opinion, it is "poetic, mystical, and devotional, rather than logical and philosophical." W. von Humboldt had already said: "It is a sage, speaking out of the fulness and inspiration of his knowledge and of his feeling, not a philosopher trained in a school, classifying his material in accordance with a definite method, and arriving at the last principles of his doctrine by a skilful chain-work of ideas."[1] On the other hand, other scholars maintain that there are limits even for mystical poetry, and that the contradictions in the Gītā can better be explained by the assumption that the poem has not come down to us in its original form, but like most parts of the Mahābhārata has only received its present form as a result of interpolations and revisions. Some scholars had assumed that the Bhagavadgītā had originally been a pantheistic poem, which was remodelled later by the devotees of Viṣṇu into a theistic poem. This is very improbable, for in spite of all the contradictions the whole character of the work is predominantly theistic. God appears as an essentially personal god, who, as a teacher, and in human incarnation, requires devotion (bhakti) of his worshippers.

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[1]) "Ueber die unter dem Namen Bhagavadgītā bekannte Episode des Mahābhārata," 1825 (Gesammelte Schriften V, p. 325). The following take up more or less the same point of view: K. T. *Telang*, SBE., Vol. 8, pp. 11 ff.; E. W. *Hopkins*, JRAS. 1905, pp. 384 ff., and Cambridge History I, 273; L. v. *Schroeder* in the Introduction to his German translation; B. *Faddegon*, Çaṃkara's Gītābhāṣya, toegelicht en beoordeeld, Diss., Amsterdam 1906, pp. 12 ff.; D. van Hinloopen *Labberton*, ZDMG. 66, 1912, 603 f.; R. G. *Bhandarkar*, Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, etc., pp. 157 ff.; O. *Strauss*, Ethische Probleme aus dem Mahābhārata. (GSAI. 24, 1911), p. 310; ZDMG. 67, 1913, 714 ff.; A. B. *Keith*, JRAS. 1913, p. 197; 1915, p. 548; H. *Oldenberg*, NGGW. 1919, 321 ff., and Das Mahabharata, pp. 39, 43, 70 ff.; J. N. *Farquhar*, Outline of the Religious Literature of India, London 1920, pp. 90 f.; H. *Jacobi*, DLZ. 1921, 715 ff.; 1922, 266 ff.; F. *Edgerton*, The Bhagavad Gita interpreted, Chicago 1925.

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Taking this for granted, R. Garbe[1] made a direct attempt to reconstruct the original poem, by printing in small type in his translation all verses which he considers unauthentic *i.e.* interpolated from the view-point of the Vedanta philosophy and the orthodox brahmanical religion. I was formerly in entire agreement with Garbe.[2] However, after repeated readings of the Gītā and the most thorough investigation of the passages cut out by Garbe, I have come to the conclusion that even the original poem did not teach pure theism, but theism tinged with pantheism. I do not now believe that we are justified in pronouncing as interpolated all those passages where Kṛṣṇa speaks of himself as immanent in the world, as for instance the beautiful verses VII, 7 ff. On the other hand, I still agree with Garbe that those passages where mention is suddenly made of the *brahman* (neut.) without any reference to Kṛṣṇa whatsoever, are interpolated (*e.g.* II, 72; V, 6, 7, 10; VII, 29—VIII, 4 etc.), as well as the passages where ritual and sacrifices are recommended or glorified (*e.g.* III, 9-18; IX, 16-19 etc.). I think, too that the original Bhagavadgītā was much shorter, and that the work in its present form contains many more interpolations and additions than are assumed by Garbe. The very fact that the Bhagavadgītā contains exactly 18 Adhyāyas, just as the Mahābhārata is divided into 18 Parvans and as there are 18 Purāṇas, is suspicious.[3] Canto XI, where Kṛṣṇa reveals himself to Arjuna in his godlike form, is of the nature of a Purāṇa rather than like the work of the poet of the first sections.

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[1]) In his translation of the Bhagavadgītā, see also ERE. II, 535 ff. and DLZ. 1922, 98 ff.; 605 f.

[2]) Also F. O. *Schrader*, ZDMG. 64, 340, and A. *Hillebrandt*, GGA. 1915, p. 628, agree with Garbe. *Grierson*, too (ERE. II, 540 f.; Ind. Ant. 37, 1908, 257) agrees with Garbe in counting the passages where "Brahmaism" is taught, among the "later" portions of the Gītā. The scholars mentioned in Note 2 are the opponents of the view adopted by Garbe.

[3]) *Cf. Hopkins*, Great Epic, p. 371.

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It is this very conviction of mine that the author of the original Gītā was a great poet, that makes me hesitate to attribute to him such verses as XI, 26 ff., where the heroes of the epic are visioned as hanging between the teeth of the god,—a vision by which a further excuse for the killing of the enemy is added to those already given in Canto II: namely Arjuna need not hesitate to kill the enemies, because in reality they have "already been killed (by God)."[1]

There can hardly be any doubt that the Bhagavadgītā did not belong to the original heroic poem. It is scarcely imaginable that an epic poet would make his heroes hold a philosophical conversation of 650 verses in the midst of the description of a battle. In all probability the original epic included only a very short dialogue between Arjuna and the hero and charioteer (not the god) Kṛṣṇa. This dialogue was, as it were, the germ from which the present didactic poem grew.[2] This didactic poem was originally, by its very nature, a text of the Bhāgavatas, wherein the doctrine of bhakti in conjunction with the yoga doctrine of desireless action was taught on the foundation of the Sāṃkhya. There is evidence from inscriptions that, as early as the beginning of the 2nd century B. C. the religion of the Bhāgavatas had found adherents even among the Greeks in Gandhāra.[3]

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[1]) Those scholars, too, who reject Garbe's views, do not all believe in the unity of the Gītā. *Hopkins* (Great Epic, pp. 215, 234 f.) speaks of the Gītā as "clearly..... rewritten by a modernising hand." *Oldenberg*, too, thinks it likely that the earliest Gītā concluded with II, 38, and that Adhyāyas XIII-XVIII are an appendix or appendices (NGGW. 1919, 333 f., 336 f.). See also *Strauss*, Ethische Probleme, pp. 312 f.

[2]) H. *Jacobi* (ZDMG. 72, 1918, 323 ff.) has endeavoured to trace in the poem those verses (of Adhyāyas I and II) which belonged to the old epic. But it is not impossible that there was no dialogue whatsoever between Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna in the old heroic poem, and that the whole poem was originally a text independent of the epic, an Upaniṣad, which was inserted bodily into the epic.

[3]) See J. H. *Marshall*, JRAS. 1909, pp. 1053 ff.; J. F. *Fleet*, ib., 1087 ff.; D. R. *Bhandarkar*, JBRAS. 23, 1910, 104 ff.; R. G. *Bhandarkar*, Ind. Ant. 41, 1912, pp. 13 ff.; Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, etc., pp. 3 f.; H. *Raychaudhuri*, Early History of the Vaishnava Sect, Calcutta 1920, pp. 13, 52 f., 58 ff.

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It is perhaps not too bold to assume that the old Bhagavadgītā was written at about this time as an Upaniṣad of the Bhāgavatas.[1] Its language, style and metre, too, prove the work to be one of the earlier parts of the Mahābhārata. There are references to the Gītā in later sections of the epic,[2] and the *Anugītā* (XIV, 16-51) is surely nothing but a late imitation and continuation of the Bhagavadgītā, than which it contains a still greater variety of doctrines.

The Bhagavadgītā was already known to the poet Bāṇa (in the 7th century A.D.) as a portion of the Mahābhārata,[3] and side by side with the Upaniṣads and Vedānta-sūtras it formed one of the foundations of the philosophy of Śaṅkara. Most likely it was already in the early centuries A.D. that it received its present form at the hands of orthodox Brahmans; in this form it became and has remained until to-day the most popular religious book for all Hindus. The work owes this great popularity to the very circumstance that the most conflicting philosophical doctrines and religious views are united in it, so that adherents of all schools and sects could make use of it, and even to-day the strictest Brahman is just as much edified by it as the adherent of the Brahmo-Samaj and the believing theosophist under the leadership of Annie Besant.

It is scarcely possible, however, that the Bhagavadgītā can have arisen from the start on the basis of syncretism, as the latter only made its appearance more and more in later times. It is certain that the old and authentic Gītā was the work of a true and great poet. It is on the strength

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[1]) According to K. T. *Telang* (SBE., Vol. 8, p. 34) the Gītā is "earlier than the third century B.C.," according to R. G. *Bhandarkar* (Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, etc., p. 13) it is "not later than the beginning of the fourth century B. C." I agree with *Edgerton* when he says (l. c., p. 3): "All that we can say is that it was probably composed before the beginning of our era, but not more than a few centuries before it."

[2]) XII, 346, 11 with "Harigītāḥ" and XII, 348, 8.

[3]) K. T. *Telang*, SBE., Vol. 8, p. 28.

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of its poetic value, the forcefulness of its language, the splendour of the images and metaphors, the breath of inspiration which pervades the poem, that it has made such a deep impression on impressionable minds of all ages; and I am convinced that the poetical beauties as well as the moral value of the poem would find still greater appreciation, had the poem not been mutilated by additions and interpolations.[1]

Another text-book of the Bhāgavatas is the Nārāyaṇīya (XII, 334-351); this is certainly a later work than the Bhagavadgītā, but even this has been augmented by additions.[2] It is a work in true purāṇa style, which teaches that perfection can only be attained by bhakti and the grace of God, who appears here under the name of Nārāyaṇa. Here, too, we find the Bhāgavata religion and the philosophy of Saṃkhya and Yoga mingled with Vedānta ideas. The paradise of the pious devotees of Nārāyaṇa, Śvetadvīpa or "the white island," is described in very fantastical fashion:

The sage Nārada desires to look upon the only god Nārāyaṇa, whose faithful worshipper he is, in his original nature. He therefore raises himself aloft by the strength of yoga, and reaches the divine mountain Meru. Gazing thence to the north-west, he espies north of the ocean of milk the famous "white island" lying 32,000 yojanas from Meru. On this island he sees "white men without sense organs, who take no nourishment, whose eyes do not blink, from whom a most pleasant scent emanates, who are free from all sin, at the sight of whom evil men are dazzled, whose bodies are of bone hard as diamond, who are indifferent both to honour and scorn, like unto the children of heaven in form, endowed with shining

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[1]) Attention has often been called to the fact that, notwithstanding the many beauties and lofty thoughts, the poem has many weak points. *Cf.* O. *Böhtlingk*, Bemerkungen zur Bhagavadgītā (BSGW. 1897); E. W. *Hopkins*, Religions of India, pp. 390, 399f, quoted in assent by R. *Garbe*, Die Bhagavadgîtâ, p. 16; and V. K. *Rajwade*, Bhandarkar Com. Vol., pp. 325 ff.

[2]) See R. G. *Bhandarkar*, Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, *etc.* pp. 4 ff., *Grierson*, Ind. Ant. 37, 1908, 251ff., 373ff. Translated into German by *Deussen*, Philosophische Texte des Mahâbhâratam, pp. 748 ff., into Dutch by C. *Lecoutere* in Mélanges Charles de Harlez, Leyden 1896, pp. 162 ff.

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strength, with heads in the shape of sunshades. Their voice resembles the rushing of torrents of rain, they have four equal testicles, feet like lotus-leaves, sixty white teeth and eight fangs; they lick their sun-like faces with their tongues, and are full of love for God." [1]

It seems evident that the "white island" as well as the divine mountain Meru and the ocean of milk, belongs to the province of mythology, and not to that of historical geography. A few scholars have, however, tried to identify the ocean of milk with Lake Issyk-Kul or Lake Balkhash, and the "white island" with a land of "white men" in the north, inhabited by Nestorian Christians,[2] so that we should have to assume that there was Christian influence in the Nārāyaṇīya. In my opinion, the description of Śvetadvīpa does not remind us of the Christian Eucharist, but of heavenly regions such as Vaikuṇṭha, Goloka, Kailāsa and the Sukhāvatī paradise of the Buddha Amitābha.

Though Sāṃkhya and Yoga stand in the foreground of most of the philosophical sections of the Mahābhārata, we nevertheless find everywhere interpolated passages where the Vedānta is taught, and a few longer passages like the *Sanatsujātīya* (V, 41-46) have been inserted with an entirely Vedāntist teaching.[3] However, as regards poetical value, there is none of the philosophical sections of the

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[1]) XII, 335, 6-12. A tongue of this kind also belongs to the 32 characteristics of a Buddha, who, however, has only forty white teeth, *e.g.*, Suttanipāta, Selasutta (SBE., Vol. 10, II, p. 101).

[2]) *Cf.* J. *Kennedy*, JRAS. 1907, 481f., R. *Garbe*, AR. 16, 1913, 516ff, and Indien und das Christentum, Tübingen 1914, pp. 192 ff., *Grierson*, ERE. II, p. 549. On the other hand, s. *Winternitz*, Oesterreich. Monatsschrift fur den Orient, 41, 1915, pp. 185 f., and H. *Raychaudhuri*, Early History of the Vaishnava Sect, pp. 79 ff.

[3]) For the philosophical doctrines contained in the Mahābhārata s. E. W. *Hopkins*, The Great Epic of India, pp. 85-190, J. *Dahlmann*, Die Saṃkhya-Philosophie als Naturlehre und Erlösungslehre nach dem Mahābhārata, Berlin 1902, P. *Deussen*, AGPh I, 3, pp. 8-144. Contrary to Deussen and Dahlmann, I consider it wrong to speak of an "epic philosophy" as a "transition philosophy" between the philosophy of the Upaniṣads and that of the later systems. The epic proper has no connection with philosophy at all, and the "pseudo-epics" contains a mixture of philosophical doctrines belonging to widely different times.

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Mahābhārata which could bear the least comparison with the Bhagavadgītā.

On the other hand, many a precious gem of Indian poetry is to be found in those didactic pieces which deal with *ethical* questions, *e. g.*, the oft-discussed question regarding the relationship of destiny and human action (karman), or contain general ethical doctrines—without regard to any particular philosophical or religious views. The following translations may serve at least as a small sample of the abundance of beauty and wisdom which lies hidden in these verses of the Mahābhārata:

"The wound a foeman's trenchant steel
Inflicts, in time again will heal;
The tree a woodman's axe o'erthrows
Soon sprouts again, and freshly grows;
But never more those wounds are closed,
Which harsh and cutting words have caused."

"The gods no club, like herdsmen, wield
To guard the man they deign to shield:
On those to whom they grace will show
They understanding sound bestow;
But rob of sense and insight all
Of whom their wrath decrees the fall.
These wretched men,—their minds deranged,—
See all they see distorted, changed;
For good to them as evil looms,
And folly wisdom's form assumes."

"With meekness conquer wrath, and ill with ruth,
By giving niggards vanquish, lies with truth."

"Reviling meet with patience; ne'er
To men malignant malice bear.
Harsh tones and wrathful language greet
With gentle speech and accents sweet.
When struck return not thou the blow.

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Even gods their admiration shew
Of men who thus entreat a foe."

"That foe repel not with a frown
Who claims thy hospitable aid;
A tree refuses not its shade
To him who comes to hew it down."

"Thou mark'st the faults of other men,
Although as mustard seeds minute;
Thine own escape thy partial ken,
Though each in size a Bilva fruit." [1]

"A man should do with all his might
The good his heart has once designed.
Ne'er let him wrong with wrong requite,
But be to others ever kind."

"The good kind actions recollect,
But base injurious deeds forget;
On doing good to others set,
They never recompense expect."

"'Tis not for gain, for fame, from fear,
That righteous men injustice shun,
And virtuous men hold virtue dear;
An inward voice they seem to hear
Which tells that duty must be done."

"Whene'er thy acts the source must be
Of good or ill to other men,
Deal thou with them in all things then
As thou would'st have them deal with thee." [2]

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[1]) Matthew vii, 3f.

[2]) V, 33, 77, 80 f., 34, 41, III, 194, 7, V, 35, 11, XII, 146, 5, I, 74, 82, III, 206, 44, II, 72, 7, XII, 158, 58, V, 38, 72 (Roy's edition), translated by J. *Muir*, Metrical Translations from Sanskrit Writers, pp. 93, 9, 88, 110, 85, 81 and 84.

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The Harivaṃśa, an Appendix to the Mahābhārata.[1]

What has been said in the preceding chapters must suffice to give an idea of the *eighteen books* (parvans) of the Mahābhārata. The Indians, however, regard also the Harivaṃśa, a work which is in reality a Purāṇa and is also occasionally called "Harivaṃśa-Purāṇa" as part of the Mahābhārata. Yet the book is not even by the Indians termed a nineteenth "Parvan," but a *Khila*, *i.e.* a supplement or appendix to the Mahābhārata. This "appendix," it is true, is a work of 16,374 verses (Ślokas), that is, longer than the Iliad and the Odyssey put together. But its literary value is by no means in direct proportion to its size. It is above all not a "poem," in no sense the work of any *one poet*, but a jumbled or quite loosely connected mass of texts—legends, myths and hymns—serving for the glorification of the god Viṣṇu. The Harivaṃśa is not even the work of *one compiler*. The last third of it is surely only a later appendix to the appendix, and also in the remaining parts of the work many portions were probably inserted at quite different times.

The connection of the Harivaṃśa with the Mahābhārata itself is purely external and is limited essentially to the fact that the same Vaiśampāyana who is said to have recited the whole Mahābhārata to Janamejaya,[2] is also regarded as the reciter of the Harivaṃśa. In connection with the frame story of the Mahābhārata, Śaunaka, at the beginning of the appendix, requests Ugraśravas, after he has told him all the beautiful stories of the Bhāratas, to relate something about the Vṛṣṇis and Andhakas—the families to which Kṛṣṇa belongs.

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[1]) *Cf.* A. *Holtzmann*, Das Mahābhārata, II, pp. 272-298, and E. W. *Hopkins*, Gleanings from the Harivaṃśa in Festschrift Windisch, pp. 68 ff. The Harivaṃśa has been translated into French by S. A. *Langlois*, Paris, 1834-35.

[2]) See above, pp. 323 f.

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Thereupon Ugraśravas remarks that exactly the same request had been made by Janamejaya to Vaiśampāyana after the recitation of the Mahābhārata, and the latter had then related all that which he himself was now going to repeat. Thus all that follows is placed in the mouth of Vaiśampāyana. Besides this, in a few verses at the beginning and a complete lengthy song at the end of the appendix,[1] the praise of the Mahābhārata including the Harivaṃśa is sung in extravagant verses, and the religious merit acquired by the reciting and hearing of the whole poem is emphasized. This exhausts practically everything whereby the Harivaṃśa itself shows its connection with the Mahābhārata. As far as the contents are concerned, the Harivaṃśa has no more in common with the Mahābhārata than the Purāṇas; for many legends, in particular brahmanical legends and myths, which occur in the Mahābhārata, reappear in different versions in the Harivaṃśa as well as in the Purānas.

The Harivaṃśa consists of three great sections, the first of which is entitled Harivaṃśaparvan. The title "Harivaṃśa," *i.e.* "genealogy of Hari,"[2] which was given to the whole appendix is in reality only applicable to this first book. It begins in the manner of the Purāṇas with a rather confused account of the Creation and all sorts of mythological narratives, thus of Dhruva, who became the Pole Star (62 ff.), of Dakṣa and his daughters, the female ancestors of the gods and demons (101 ff.), and others. The story of Vena, the Titan who was opposed to the Veda and to sacrifice, and his son Pṛthu, the first king of men, is narrated in detail.[3] Numerous legends, for instance those of Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha (706 ff.) are worked into the genealogy of the solar dynasty (545 ff.), *i.e.* of King Ikṣvāku and his descendants,

[1]) Adhyāya 323, see below.

[2]) *Hari* is one of the most usual of the innumerable names of the god Viṣṇu.

[3]) *Pṛthūpākhyānā*, Adhy. 4-6, vss. 257-405.

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who trace their origin back to the sun-god. Regardless of any connection with this genealogy there is then inserted a ritual portion about the fathers and the sacrificial service due to them.[1] Then follows (1312 ff.) the genealogy of the lunar dynasty, which sprang from Atri, the son of the moon-god (Soma). One of Soma's grandsons was the renowned *Purūravas*, whose love adventures with *Urvaśī* are related in a very archaic form which rather closely approaches the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa.[2] Among the descendants of Purūravas are Nahuṣa and Yayāti. Yadu, the son of the latter, is the ancestor of the Yādavas, to whom Vasudeva belongs, as whose son Kṛṣṇa the god Viṣṇu is born on earth. After the genealogy of the human Kṛṣṇa has thus been given, there follow a series of songs (2131 ff.) dealing entirely with the *god Viṣṇu* and thus, to a certain extent, containing the divine previous history of Kṛṣṇa.

The second great section of the Harivaṃśa, entitled Viṣṇuparvan,[3] deals almost exclusively with Kṛṣṇa, the god Viṣṇu become mortal. All the stories of the birth and childhood, the heroic deeds and love adventures of the human, often all-too-human, cowherd-god, are related here at great length; they are also related in greater or less detail in some of the Purāṇas, and have made the name *Kṛṣṇa* one of the most familiar to every Hindu. While the best and wisest among the Viṣṇu-worshippers honour Kṛṣṇa above all as the herald of the pious doctrines of the Bhagavad-gītā, it is the Kṛṣṇa of the *legends*, as they are related in the Harivaṃśa and in the Purāṇas, who is now honoured and

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[1]) *Pitṛkalpa*, "ancestral ritual," Adhy. 16-24, vss. 835-1311. The story of Brahmadatta, who understands the languages of the animals, is inserted in Adhy. 21, vss. 1185 ff.; this is translated and discussed by Th. *Benfey* in "Orient und Occident," Vol. II, 1862, pp. 133-171, and by *Leumann*, WZKM., 6, 1892, pp. 1 ff.

[2]) Adhy. 26, vss. 1363-1414, translated by K. *Geldner* in "Vedische Studien" I, p. 249 ff. Cf. above p. 209.

[3]) Adhy. 57 ff. = vss. 3180 ff.

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worshipped as a lofty god, and now exalted as an ideal of the most perfect manhood, by the millions of Hindus of all classes throughout India till the present day. It is this god of the legends, and not the Kṛṣṇa of the Mahābhārata, the cunning friend of the Pāṇḍavas, of whom the Greek Megasthenes already talked as the "Indian Hercules." In order to give at least an idea of these Kṛṣṇa legends which are important alike in the history of literature and the history of religion, the contents of the second section of the Harivaṃśa shall here be briefly sketched.

In the town of Mathurā there reigned a bad king *Kaṃsa*. To him Nārada announced that he would meet his death at the hands of the eighth son of *Devakī*, the sister of his father and the wife of *Vasudeva*. Then Kaṃsa determines to kill all Devakī's children. He has Devakī closely guarded by his servants, and six of her children are killed immediately after birth. The seventh child, that brother of Kṛṣṇa who is later known as "*Rāma* with the ploughshare," "Balarāma," or "Baladeva," is rescued by Nidrā,[1]) the goddess of sleep, by her transferring the boy, before he is born, from the womb of Devakī to that of *Rohinī*, another wife of Vasudeva. The eighth son, however, and this was Kṛṣṇa, was exchanged by Vasudeva himself, immediately after birth, in order to rescue him from Kaṃsa, with the daughter of the cowherd *Nanda* and his wife *Yaśodā*, who was born at the same time. So the little daughter of the latter is dashed against a rock by Kaṃsa, while Kṛṣṇa is regarded as the son of a cowherd and grows up among the cowherds. Rāma, too, is entrusted to the protection of the cowherd family by Vasudeva, and the two boys grow up together in the cowherds' station. Even as a suckling Kṛṣṇa performs wondrous miracles. One day, when his foster-mother Yaśodā, after having laid the sleeping child under a waggon, lets him wait too long for food, he begins to struggle impatiently with hands and feet, and finally overthrows the heavy waggon with one foot. In mad merriment the boys Kṛṣṇa and Rāma later rush through forest and field, and make much trouble for the simple cowherd's wife. On one occasion

[1]) Perhaps the circumstance that Nidrā is also the name of *Duryā*, gave rise to the interpolation of a hymn to this goddess, the *Āryāstava* (Adhy. 59 = vss. 3268.3303). But the interpolation of such hymns (stotras) is characteristic of all Purāṇas.

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she hardly knows what to do, so she ties a rope round little Kṛṣṇa's body and fastens him tightly to a heavy mortar, saying angrily: "Now run, if thou canst." But the boy not only drags away the mortar with him, but as the mortar gets caught between two gigantic trees, he tears out the mighty trees by their roots. Horrified, the cowherds and the foster-mother see the boy sitting laughing between the branches of the trees, but he himself is uninjured.

After seven years had elapsed, the boys grew tired of the cowherds' station. So Kṛṣṇa caused innumerable wolves to issue from his body, which frightened the cowherds so much that they decided to wander further. They wandered with their flocks to the Vṛndā-forest. Here the boys now run happily through the forest. But one day Kṛṣṇa strolls alone—now playing now singing, now whistling on a leaf, now blowing on the cowhard's flute—along the banks of the river Jumnā, and reaches the deep lake in which the snake-king *Kāliya* dwells, who, with his retinue, poisons the water of the Jumnā and makes the whole neighbourhood unsafe. With swift determination, Kṛṣṇa plunges into the lake, in order to overcome the frightful dragon. Soon the five-headed, fire-breathing monster appears, and a host of snakes rush furiously upon the youthful hero, surrounding and biting him. But he soon frees himself, presses the heads of the monster on the ground, and jumps with force on to the middle head, so that the dragon confesses himself conquered and retreats into the deep with the whole brood of snakes.

Soon afterwards he also slays the demon *Dhenuka*, who, in the form of an ass, guards the mountain Govardhana. Another demon, the giant *Pralamba*, does not venture to tackle Kṛṣṇa, but is slain by Rāma, the brother of the latter.

In the autumn the cowherds, according to their custom, wish to arrange a great feast in honour of the rain god *Indra*. Kṛṣṇa will have none of this worship of Indra. "We are cowherds who wander through the forests, who always live by the wealth of cows, the cows are our deity, the hills and forests." (3808) In such words he invites the cowherds to arrange a mountain-sacrifice instead of the Indra celebration, which the cowherds do. At this Indra is so enraged that he sends down a frightful storm. But Kṛṣṇa lifts up the mountain Govardhana and holds it like an umbrella over the cowherds and their flocks, so that they are entirely sheltered. After seven days the storm ceases, Kṛṣṇa restores the mountain to its place, and Indra humbly recognises in Kṛṣṇa the exalted god Viṣṇu.

Then the cowherds praise and worship him as a god, but he smilingly

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declares that he only desires to be their relative; the time will come later when they will recognise his true nature. And, as a cowherd among cowherds, he lives in youthful happiness. He organises bull-fights and tournaments with the strongest among the cowherds. On the lovely autumn nights, however, his heart rejoiced in the round dances,[1]) which the beautiful cowherdesses, who are all enamoured of the hero-youth, perform in the moonlight, singing of his deeds and jestingly imitating his play, his merry glance, his gait, his dancing and his singing.

Once, when Kṛṣṇa was enjoying himself with the cowherdesses, *Ariṣṭa*, a demon in the form of a bullock, appeared. Kṛṣṇa tears out one of his horns and slays him with it.

The fame of all the heroic deeds of Kṛṣṇa reaches the ears of Kaṃsa and causes him anxiety. In order to get him out of the way, he sends for the two youthful heroes to come to Mathurā, where, at a festival, they are to fight with his best wrestlers. But no sooner has he arrived in the town than Kṛṣṇa performs wonderful miracles and feats of strength. Thus he bends the king's great bow, which even the gods cannot bend, with such strength that, with a tremendous crash, it breaks in twain. Kṛṣṇa pulls out the tusk of an elephant which Kaṃsa lets loose upon the youths, and kills the elephant with it. The two powerful champion wrestlers with whom Kaṃsa confronts the youths are also killed by them. Filled with rage, the king now commands that the cowherd-youths and all cowherds shall be driven out of his kingdom. Then Kṛṣṇa springs like a lion upon Kaṃsa, drags him by his hair into the centre of the arena and kills him.

After some time the two brothers go to Ujjein, in order to learn the art of archery from a famous teacher there. A son of this teacher has perished in the sea, and as his fee, he demands that Kṛṣṇa shall bring him back this son. Then Kṛṣṇa descends into the underworld, overcomes the god of death, Yama, and brings the boy back to his father.

In order to avenge the death of Kaṃsa, his father-in-law *Jarāsandha* goes forth with many allied princes to fight against the Yādavas, besieges Mathurā, is repeatedly repulsed by Kṛṣṇa, but always renews his attacks, until at last he is compelled to retreat. These battles with Jarāsandha are described in a long series of narratives.

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[1]) These are the dances called *Rāsa* or *Hallīśa*, accompanied by pantomimic representations, and which still to-day take place in some parts of India, and, for instance, in Kathiawad are still known by a name corresponding to the Sanskrit "Hallīśa." (*Cf.* the Indian monthly magazine "East and West," Vol. I, 748 f., May, 1902.)

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In the same way the following narrative of the rape of *Rukmiṇī* is spun out.[1] King Bhīṣmaka of Vidarbha has promised his daughter Rukmiṇī in marriage to King Śisupāla, and the wedding was about to be celebrated. Then Kṛṣṇa comes with his brother Rāma to the marriage-feast and *kidnaps* the bride. The deeply-offended princes pursue him, but are repulsed by Rāma. Rukmin, the brother of the kidnapped girl, swears he will never return to his native town, unless he has killed Kṛṣṇa and brought his sister back. A fierce fight takes place, in which Rukmin is defeated; but in response to the entreaties of Rukmiṇī Kṛṣṇa grants him his life. In order not to break his oath, Rukmin founds a new town for himself. In Dvārakā the marriage of Kṛṣṇa with Rukmiṇī takes place. With her he begets ten sons, but later marries seven queens and sixteen thousand other wives, with whom he begets thousands of sons. *Pradyumna*, a son of Kṛṣṇa and Rukmiṇī,[2] later marries a daughter of Rukmin, and their son Aniruddha marries a grand-daughter of Rukmin. At the marriage of Aniruddha, Rāma and Rukmin quarrel over a game of dice, and the latter is slain by Rāma. In connection with this there is a glorification of the deeds of Rāma.[3]

Then follows the story of the slaying of *Naraka*.[4] This Naraka is a demon, who has stolen the ear-rings of Aditi, and also otherwise gives the gods much trouble. At the request of Indra Kṛṣṇa fights against him and kills him.

The next narrative [5] shows us Kṛṣṇa in a battle against Indra. The seer Nārada once brought Kṛṣṇa a blossom from the heavenly tree *Pārijāta*, which Kṛṣṇa gave to his beloved Rukmiṇī. Then Satyabhāmā, one of his other wives, grows terribly jealous, and sulks until Kṛṣṇa promises to bring her the whole Pārijāta-tree from heaven. But as Indra will not willingly surrender the tree, Kṛṣṇa challenges him to fight. This leads to a long and violent battle between the two gods, which, however, is finally settled peaceably by Aditi, the mother of gods.

There follows a rather extensive didactic portion,[6] only very

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[1]) Into the old legend, in which Kṛṣṇa appears as *hero* later portions are here interpolated, in which he appears as god Viṣṇu in his full divinity.

[2]) He is an incarnation of the god of love.

[3]) *Baladevamāhātmyakathana*, Adhy. 120, 6766-6786.

[4]) *Narakavadha*, Adhyāyas 121-123 = 6787-6988.

[5]) *Pārijātaharaṇa*, Adhy. 124-140 = 6989-7956. A hymn to Śiva is inserted (*Mahādevastavana*), Adhy. 131 = 7415-7455.

[6]) *Puṇyakavidhi*, Adhy. 136-140 = vss. 7722-7956.

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slightly connected with this long section, and really belonging to scientific eroticism, the *Kāmaśāstra*. This is an instruction (in the form of a conversation between the wives of Kṛṣṇa and the wise Nārada, who, however, refers to *Umā*, the wife of Śiva, as his authority) upon *Puṇyakas* and *Vratakas*, *i.e.* ceremonies, festivals and vows, by means of which a wife can make her body pleasing to her husband and assure herself of his favour. But as these ceremonies are efficacious only for virtuous wives, a few instructions upon the duties of wives (7754 ff.) are given at the beginning.

The next section [1] again relates Kṛṣṇa's battles with the demons. The Asuras of the "six towns" (*Ṣaṭpura*) steal the daughters of the pious Brahmadatta. Kṛṣṇa comes to his rescue and kills Nikumbha, the king of the Asuras, and restores the Brahman his daughters.

Then follows an entirely Śivaite passage,[2] which has nothing to do with Kṛṣṇa, and relates how the thousand-headed demon *Andhaka* is killed by Śiva.

The following section[3] reverts to Kṛṣṇa and relates another story of the killing of the Asura Nikumbha. The Yādavas, with Kṛṣṇa and Rāma at their head, undertake a pilgrimage to the sea to a sacred bathing-place in order to celebrate a great joyous festival there. Kṛṣṇa with his sixteen thousand wives, Rāma with his only wife Revatī, and youths of the Yādavas with thousands of courtesans give themselves up to playing and singing, feasting and drinking, and all kinds of enjoyments in the water and on the sea-shore.[4] During these festivities the demon Nikumbha kidnaps *Bhānumatī*, a daughter of the Yādava Bhānu. Kṛṣṇa's son Pradyumna pursues the Asura and brings the stolen one back, while Kṛṣṇa himself kills Nikumbha.

The following cantos [5] deal almost exclusively with *Pradyumna*, the son of Kṛṣṇa. First the story of the marriage of Pradyumna with *Prabhāvatī*, the daughter of the Asura *Vajranābha*, is related, in which the heavenly flamingoes intervene in bringing about the bond of love just as in the Nala-song flamingoes are the messengers of love between Nala and

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[1]) *Ṣaṭpuravadha*, Adhy. 141-144 = vss. 7957-8198.

[2]) *Andhakavadha*, Adhy. 145 f. = vss. 8199-8300.

[3]) *Bhānumatīharaṇa*, Adhy. 147-149 = vss. 8301-8549.

[4]) The brilliant description of these voluptuous scenes fills two cantos (147 f. = 8301-8470).

[5]) Adhy. 150 ff. = vss. 8550 ff. Freely rendered into German in the beautiful poem "Pradyumna" by *Schack*, "Stimmen vom Ganges," pp. 67 ff.

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Damayantī. In order to win Prabhāvatī, Pradyumna, disguised as an actor, comes with a whole troupe of actors to the court of Vajranābha. Then all sorts of plays are performed,[1] with which the Asuras are greatly charmed. But Pradyumna uses the lovely nights for secretly enjoying the pleasures of love with Prabhāvatī. Finally Vajranābha hears of the love-intrigue, and, full of anger, he is about to have Pradyumna thrown into fetters. But the latter kills the warriors who rush towards him, and the Asura king himself. Thereupon he enters Dvārakā with his beloved one.

The second narrative[2] treats of the youthful love of *Pradyumna*: how he is kidnapped by Asuras seven days after his birth and grows up in the house of the demon *Śambara*; how Māyāvatī, the wife of the latter, burns with love for the beautiful youth and enlightens him on the fact that he is not her son, but the son of Kṛṣṇa and Rukminī; how Pradyumna then kills Śambara after a desperate fight[3] and finally, united with Māyāvatī, returns to his native town, where he is joyfully received by his parents.

For no reason at all, the daily prayer of Rāma,[4] a litany consisting of an enumeration of divine beings, is inserted here.

After a few shorter pieces, legends and speeches in praise of Kṛṣṇa, the book concludes with the story of the "battle of Bāṇa"[5] and the love affair of *Aniruddha*, the son of Pradyumna, with *Ūṣā*, the daughter of the Asura-king Bāṇa. The latter is a favourite of the god Śiva. Kṛṣṇa comes to the aid of Aniruddha, who is hard pressed by Bāṇa; and the fighting with Bāṇa leads to a violent battle between Śiva and Viṣṇu, by which the whole world is seriously menaced. But Brahman comes to the aid of the earth and creates peace between the two gods, by declaring that

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[1]) This (8672 ff.) is *perhaps* one of the oldest, certainly one of the most interesting mentions of dramas and dramatic performances in Indian literature. Not only scenes from the life of Kṛṣṇa are here produced, but dramatizations of the great epic Rāmāyaṇa and of the story of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga (*cf.* above pp. 399 ff.) are also expressly mentioned. Unfortunately the age of this piece called "Pradyumnottara," is quite uncertain. *Cf.* Sylvain *Lévi*, "Le théâtre indien," Paris, 1890, pp. 327 ff., and A. B. *Keith*. The Sanskrit Drama, Oxford 1924, pp. 28, 47 f.

[2]) *Śambaravadha*, Adhy. 163-167 = vss. 9208-9487.

[3]) In this he is helped by Durgā, whom he invokes in a hymn (*Pradyumna-krta Durgāstava*, Adhy. 166 = 9423-9430).

[4]) *Baladevāhnika*, Adhy. 168 = vss. 9488-9591.

[5]) *Bāṇayuddha*, Adhy. 175-190 = 9806-11062.

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Śiva and Viṣṇu are one. Here follows a hymn (stotra) glorifying these two as identical deities.[1] With the marriage of Aniruddha and Uṣā, which is celebrated with great magnificence in Dvāravatī, the book ends.

The intermingling of stotras (hymns) as that of Viṣṇu-Śiva here, shows particularly to how great an extent the Harivaṃśa is a collection of texts for *religious* purposes, and not an epic poem.[2]

But while in Book II there are still some remains of a *Kṛṣṇa epic* which must certainly once have existed, Book III, called Bhaviṣyaparvan (11063 ff.), is only a loose collection of Purāṇa texts. The title Bhaviṣyaparvan, *i.e.* "section of the future" refers only to the first cantos of this book, which contain prophecies regarding the coming ages of the world. Here is related the story of a horse-sacrifice which Janamejaya wished to offer; but Vyāsa foretells him that this sacrifice would not be successful, for the godless age of Kali will dawn, which will be followed only a long time later by the Kṛta-age of virtue and piety. This section[3] forms a complete whole and is even termed an independent poem. Then follow, without any connection, two different accounts of the Creation.[4] A third section deals in great detail with the incarnations of Viṣṇu as a boar, a man-lion and dwarf.[5]

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[1]) *Hariharātmakastava*, Adhy. 184 = vss. 10660-10697. This is one of the *few* places in Indian literature where there is a mention of *Trimūrti*. For *Hari* (Viṣṇu) and *Hara* (Śiva) are not only identical with each other, but also with *Brahman*.

[2]) How largely the Harivaṃśa is regarded as a religious book, is proved by the circumstance that it is the custom in the courts of justice in Nepal to place a copy of the Harivaṃśa on the head of the witness, if he is a Hindu, in the same way as the Koran is placed upon the head of a Mohammedan. (A. *Barth*, Religions of India, p. 156 note).

[3]) Adhy. 191-196 = vss. 11063-11278. The passage is commended, in 11270 ff., as a great ornate poem (mahākāvyam). But verses 11082 ff. already say clearly that the Harivaṃśa is *concluded*, and that the story of Janamejaya's horse-sacrifice only forms *an appendix to the Harivaṃśa*. The subsequent sections are most probably only later additions.

[4]) *Pauṣkaraprādurbhāva*, Adhy. 197-222 = vss. 11279-12277.

[5]) Adhy. 223-263 = vss. 12278-14390. Brahman begins a hymn to Viṣṇu (Viṣṇu-stotra) 12880 ff. (Adhy. 238). Kaśyapa utters a hymn in prose to the "Great Spirit" (Mahāpuruṣastava) 14114 ff. (Adhy. 259).

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Next follows a section which, like the last one in Book II, pursues the tendency to harmonise Viṣṇu- and Śiva-worship. Alternately Viṣṇu sings a hymn to Śiva and Siva to Viṣṇu.[1] The next passage again deals with a heroic deed of Kṛṣṇa, namely the slaying of King *Pauṇḍra*, who rises up against Kṛṣṇa.[2] The last longer section of the Harivaṃśa is the legend (upākhyāna) of the two Śiva-worshippers *Haṃsa* and *Ḍimbhaka*, who are humiliated by Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu.[3]

There is appended yet another long canto which, in most extravagant fashion, tells of the merit of reading the Mahābhārata and the reward of heaven which awaits the reader, and further prescribes the presents which one should give to the readers (vācaka) after the close of every parvan, and finally ends with a song in praise of the Mahābhārata as the most sacred and most exalted of all "text-books" (śāstra).[4] Above all, however, it is boasted that the work serves for the glorification of Viṣṇu, for: "In the Veda, in the Rāmāyaṇa and in the sacred Bhārata, O bravest of Bharata's descendants, everywhere, at the beginning, at the end, and in the middle *Hari* is glorified."[5]

Strange to say, after all the glorifications of Viṣṇu, and after the actual conclusion of the book, there still follows a canto[6] in which the god Śiva comes into his own, and it is related how he destroyed the three castles (Tripura) of the demons. Yet even here a final verse in praise of the "great yogin" Viṣṇu is added.

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[1]) *Kailāsayātrā*, Adhy. 264-281 = vss. 14391-15031. Adhy. 278; Īśvarastuti, Adhy. 279 and 281. Viṣṇustotra.

[2]) *Pauṇḍrakavadha*, Adhy. 282-293 = vss. 15032-15375.

[3]) *Haṃsaḍimbhakopākhyāna*, Adhy. 294-322 = vss. 15376-16139.

[4]) Adhy. 323 = vss. 16140-16238: *Sarvaparvānukīrttana*. The enumeration of the parvans partly contains other names than our editions. The contents of this adhyāya coincide with similar songs of praise in Book I of the Mahābhārata. *Cf.* above, pp. 325 f.

[5]) Verse 16232.

[6]) *Tripuravadha*, Adhy. 324 = vss. 16239-16324.

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The book finally concludes with a short summing-up of the contents of the Harivaṃśa and an enumeration of the religious gains one acquires by hearing this "Purāṇa."

The fact that the Harivaṃśa is absolutely and entirely a *Purāṇa* is also shown by the numerous, often literally identical, coincidences with passages in several of the most important Purāṇas.[1] Nevertheless, it was necessary to speak of the Harivaṃśa here, and not only later in the chapter on the Purāṇas, not only because this work is regarded by the *Indians* as belonging to the Mahābhārata, but also because this supplement and the way in which it is added to the epic is peculiarly adapted for throwing light on the history of the Mahābhārata itself. We will now turn to this history.

The Age and History of the Mahābhārata.

We have now given a survey of all that has come down to us as "Mahābhārata" in manuscripts and editions, and are now faced with the question: How and when did this gigantic work originate?

Already in the short account of the contents of the actual heroic poem (pp. 328-375) the reader must have noticed a contradiction, which is still more noticeable in the reading of the Mahābhārata itself. While the poem in its present form absolutely takes the part of the *Pāṇḍavas*, and describes the Pāṇḍavas as not only brave beyond measure, but also as noble and good, and on the other hand represents the *Kauravas* as treacherous and mischievous,—the poem, in remarkable self-contradiction, relates that all the heroes of the Kauravas fall through treachery or in unfair fight.[2]

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[1]) Brahma-, Padma-, Viṣṇu-, Bhāgavata-, and especially Vāyu-Purāṇa. The Garuḍa-Purāṇa communicates the contents of the Mahābhārata *and of the Harivaṃśa* in extract. See A. *Holtzmann*, Das Mahābhārata, IV, pp. 32, 35, 37 ff., 40, 42 ff., 47 ff., 56.

[2]) See above, pp. 361 f.

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It is still more striking that all the treachery emanates from *Kṛṣṇa*, that *he* is always the instigator of all the deceit and defends the conduct of the Pāṇḍavas. And this is the same Kṛṣṇa who in many parts of the Mahābhārata and more especially in the Harivaṃśa, is praised and glorified as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, the highest god, and as the ideal and prototype of every virtue.

How can these remarkable contradictions be explained? Upon this there can only be conjectures. First, there is probably justification for the supposition, although we have only the authority of the Mahābhārata itself for it, that a change of dynasty did actually once take place in the North-west of India as the result of a great war, and that these quasi-historical events form the foundation of the epic itself.[1] Starting out from this, we can well imagine that the original heroic songs dealing with the fight between the hostile cousins, were sung among the bards who were still near Duryodhana himself or the house of the Kauravas, but that, in the course of time, as the rule of the victorious Pāṇḍavas was more and more firmly established, these songs were transmitted to bards who were in the employ of the new ruling race. In the mouths of these bards those alterations were then undertaken which made the Pāṇḍavas appear in a favourable light and the Kauravas in an unfavourable one, without its being possible to eradicate completely the original tendency of the songs. In our Mahābhārata the nucleus of the epic, the

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[1]) Even those who find a *mythological* nucleus in the legend underlying the epic, admit that there are also historical elements in it. Thus A. *Ludwig* "Uber das Verhältnis des mythischen Elementes zu der historischen Grundlage des Mahâbhârata." (Abhandlungen der k. böhmischen Ges d. Wissensch. VI, 12.) Prague, 1884. *Pargiter* and *Grierson* (JRAS., 1908, pp. 309 ff., 602 ff.) have expressed the opinion that, underlying the war between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas there may be the historical fact of a battle of nations (a fight between the nations of Madhyadeśa and the other nations of India) and at the same time a fight between a warrior party on the one side and a priestly party on the other. I do not consider that there is any justification of this historical construction. *Cf. Hopkins*, Cambridge History, I, p. 275.

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description of the great battle, is placed in the mouth of Sañjaya, the charioteer of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, that is, in the mouth of the bard of the *Kauṛavas*. It is precisely in these battle-scenes that the Kauravas appear in the most favourable light. The whole Mahābhārata, on the other hand, is recited, according to the frame-story contained in Book I, by Vyāsa's pupil, Vaiśampāyana at the snake-sacrifice of Janamejaya. This Janamejaya, however. is regarded as a descendant of the *Pāṇḍava* Arjuna, which agrees well with the fact that, in the Mahābhārata as a whole, the Pāṇḍavas are preferred to the Kauravas.[1])

As regards Kṛṣṇa, the race of the Yādavas to which he belongs, is described in several places in the Mahābhārata as a cowherd-tribe of rough manners, and he himself is repeatedly scorned by hostile heroes as "cowherd" and "slave." In the ancient heroic poem, he was certainly nothing more than a prominent leader of that cowherd-tribe and had nothing divine about him. Even behind the Kṛṣṇa-legends of the Harivaṃśa there seems to be a foundation of older legends, in which Kṛṣṇa was not yet a god, but the hero of a rough tribe of cowherds. It is difficult to believe that *Kṛṣṇa*, the friend and counsellor of the Pāṇḍavas, *Kṛṣṇa*, the herald

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[1]) I do not think that there was a systematic remodelling (as is the view of *Holtzmann*), but that gradual changes were made. J. v. *Negelein* (OLZ. 1908, 336 f.) refutes this theory by observing that the ancient epic took no stock whatsoever of the moral point of view, that it portrayed both parties in almost equal light and shade, and that it merely rejoiced in the actual display of strength. A similar view is taken by *Oldenberg* (Das Mahābhārata, pp. 35 ff.) who, like *Hopkins* (Cambridge History, I, 265) believes that the moral reflections cast on the conduct of the Pāṇḍavas belong to a more modern age, "when a finer morality had begun to temper the crude royal and military spirit." *Hertel* (WZKM. 24, 1910, 421) seeks to explain the contradiction of the treacherous behaviour of the Pāṇḍavas and the poet's siding with them, by saying that the Mahābhārata has the character of a nītiśāstra and that, according to the rules of politics, the king is justified in or even in duty bound to the utilisation of cunning. These scholars, however, forget that the speeches in which the Pāṇḍavas' manner of fighting is condemned as dishonourable, do not belong to the didactic additions to the epic, but are interwoven with the description of the fight itself, and do not in the least bear the stamp of later additions.

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of the doctrines of the Bhagavadgītā, *Kṛṣṇa*, the youthful hero and demon-slayer, *Kṛṣna*, the favourite and lover of the cowherdesses, and finally *Kṛṣṇa*, the incarnation of the exalted god Viṣṇu, can be one and the same person. It is far more likely that there were two or several traditional Kṛṣṇas, who were merged into *one* deity at a later time. Kṛṣna, the son of Devakī, is mentioned in the Chāndogya-Upaniṣad (III, 17) as a pupil of Ghora Āṅgirasa, who expounds doctrines which at least in a few points coincide with those of the Bhagavadgītā. For this reason we can scarcely separate this old sage of the time of the Upaniṣads from the Kṛṣṇa of the Bhagavadgītā.[1] It is possible that this Kṛṣṇa was the founder of the Bhāgavata religion, and that like so many other founders of religions in India, he was made into an incarnation of the god worshipped by his adherents.[2] It is possible, moreover, that Kṛṣṇa did not figure at all in the original epic, and was introduced only later, perhaps with the express intention of justifying the actions of the Pāṇḍavas, which were shady from the moral point of view, by representing them as inspired by the "god" Kṛṣṇa.[3] Much as has been written on the problem of Kṛṣṇa, we must admit, nevertheless, that no satisfactory solution has been found.[4] In any case, it is a far cry from Kṛṣṇa the friend of the Pāṇḍavas, to the Kṛṣṇa of the Harivaṃśa and the exalted god Viṣṇu.

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[1]) *Cf.* H. *Raychaudhuri*, Early History of the Vaishnava Sect, pp. 23, 30 f., 48 ff.

[2]) This view is advocated especially by *Garbe*, Die Bhagavadgītā, 2nd Ed., pp. 27 ff.

[3]) Thus *Oldenberg*, Das Mahābhārata, pp. 37, 43. *Cf.* also *Jacobi*, ERE. VII, 195 f. and Sir Charles *Eliot*, Hinduism and Buddhism (London, 1921), II, 154, who emphasizes the point that Kṛṣṇa is not so essentially important in the story of the Mahābhārata as is Rāma in that of the Rāmāyaṇa. It seems to me, however, that the *warrior* Kṛṣṇa, *not the god* Kṛṣṇa, is too closely bound up with the main narrative for the epic to be imaginable entirely without him.

[4]) *Cf. Holtzmann*, Das Mahābhārata I, 132 ff.; A. *Weber*, Zur indischen Religionsgeschichte (Sonderabdruck aus "Deutsche Revue" 1899), pp. 28 f.; L. J. *Sedgwick*, JBRAS.

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The political and religious development which is reflected in those songs of the Mahābhārata which refer to the great fight—the passing of the supremacy from the Kauravas to the Pāṇḍavas, and the deification of Kṛṣṇa—thus already presupposes a long period of time, and it is unthinkable that even these songs only, which form the nucleus of the work, should originate with one single poet. Such an assumption becomes still more impossible if we consider the countless *contradictions* which occur in the *details* of the principal narrative. I will recall only the narratives of the marriage of the Pāṇḍavas (see above, pp. 336 f.) and the adventures of Arjuna (p. 339). In Book IV we find a duplicate of the whole battle in the Kuru-field: Bhīṣma and all the other heroes of the Kauravas are put to flight by Arjuna almost in no time; which does not fit in well with the fact that later on it is only possible to overcome the Kauravas in eighteen days, and then only by the employment of guile on the part of the Pāṇḍavas. There can scarcely be any doubt that the whole of Book IV (Virāṭa-parvan) is a later production [1] than the magnificent battle-descriptions in the following books. But even in those books which unquestionably contain the oldest parts of the epic, there are constantly to be found contradictions which cannot possibly be explained by the "ingenious carelessness" of any *one* poet.[2] Beside the most splendid descriptions full of raciness and vigour, there are also to be found long songs, in which the description of the

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23, 1910, pp. 115 ff.; *Grierson*, ERE. II, 539 ff; *Jacobi*, ERE. VII, 193 ff. and Streitberg-Festgabe, p. 168; A. B. *Keith*, JRAS. 1915, 548 ff; R. G. *Bhandarkar*, Vaiṣṇavism, etc., pp. 3 f., 8 ff., 33 ff.; *Raychaudhuri*, l. c., pp. 18 ff. and passim; *Garbe*, l. c.; *Eliot*, Hinduism and Buddhism II, 152 ff.; *Hopkins* in Cambridge History I, 258; *Oldenberg*, Das Makābhārata, pp. 37 ff.

[1]) Thus already *Holtzmann*, Mahābhārata II, p. 98, and *Hopkins*, The Great Epic of India, pp. 382 f. *Cf.* N. B. *Utgikar*, The Virāṭaparvan of the Mahābhārata (Poona, 1923), pp. xx f. and my remarks in Ann. Bh. Inst. V, 1, p. 23.

[2]) *Cf.* above, notes on pp. 361, 362 f.; 366, 370 f.

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eighteen-day battle is spun out as long as possible with dull monotony and continual repetitions.

Thus even what we can term the "actual epic," as it has come down to us, is certainly not the work of *one* poet. Even this "nucleus" of the Mahābhārata *is* no longer the old heroic poem; but the latter is *contained* in it, in a much diluted condition.

We have now seen that around this nucleus an enormous mass of the most miscellaneous poems has accumulated; heroic songs from various cycles of legends, brahmanical myths and legend poetry, ascetic poetry and didactic poems of all kinds from the simplest moral maxims to extensive philosophical poems, formal law-books and complete Purāṇas. Though J. Dahlmann has applied an enormous amount of erudition in an attempt to prove that the Mahābhārata is one unified work which was composed by *one* poet in pre-Buddhist times both as an epic and a law-book,[1] only few scholars agree with him. Sylvain Lévi,[2] too, has recently attempted to explain the Mahābhārata as "a deliberate composition organically and artistically spread around a central fact and inspired by a dominant sentiment which penetrates and permeates it." He compares the Mahābhārata with the Vinaya, the code of discipline of the Mūla-Sarvāstivādin Buddhists,

[1]) In his book "Das Mahābhārata als Epos und Rechtsbuch" (Berlin, 1895) (see above, p. 316, note 1), *Dahlmann*, it is true, only speaks of a "unified diaskeuasis" but yet he ascribes to the "diaskeuast" an activity which could certainly stamp him as a poet; and in conclusion (p. 302) he speaks of the Mahābhārata as the work of "*one single* poetical creative genius." In his book "Genesis des Mahābhārata" (Berlin, 1899) he says directly: "The poet was a diaskeuast, the diaskeuast a poet." It is noteworthy that even such a rather orthodox Indian as C. V. *Vaidya* (The Mahābhārata: A Criticism, Bombay, 1905), who speaks with reverence of Vyāsa, the contemporary of Kṛṣṇa, as the "poet" of the Mahābhārata (whom he places high above Homer, Milton and Shakespeare) and in all earnestness computes that Vyāsa and Kṛṣṇa might have lived at the time of the Mahābhārata war about 3101 B. C., yet frankly admits that the Mahābhārata in its present form is the extension of an originally much smaller work and contains numerous additions and interpolations.

[2]) Bhandarkar Com. Vol., pp. 99 ff. (English in Ann. Bh. Inst. I, 1, 13ff.)

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and is of opinion that the whole great epic "with all its exaggerations and episodes, with all its varied and luxuriant mass of detail" is based on nothing but "a code of Kṣatriya discipline as practised by the Bhāgavatas." Of course, if we take it that the nucleus of the epic is to be found in the Bhagavadgītā, Nārāyaṇīya and Harivaṃśa, such a point of view is justifiable. If, however, as I myself believe, the real nucleus of the Mahābhārata is a heroic poem of the conflict between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas, Lévi's interpretation is just as impossible as that of Dahlmann. Those scholars who see in the Mahābhārata a "scripture of the warrior caste,"[1] forget that the Mahābhārata as we have it in our present-day text contains much which would be quite out of place in a work intended for warriors. The ascetic morality of ahiṃsā which is preached in so many passages in the didactic sections, of the love towards all creatures and complete resignation, is just as incompatible with the very sensual pleasures promised to the warrior in Indra's heaven, as with the eating of meat and the drinking of strong drinks in which the heroes and even their wives indulge, in many a vivid description of the warriors' life in the actual epic.[2] Anyone who has really read the whole of the Mahābhārata and not only the most magnificent portions of it, is bound to admit that our present-day text of the epic contains not only much that is diverse in content, but also much that is diverse in value. In truth, he who would believe with the orthodox Hindus and the above-mentioned Western scholars, that our Mahābhārata, in its present form, is the work of one single man, would be forced to the conclusion that this man was, *at one and the same time*, a great poet and a wretched scribbler, a sage and an idiot, a talented artist and a ridiculous

[1]) *Eliot*, Hinduism and Buddhism I, pp. xc f. *Cf.* also *Hopkins* in Cambridge History I, p. 256.

[2]) See *Hopkins*, Great Epic, pp. 373, 376 ff.

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pedant—apart from the fact that this marvellous person must have known and confessed the most antagonistic religious views, and the most contradictory philosophical doctrines.[1]

With regard to *language*, *style* and *metre*, too, the various parts of the Mahābhārata show absolutely no uniformity. It is in only quite a general sense that one can speak of "epic Sanskrit" as the language of the popular epics.[2] In reality the language of the epic is in some parts *more archaic*, *i. e.* more closely related to the Ancient Indian of the Vedic prose works, than in other parts. And beside linguistic phenomena which recall the Pāli, and which can be called *popular*, there are others which one is compelled to call *solecisms*, such as are often committed by uneducated and inferior authors like the Purāṇa composers. The style, too, can only in a general sense be said to be far removed from the so-called "Kāvya style" *i. e.* the style of the later ornate poetry, which is characterised by the *excessive* use of embellishments (Alaṃkāras). However, there is no lack of passages in the Mahābhārata which remind us of this Kāvya style.[3] Beside these, we also find portions which retain the naïve style of the old Itihāsas, as they are related in the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads, while again in numerous other portions the most negligent Purāṇa style prevails. As regards the metre,[4] the *Śloka* which originated in the old Anuṣṭubh is certainly the metre *par excellence*. But there are earlier and later forms of this

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[1]) *Oldenberg* (Das Mahābharāta, p. 32) calls it a "scientific monstrosity" to suppose that the Mahābhārata was a unified composition.

[2]) The epic language is treated by H. *Jacobi*, Das Râmâyaṇa, pp. 112 ff. *Cf.* also above, p. 44, and *Hopkins*, The Great Epic, p. 262. A. *Ludwig*, Mahābhārata als Epos und Rechtsbuch, pp. 5 ff.; J. *Wackernagel*, Altindische Grammatik I, pp. xliv ff.; W. *Kirfel*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Nominalkomposition in den Upaniṣads und im Epos, Bonn 1908; *Keith*, JRAS, 1906, pp. 2f; *Oldenberg*, l. c., pp. 129 ff., 145 ff.

[3]) *Cf.* above, p. 364. But these passages are not numerous, at all events not nearly as numerous as in the Rāmāyaṇa.

[4]) See *Hopkins*, Great Epic, pp. 191 ff.; J. *Zubaty'*, ZDMG. 43, 1889, pp. 619 ff.; *Ludwig* l. c., p. 37; *Jacobi* in Gurupūjākaumadī, pp. 50 ff.; *Oldenberg*, l. c., pp. 137 ff.

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Śloka, which are all represented in the Mahābhārata. Moreover our epic also contains old prose passages, in which the prose is occasionally rhythmical, and sometimes alternates with verses.[1] Also of the Triṣṭubh metre which is often used in the Mahābhārata, though the Śloka is about twenty times as frequent as the Triṣṭubh, we find the ancient form, still similar to the Vedic form, as well as later forms; and even the elaborate metres of classical Sanskrit poetry are already to be found in certain parts of the Mahābhārata.

Lastly, we must not forget that the opening sections of the Mahābhārata themselves give clear indications that the epic had not always its present form and extent. Even the tables of contents which we find in the first two adhyāyas, are not always in agreement with our text.[2]

Thus everything indicates that the Mahābhārata is not the work of one single author or of one time, but consists of earlier and later portions which belong to different centuries. Contents and form alike confirm the fact that some parts of the Mahābhārata reach back to the times of the Veda, while others must be synchronous with the late productions of the Purāṇa literature.

Now it has been assumed, especially by A. Holtzmann, that an ancient heroic poem of the Kauravas existed, which was the "original Mahābhārata," that this later underwent a "revision with a tendency" in favour of the Pāṇḍavas; and that it was then on *several* consecutive occasions—first by

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[1]) *Cf. Hopkins*, Great Epic, pp. 266 ff. The view taken by *Oldenberg* (Das Mahābhārata, pp. 21 ff. and elsewhere) that these prose-poetry passages are the oldest portions of the Mahābhārata, is quite wrong in my opinion.

[2]) See above, p. 271; V. V. *Iyer*, Notes of a Study of the Preliminary Chapters of the Mahābhārata, pp. 17 ff. and passim; *Oldenberg*, l. c., pp. 33 ff., 43 ff. Though the division into 18 parvans is traditional, it is not certain that the division was originally the same as we find it in our text at the present day. Albērūnī mentions other titles of the 18 parvans, s. E. *Sachau*, Alberuni's India, I, pp. 132 f. The Southern Indian MSS. and the Javanese translation also have other titles. *Cf.* also *Brockhaus*, ZDMG. 6, 1852, pp. 528 ff.

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Buddhists, then by Brahmans—"revised with a tendency." The "second Purāṇa-like revision" must have taken place, according to Holtzmann, about 900-1100 A. D., "after which followed, a few centuries later, the definite establishment and completion of the text."[1]

It is important to state at once that this last supposition, according to which the Mahābhārata received its present form only in the 15th or 16th century, is absolutely false. For it is *proved* by literary and inscriptional evidence,[2] that already about 500 A. D. the Mahābhārata was no longer an actual epic, but a sacred text-book and religious discourse, and was, on the whole, not essentially different, in extent and contents, from the work as we have it at present. The philosopher *Kumārila* (about 700 A. D.) quotes numerous passages from almost all the books of the Mahābhārata, which to him was a great smṛti expounded by Vyāsa.[3] The poets *Subandhu* and *Bāṇa* (about 600-650 A. D.) knew the Mahābhārata chiefly as a poem, indeed Bāṇa considered it as the culmination of all poetry.[4] In his romance "Kādambarī," however, the latter also relates that the Queen Vilāsavatī was present at a recitation of the Mahābhārata on the occasion of a festival in a temple at Ujjein. Such public readings of the Mahābhārata still at the present day take place in India in temples on festive occasions—and naturally not only for entertainment, but also for edification and religious instruction.[5] As early

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[1]) *Holtzmann*, Das Mahābhārata, I, 194.

[2]) See R. G. *Bhandarkar*, JBRAS. 10, 1871-2, pp. 81 ff.; K. T. *Telang*, SBE., Vol. 8, pp. 28 ff.; and especially G. *Bühler* and J. *Kirste*, Indian Studies II, SWA. 1892.

[3]) See *Bühler*, l. c., pp. 5 ff.

[4]) Harṣacarita, introductory verses 4-10. But from this passage it does not follow, as *Peterson* (Kādambarī, Introd., p. 68) thinks, that in Bāṇa's time the Mahābhārata "was as yet comparatively a fresh wonder in the world," but rather that its fame had already "penetrated the three worlds," as Bāṇa himself says. On the Mahābhārata in the works of Subandhu and Bāṇa s. W. *Cartellieri*, WZKM. 13, 1899, 57 ff.

[5]) In another place in the "Kādambarī" (ed. Peterson, p. 209) we read that Kādambarī listens to a recitation of the Mahābhārata, Nārada's daughter reciting it "in a

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as about 600 A.D. an inscription from Cambodia testifies to similar public readings of the Mahābhārata, and this by utilising *manuscripts*, presented expressly for this purpose in this distant Indian colony in Further India. Finally, we also possess deeds of land grants from the 5th and 6th centuries, in which the sections of Book XIII (see above, p. 425), dealing with the morality of giving (dānadharma) are quoted as sacred texts; and in *one* inscription of this kind the Mahābhārata is already called the "collection of a hundred thousand vèrses." The number of a hundred thousand verses, however, is not even approached, unless Books XII and XIII and even part of the Harivaṃśa are included.[1] But if the Mahābhārata already in the 5th century received its unquestionably latest sections such as Book XIII and the Harivaṃśa,[2] if it was at

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gentle singing voice," whilst a pair of Kinnaras seated behind her accompany the recitation on the flute.

[1]) In the Mahābhārata itself there is already mention made of its "hundred thousand" verses (I, 1, 107; XII, 343, 11; *cf.* above, p. 325 and *Hopkins*, l. c., p. 9). The 18 books of the Mahābhārata have, in the Calcutta edition, 90,092 verses, of which 13,935 fall to the share of Book XII and 7,759 to Book XIII. With the whole Harivaṃśa the number of verses is 106,466. If the Bhaviṣyaparvan (see above, p. 452) is omitted, there remain 101,154 verses, which number best agrees with the round number of "a hundred thousand." But the different *recensions* of the Mahābhārata, which often differ from each other in that the one recension omits a number of verses which are included in another, but, on the other hand, in another place inserts just as many verses which are missing in the latter, prove that the *contents* of the Mahābhārata could vary without the *extent* being changed.

[2]) We cannot form any definite conclusion as to the date of the Harivaṃśa ("about the third century of the Christian era," R. G. *Bhandarkar*, Vaiṣṇavism, etc., p. 36) on the basis of the occurrence of the word "dīnāra" = denarius. We may assume, however, that this appendix to the Mahābhārata did not come into existence very long before the 4th century A. D.; for though *Roman* gold coins were known in India as early as in the 1st century A. D. (s. E. J. *Rapson*, Indian Coins, Grundriss II, 3 B., pp. 4, 17 ff., 25, 35; R. *Sewell*, JRAS. 1904, 591 ff.), the *Indian* word dīnāra is only traceable from 400 A. D. onwards in Gupta inscriptions (*Sewell*, l. c., p. 616). *Cf.* B. C. *Mazumdar*, JRAS. 1907, pp. 408 f.; A. B. *Keith*, JRAS. 1907, pp. 681 ff.; 1915, pp. 504 f. If the Buddhist poet Aśvaghoṣa should really be the author of the Vajrasūcī which is ascribed to him, the Harivaṃśa would already have been a part of the Mahābhārata in the 2nd century A. D., for two verses from the Harivaṃśa (1292 f.) are quoted in the Vajrasūcī 3 (s. *Weber*, Indische Streifen I, p. 189) with the words "for it is written in the Bhārata."

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that time already a religious text-book and discourse, and if, a hundred years later, manuscripts of the Mahābhārata had already reached Further India and were read in temples there, then we are justified in concluding that at least one or two centuries earlier, that is, in the 3rd or 4th century A.D., it must already have received that form which it still has to-day. On the other hand,[1] however, it can only have received this form after the origin and spread of Buddhism, to which it contains many references, indeed, only after Alexander's invasion of India, as the Yavanas, *i.e.* the Greeks (Ionians), are frequently mentioned. *According to this the Mahābhārata cannot have received its present form earlier than the 4th century B.C. and not later than the 4th century A.D.*[2]

Therefore, a great *re-modelling* of the Mahābhārata, or even the addition only of one of the great Books, cannot have taken place after the 4th century A.D. In fact, I cannot consider the hypothesis of one or indeed several remodellings to be either at all necessary or probable.[3] As in later periods the copyists deal rather arbitrarily with their text, so,

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[1]) See *Hopkins*, Great Epic, pp. 391 ff. If *Dio Chrysostomos*' statement that even the Indians sang Homer's poems and that they were well acquainted with the sufferings of Priam, etc., alluded to the Mahābhārata (as is the view of A. *Weber*, Ind. Stud. II, 161 ff.; *Holtzmann*, Das Mahābhārata IV, 163; *Pischel*, KG, 195; H. G. *Rawlinson*, Intercourse between India and the Western World, Cambridge, 1916, pp. 140 f., 171), then this statement would constitute our earliest external evidence of the existence of the Mahābhārata in the 1st century A.D. It is possible, however (in fact, according to *Jacobi* in Festschrift Wackernagel, pp. 129 f., probable), that Dio's statement, which was repeated by Aelian, refers to an actual Indian translation of Homer. On various Greek words in the Mahābhārata s. *Hopkins*, l. c., p. 372; *Rawlinson*, l. c., p 172 note.

[2]) *Hopkins*, Epic Mythology (Grundriss III, 1 B 1915, p. 1) considered 300-100 B. C. to be the probable date of the Mahābhārata, but in Cambridge History I, p. 258, he also gives the limits 4th century B. C. to 4th century A. D. S. *Lévi* (JA. s. 11, t. V, 1915, p. 122) concludes from the agreement between the geography of the Buddhist Mahāmāyūrī with that of the Mahābhārata, that the latter received its final redaction in the first three or four centuries A. D.

[3]) But that does not say that separate parts, as for example, the Virāṭa-parvan, have not been remodelled. *Cf. Hopkins* in the JAOS. 24, 1903, p. 54.

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in more ancient times, the rhapsodists, among whom the heroic songs must have been transmitted orally during centuries, probably took every possible liberty in the presentation of their songs: they lengthened scenes which pleased their audiences, and abridged others which made less impression. But the greatest alterations, by means of which the ancient heroic poem *gradually* became a compilation, which offered "much" and therefore offered "everyone something," can probably be explained by the fact that the transmission and preservation of the ancient heroic songs passed from the original singers to other classes, that the songs themselves were transplanted to other regions, and adapted to other times and a changing public. Already in very early times, as we have seen, the songs must have passed from the bards who were connected with the race of the Kurus to such as had relations with the race of the Pāṇḍavas. They spread from such districts where the Viṣṇu-cult prevailed to those where Śiva was worshipped as the highest god. The phases, too, through which the Kṛṣṇa-cult passed, left their traces in the epic poetry. As with other peoples, so with the Indians a time must have come when the creative poetic genius no longer manifested itself in works of heroic poetry, which latter ceased to be living poetry, and when only the *ancient* songs were still sung by the bards.[1] The old heroic time, too, came to an end, the time when the bards went forth into battle with the warriors as charioteers, so that after the victory was achieved, perhaps at a great sacrificial feast, they could sing of the glorious deeds of the heroes. The epigones of these bards were an inferior class of literary men—the same who also devoted themselves to the handing down of the Purāṇas. These people were probably neither proper warriors nor proper Brahmans; it is not for nothing

[1]) *Cf.* H. *Jacobi* in GGA. 1892, p. 632.

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that the law-books describe the Sūtas as bastards, who were said to be descended from the intermarriage of warriors with Brahman women or of Brahmans with Kṣatriya women. This very thing constitutes the peculiarity of the Mahābhārata in its present form: it is neither proper warrior-poetry nor proper religious poetry; it is no longer an epic, but not yet a real Purāṇa.

The Mahābhārata may not have received a final form of some kind until after centuries of oral tradition it was first *written down*. Probably only Brahmans, Paṇḍits, participated in this editing and writing-down. If, however, we have come to the conclusion that the Mahābhārata, even in the 4th century A.D. or still earlier, was *not essentially* different, *on the whole*, in extent and contents, from the work as we have it now, then the words "on the whole" and "not essentially" must be very strongly emphasized. For additions and alterations, and, in fact, additions not only of single verses, but also of whole songs (such as hymns to Durgā and so on) have been made even during later centuries,[1] and a *critically established text of the Mahābhārata does not exist at all.*

When we speak of the "Mahābhārata," we usually mean the text as we have it in the two standard editions which were published in India and were arranged by Indian paṇḍits, *viz.* the "Calcutta Edition" of 1834-1839[2] and the "Bombay Edition" with Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary.[3] These

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[1]) R. G. *Bhandarkar* (JBRAS. 20, 1900, p. 402) points out that interpolations were made in the Anuśāsanaparvan as late as at the Gupta period.

[2]) This edition was begun by the Committee of Public Education and completed under the auspices of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and contains also the text of the Harivaṃśa.

[3]) It has appeared in several editions since 1862. See *Holtzmann*, Das Mahābhārata, III, pp. 2 ff., 9 ff., on this and other Indian editions. The edition by Pratapa Chandra *Roy* (Calcutta, 1882 ff.) is very handy, but is unfortunately spoiled by misprints. This edition is a work of true Indian piety and charity: it was printed by the aid of collections organised by the editor, for the purpose of free distribution, and 10,000 copies were given away gratis.

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two editions differ but slightly, and may be regarded as good representatives of the text as commented by Nīlakaṇṭha.[1] The Bengali and especially the Southern Indian manuscripts, however, often deviate from the latter text.[2] A *critical edition of the Mahābhārata* made on the basis of all the various classes of manuscripts from all parts of India is one of the greatest desiderata of Indology, and we hope that this need may be supplied in the near future.[3] Not until the publication of a critical edition of this nature will it be possible to sift out many a passage at present included in our texts of the Mahābhārata as being certainly or at least very probably interpolations.[4] Moreover, apart from the

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[1]) Nīlakaṇṭha, one of the latest commentators, worked on a text which already contained a strong admixture of interpolations (s. *Utgikar*, Virāṭaparvan, pp. xii f.). Arjunamiśra is earlier than Nīlakaṇṭha, and the commentary Viṣamapadavivaraṇa is still earlier. Editions of the Virāṭaparvan and Udyogaparvan with several commentaries have been published in Bombay, at the Gujarati Printing Press, 1915 and 1920.

[2]) Bengali MSS., though not only Bengali ones, were used for the "Burdwan Edition." On the Southern Indian MSS., *cf.* M. *Winternitz*, Ind. Ant. 27, 1898, 67 ff., 92 ff., 122 ff. and H. *Lüders*, "Uber die Grantharecension des Mahābhārata," AGGW. 1901. Southern Indian MSS. were utilised for the "Kumbhakonam Edition"; this is by no means a critical edition of the Southern recension, but a mixed recension, containing the interpolations of the Northern as well as the Southern MSS. In the Sabhāparvan of the Southern recension there is a long inserted passage about Kṛṣṇa, a kind of Kṛṣṇa-epic, in which *Hopkins* (Festschrift Windisch, pp. 72 ff. *cf.* Cambridge History I, p. 255) has traced many literal points of agreement with the Harivaṃśa.

[3]) The preparation of a critical edition of the Mahābhārata was agreed upon in 1905 by the *International Association of Academies* (*cf.* Almanach der Wiener Akademie 54, 1904, 248f., 267ff., 55, 1905, 238ff.), but the preliminary work which had already been begun, was interrupted by the world war. A critical edition of the Mahābhārata is now in course of preparation by the *Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona*; s. A prospectus of a New and Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata undertaken by the Institute under the Auspices of Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, B.A., Chief of Aundh, 1919; R. *Zimmermann* and C. V. *Vaidya* in JBRAS. 25, 1920, pp. 358 ff., N. B. *Utgikar* in Ann. Bh. Inst. II, 2, 1921, pp. 155 ff.; and the Virāṭaparvan of the Mahābhārata edited from original MSS. as a tentative work.....Poona, 1923; M. *Winternitz*, Ann. Bh. Inst. IV, 2, 1923, pp. 145 ff.; V. 1, 1924, pp. 19 ff.

[4]) Even now we can say with certainty, on the basis of the MSS., that, for instance, the story of Gaṇeśa, who writes down the Mahābhārata, in the Ādiparvan 1 (s. M. *Winternitz*, JRAS. 1898, pp. 380 ff. and *cf.* V. V. *Iyer*, Preliminary Chapters of the Mahābhārata, pp. 32 ff., 97 ff., 340 f.) and the Durgāstotra in the Virāṭaparvan 6 (s. *Utgikar*, The Virāṭaparvan Ed., p. xxii) are interpolations.

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manuscripts, it will be possible to distinguish with some degree of certainty between what is authentic and what is spurious.[1] For this purpose the older translations in the vernaculars, as well as the Javanese and Persian translations of the Mahābhārata will have to be taken into account.[2]

As long as there is no such critical edition of the text of the Mahābhārata available, the date of each section, nay sometimes of each single verse of the Mahābhārata must be determined separately, and there is very little meaning in, and no sort of justification for, saying, as it is so frequently said, that a certain name or subject "*already*" occurs in the Mahābhārata. So much the less justification is there for connecting definite dates with the Mahābhārata as a whole, as not only were later insertions made in decidedly "early" parts, but also, just as frequently, very ancient passages are found in the "later" portions. Thus the whole of Book I of the Mahābhārata is certainly not "ancient"; but that does not prevent many of the myths, legends and genealogical verses occurring in it from being very old.[3] Even in the Harivaṃśa, which was certainly only added late, we find very old verses and legends. But the expressions "early" and

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[1]) See above, notes to pp. 282, 305, 306, 310, 314, 319, 342 f.; and A. *Ludwig* on interpolations in the Rājasūya and Jarāsandha Parvans (Mahābh. II, 12 ff.) in OC xii, Paris, I, pp. 187 ff.

[2]) For vernacular versions of the Mahābhārata see *Holtzmann*, Das Mahābhārata, III, pp. 100 ff. On the Tamil translation said to belong to the 11th century A. D., s. V. V. *Iyer*, l. c., p. 97 ff. and passim. The old Javanic translation is dated 996 A. D., s. K. *Wulff*, Den old javanske Wirātaparva, Kopenhagen, 1917; D. van Hinloopen *Labberton*, JRAS. 1913, pp. 1 ff.; and H. *Kern*, Verspreide Geschriften, 1920, Vol. ix, pp. 39 ff., 215 ff. On the Mahābhārata on the island of Bali, s. R. *Friederich*, JRAS. 1876, pp. 176 f., 179 ff. On the Persian translation s. *Holtzmann*, l. c., III, p. 110, and A. *Ludwig*, Das Mahâbhârata als Epos und Rechtsbuch, pp. 66 ff., 93 ff.

[3]) The Yayāti legend, for instance, is surely at least as early as Patañjali, who teaches the formation of the word Yāyatika "he who knows the Yayāti legend" in the Mahābhāṣya (4, 2, 60). F. *Lacôte* (Essai sur Guṇāḍhya, p 138 f.) is most probably right in assuming that in olden times the episodes of the great epics were recited as independent poems, and I should like to add that this was most likely the case long before they were inserted into the epic.

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"late" with reference to whole books and large portions of the Mahābhārata, must always be used with caution and reserve.

This leads us to the most difficult question: What do we mean when we speak of "old" and "oldest" parts of the Mahābhārata? In other words: To what time do the beginnings of the Mahābhārata reach back?

Let us keep to facts. In the whole of *Vedic* literature there is no mention of a Mahābhārata, though in Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads there is frequent talk of Ākhyāna, Itihāsa, Purāṇa and Gāthā Nārāśaṃsī (see above, p. 314). Even of the great, and probably historical, event which constitutes the central point of the epic, the bloody battle in the Kuru field, the Veda says not a word, though in the Brāhmaṇas this very Kuru field is so often mentioned as a place where gods and mortals celebrated great sacrificial feasts, that this event, if it had already taken place, would most certainly have been mentioned.[1] It is true that Janamejaya, the son of Parikṣit, and Bharata, the son of Duḥṣanta and of Śakuntalā, already appear in the Brāhmaṇas; and already in a Kuntāpa-song of the Atharvaveda Parikṣit is praised as a peace-loving king under whose rule the land of the Kurus prospered. In the works belonging to the Yajurveda there is frequent mention of Kurus and Pañcālas or Kurupañcālas; and in connection with a sacrificial feast of the Kurupañcālas an anecdote is told in the Kāṭhaka (X, 6) of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, the son of Vicitravīrya. On the other hand, nowhere in the whole Veda is the name of Pāṇḍu or of his sons, the Pāṇḍavas, to be found, nowhere do such names as Duryodhana, Duḥśāsana, Karṇa, etc., appear. The name Arjuna does, it is true, occur in a Brāhmaṇa, but as a secret name of the god Indra. The Sāṅkhāyana-Srautasūtra (XV, 16) is the first place where we find mention of a war in

[1]) See A. *Ludwig*, Über das Verhältnis des mythischen Elementes zu der historischen Grundlage des Mahâbhârata, p. 6.

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Kurukṣetra which was disastrous for the Kauravas.[1] In the Āśvalāyana-Gṛhyasūtra,[2] "Bhārata and Mahābhārata" are mentioned in a list of teachers and sacred books which are honoured by libations at the end of the study of the Veda. Pāṇini[3] teaches the formation of the names "Yudhiṣṭhira," "Bhīma" and "Vidura," and the accent of the compound word "Mahābhārata." Patañjali, however, is the first to make definite allusions to the story of the battle between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas.

What of *Buddhist* literature? In the Tripiṭaka, the Pāli-canon of the Buddhists, the Mahābhārata is not mentioned. On the other hand, we find, in the oldest texts of the Tripiṭaka, poems after the style of the Ākhyānas with which we became acquainted in the Brāhmaṇas as a preliminary step to the epic.[4] The Jātakas, whose metrical portions (the Gāthās) belong to the Tripiṭaka, betray an acquaintance

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[1]) *Cf.* E. *Leumann*, ZDMG. 48, 1894, 80 ff.; *Ludwig*, Das Mahābhārata als Epos und Rechtsbuch, pp. 77 ff.; *Hopkins* in Cambridge History I, 252 f. B. C. *Mazumdar* (JRAS. 1906, 225 f.) suggests that the author of the Mahābhārata grafted the Kuru-Pāṇḍava story upon an older story of a war between Kurus and Pañcālas.

[2]) III, 4, 4. This passage has been much discussed. *Cf. Hopkins*, Great Epic, pp. 389 f.; *Dahlmann*, Das Mahābhārata als Epos und Rechtsbuch, pp. 152 ff.; *Winternitz*, WZKM. 14, 1900, pp. 55 f.; *Utgikar* in Proc. I OC, Vol. II, pp. 46 ff.; *Oldenberg*, Das Mahābhārata, pp. 18, 33. Utgikar is right in explaining the mention of the Mahābhārata in the Āśvalāyana-Gṛhyasūtra (and not in other Gṛhyasūtras) by the fact that Āśvalāyana counts as the pupil of Śaunaka, and, according to the frame-story of the Mahābh., Ugraśravas relates the Mahābhārata to Śaunaka. The date of the Āśv.-Gṛhyas is, however, entirely unknown, and lists of this nature could easily have been enlarged at any time in Āśvalāyana's *school*. For this reason we are not justified in drawing a chronological conclusion from this passage.

[3]) VIII, 3, 95, III, 2, 162; 4, 74; VI, 2, 38. But these scanty references do not admit of our drawing any conclusion as to the contents and extents of the epic known to Pāṇini.

[4]) See above, p. 311. E. *Windisch*, Māra und Buddha (ASGW., Vol. XV, Leipzig, 1895), pp. 222 ff., and T. W. *Rhys Davids*, Buddhist India, London, 1903, pp. 180 ff. Recitations of Ākhyānas are mentioned in the Brahmajālasutta, as well as conversations and exhibitions which the monk is to avoid (Dialogues of the Buddha, translated from the Pāli by T. W. *Rhys Davids*, London, 1899, p. 8). If, as the commentator says, recitations of the Mahābhārata and of the Rāmāyaṇa were to be understood by this, the author would surely have mentioned them by name.

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with the Kṛṣṇa-*legend*, but not with the Harivaṃśa and the Mausalaparvan of the Mahābhārata.[1] The names occurring in the Jātaka-book, Pāṇḍava, Dhanañjaya (in the Mahābhārata an ordinary epithet of Arjuna), Yudhitṭhila (Pali form of Yudhiṣṭhira), Dhataraṭṭha (Pāli form of Dhṛtarāṣṭra), Vidhura or Vidhūra (the Vidura of the Mahābhārata), and even the narrative, appearing in this work, of the self-choice of a husband and the five-husband marriage of Draupadī, bear testimony only to slight acquaintance with the Mahābhārata. For Pāṇḍava occurs in the Jātaka as the name of a horse,[2] Dhṛtarāṣṭra as the name of various kings,[3] Dhanañjaya and Yudhiṣṭhira are only mentioned as Kuru kings who dwelt in Indraprastha, and Vidura is a wise man, who appears now as domestic priest, and now as a minister of the court of Dhanañjaya or of Yudhiṣṭhira.[4] Draupadī, however, one of the most magnificent female characters of the epic, appears in the Jātaka as an example of feminine depravity, as she is not content with her five husbands, but also commits adultery with a hunchbacked servant.[5]

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[1]) The legend of Kṛṣṇa (Kaṇha) is told in the Ghatajātaka (No. 454), allusions to it are found also in Jātakas No. 512 and No. 530 (gāthā 20). See *Lüders* in ZDMG., 58, 1904, pp. 687 ff., also E. *Hardy* in ZDMG., 53, 1899, pp. 25 ff. The Jainas have already in the third or second century B. C. made the Kṛṣṇa cult part of their religion, s. *Jacobi* in OC VII, Vienna 1886, pp. 75 ff. and ZDMG, 42, 1888, pp. 493 ff.

[2]) Jātaka No. 185.

[3]) Dhataraṭṭha is a king of the gods in Jāt. No. 382, a king of the Nāgas in Jāt. No. 543, a king of the flamingoes in Jāt. Nos. 502, 533, 534. In Jāt. No. 544 he heads a list of righteous kings. In the Mahāvastu Dhṛtarāṣṭra is the name of a Buddha, and once the name of a palace, s. E. *Windisch*, Buddhas Geburt (ASGW., 1908), pp. 101, 168.

[4]) In Jātaka No. 413 Dhanañjaya is a Kuru king residing in the city of Indapatta (Indraprastha) of the family of Yudhiṭṭhila (Yudhiṭṭhilagotta), and Vidhūra is his purohita. In Jāt. No. 515 Dhanañjaya Korabya is a pious Kuru king, called Yudhiṭṭhila in the Gāthās, while the sage Vidhura is living at Benares. In the Vidhurapaṇḍita-Jātaka (No. 545, already mentioned in the second century B. C. with the title "Vitura-Punakiya jātakam" in a Bharhut inscription, s. E. *Hultzsch*, Ind. Ant, 1892, p. 234) Vidhura is a minister of the Kuru king Dhanañjaya who (like Yudhiṣṭhira in the Mahābhārata) is fond of playing at dice. But there is no allusion at all to the story of the Mahābhārata. In Jāt. No. 329 Dhanañjaya is a king of Benares. Vidhura also occurs as the name of a wise monk in the Therīgāthā 1188 and in the Majjhimanikāya 50.

[5]) Jātaka No. 536 (gāthā 288). *Cf. Winternitz*, JRAS., 1897, pp. 752 ff.

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From these facts we must conclude that, before the conclusion of the Veda, there could *not* have existed an epic Mahābhārata, *i. e.* an epic poem which dealt with the war with the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas and the battle on the Kuru field, and bore the title "Bhārata" or "Mahābhārata"; but that, on the other hand, such a poem must have existed already in the 4th century B. C., as the Sūtra works of Śāṅkhāyana, Aśvalāyana and Pāṇini can scarcely be later. Now as the Pāli-canon of the Buddhists, which originated in the 4th and 3rd centuries B. C., betrays only quite a superficial knowledge of the Mahābhārata, it was probably at that time still little known in the *east* of India, where Buddhist literature originated.

We have seen, however, that some elements of our present Mahābhārata reach back into the Vedic period, and that much, especially in the didactic sections, is drawn from a *literary common property*, from which also Buddhists and Jainas (probably already in the 5th century B. C.) have drawn.[1]

Finally, it must still be mentioned, that not only the events described in the epic, but also the innumerable names of kings and royal races, however historical some of the events and many names may appear, do not belong to Indian *history* in the true sense of the word. It is true that the Indians set the reign of Yudhiṣṭhira and the great war of the Mahābhārata at the beginning of the Kaliyuga, or Iron

[1]) Verses Mahābh. XI, 7, 23 ff., which H. *Raychaudhuri* (JASB., N. S., 18, 1922, pp. 269 ff.) believes to be quoted in the Besnagar inscription, also belong to this literary common property. See above, pp. 314, 409 f., 415, 417. On the Ṛṣyaśṛṅga-legend in the Jātaka *cf.* above, pp. 399 ff. and H. *Lüders* in the treatise there cited. Another legend which the Mahābhārata (I, 107 f.) has in common with the Jātaka (No. 444) is that of Māṇḍavya, who, as a punishment for having in his childhood impaled a fly on a thorn, was taken for a robber and impaled. (*Cf.* L. *Scherman*, Materialien zur Geschichte der indischen Visionslitteratur, Leipzig, 1892, pp. 53 f., and N. B *Utgikar* in Proc. II OC 1922, pp. 221 ff. In the Jātaka this Māṇḍavya is a friend of Kaṇhadīpāyana, i.e. of Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa).

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Age, *i. e.* 3102 B. C.; but this date for the beginning of the Kaliyuga is based upon the artificial calculation of Indian astronomers, and the association of this date with the conflict of the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas is, of course, quite arbitrary.[1] The political history of India commences with the Śiśunāga kings Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu of Magadha, who are known to us as contemporaries of the Buddha, and we may also ascribe historical character to the kings of the Śiśunāga and Nanda dynasties mentioned in the Purāṇas.[2] With the great King Candragupta (321 B. C.), the founder of the Maurya dynasty, we step on to firm historical ground in India. Of all these historical personalities there is no trace to be found in the Mahābhārata.[3] This "prehistoric" character of the narrative and of the heroes certainly indicates the great antiquity of the epic.

Summing up, we can say the following about the age of the Mahābhārata:

1. Single myths, legends and poems which are included in the Mahābhārata, reach back to the time of the Veda.

2. An epic "Bhārata" or "Mahābhārata" did not exist in the Vedic period.

3. Many moral narratives and sayings which our Mahābhārata contains, belong to the ascetic-poetry, which was drawn upon, from the 6th century B. C. onwards, also by Buddhists and Jainas.

4. *If* an epic Mahābhārata already existed between the 6th and 4th centuries B. C., then it was but little known in the native land of Buddhism.

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[1]) See R. Ramkrishna *Bhagwat*, JBRAS., 20, 1899, pp. 150 ff. and J. F. *Fleet*, JRAS. 1911, pp. 479 ff., 675 ff. In a similar way the Arabian astronomers have connected the same era with the Deluge.

[2]) These kings reigned between 642 (or 600) B. C. and 322 B. C. *Cf. Smith*, Early History, pp. 44, 46 ff., and E. J. *Rapson*, Cambridge History, I, pp. 312 ff., 697.

[3]) E. W. *Hopkins* (in Album Kern, pp. 249 ff.), it is true, believes to have found references to the Mauryas, Aśoka and Candragupta in the Mahābhārata. But why should these be so hidden?

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5. There is no certain testimony for an epic Mahābhārata before the 4th century B. C.

6. Between the 4th century B. C. and the 4th century A. D. the transformation of the *epic* Mahābhārata into our present compilation took place, probably gradually.

7. In the 4th century A. D. the work already had, on the whole, its present extent, contents and character.

8. Small alterations and additions still continued to be made, however, even in later centuries.

9. *One* date of the Mahābhārata does not exist at all, but the date of every part must be determined on its own account.

The Rāmāyaṇa, both a Popular Epic and an Ornate Poem.

The Rāmāyaṇa differs essentially from the Mahābhārata in more respects than one. Above all it is much shorter and of much greater uniformity. While the Mahābhārata in its present form can scarcely be called an actual epic, the Rāmāyaṇa, even in the form in which we have it to-day, is still a fairly unified heroic poem. Moreover, while indigenous tradition names Vyāsa, an entirely mythical seer of ancient times, who was supposed to be at the same time the compiler of the Vedas and of the Purāṇas, as the author or editor of the Mahābhārata, it attributes the authorship of the Rāmāyaṇa to a poet named Vālmīki, and we have no reason to doubt that a poet of this name really lived and first shaped the ballads, which were scattered in the mouths of the bards, into the form of a unified poem. The Indians call this Vālmīki "the first Kavi or author of ornate poetry" (*ādikavi*) and like to call the Rāmāyaṇa "the first ornate poem" (ādikāvya). The beginnings of ornate epic poetry do indeed lead back to the Rāmāyaṇa, and Vālmīki has always remained the pattern to which all later Indian poets admiringly

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aspired. The essential factor of Indian ornate poetry, of the so-called "*kāvya*," is that greater importance is attached to the form than to the matter and contents of the poem, and that so-called *alaṃkāras*, *i.e.* "embellishments," such as similes, poetic figures, puns, and so on, are used largely, even to excess. Similes are heaped on similes, and descriptions, especially of nature, are spun out interminably with ever new metaphors and comparisons. We find the first beginnings of these and other peculiarities of the classical ornate poetry in the Rāmāyaṇa. While we found in the Mahābhārata a mixture of popular epic and theological didactic poetry (purāṇa), the Rāmāyaṇa appears to us as a work that is popular epic and ornate poetry at the same time.

It is a true popular epic, just like the Mahābhārata, because, like the latter, it has become the property of the whole Indian people and, as scarcely any other poem in the entire literature of the world, has influenced the thought and poetry of the nation for centuries. In the introduction to the epic (a later addition) it is related that god Brahman himself invited the poet Vālmīki to glorify the deeds of Rāma in verse; and the god is said to have promised him:

> "As long as in this firm-set land
> The streams shall flow, the mountains stand,
> So long throughout the world, be sure,
> The great Rāmāyan shall endure." [1]

This dictum has proved itself truly prophetic to the present day. Since more than two thousand years the poem of Rāma has kept alive in India, and it continues to live in all grades and classes of the people. High and low, prince and peasant, nobleman, merchant and artisan, princesses and shepherdesses, all are quite familiar with the characters and

[1]) 1, 2, 36 f. Translated by R. T. H. *Griffith*.

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stories of the great epic. The men are elevated by the glorious deeds of Rāma and are edified by his wise speeches, the women love and praise Sītā as the ideal of conjugal fidelity, the highest virtue of woman. Old and young enjoy the wonderful feats of the true-hearted monkey Hanumat, and they enjoy no less the gruesome tales of the man-eating giants and the demons endowed with magic power. Popular sayings and proverbs bear witness to the familiarity of the people with the stories of the Rāmāyaṇa. But also the teachers and masters of the various religious sects refer to the Rāmāyaṇa and draw upon it, when they wish to propagate religious and moral doctrines among the people; and the poets of all later times, from Kālidāsa down to Bhavabhūti and their epigones, have ever again drawn their materials from the Rāmāyaṇa and worked them up anew.[1] When we come to the modern Indian literature of the vernaculars, we find a Tamil translation of the Sanskrit epic as early as in the 11th century, and soon there follow imitations and translations in the vernaculars from the North to the South of India. The religious-philosophical Hindi poem Rām-caritmānas, based on the ancient epic, and composed about 1574 A.D. by the celebrated *Tulsī Dās*, has become almost a gospel for millions of Indians. Generations of Hindus in all parts of India have made the acquaintance of the old legend of Rāma in such modern translations. In the houses of the wealthy, recitations of the poem are arranged even in our own day. Dramatic versions, too, of the story of Rāma, as mentioned already in the Harivaṃśa (see above p. 451 Note), may still be seen performed at religious festivals in villages and towns in India at the present day. Thus, in Northern India, *e.g.* in Lahore, the Dassara feast is celebrated annually by the "Rāma-play" (Rām Līla), at which the most

[1] A. *Baumgartner*, Das Râmâyana und die Râmaliteratur der Inder, Freiburg i. B. 1894, has given a survey of the whole Rāma literature.

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popular scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa are performed before an enormous audience.[1] Whether the worship of the monkey-king Hanumat as a local deity— wide-spread over India—and monkey-worship in general can be traced back to the popularity of the Rāmāyaṇa, or whether, on the contrary, the prominent part played by monkeys in the Rāma legend must be explained by an older monkey-cult, remains an open question. It is certain, at all events, that none of the larger villages of India is without its image of the monkey-king Hanumat, and that monkeys are swarming in many temples, and are treated with great forbearance and love. This is particularly the case in Oudh, the ancient town of residence of Rāma.[2]

Rāma himself, the hero of the Rāmāyaṇa, was probably only later made into an incarnation of the god Viṣṇu and then worshipped as a god. The fact that the epic dealing with this divine Rāma then assumed the character of a sacred book cannot surprise us. Thus it is said at the end of the first canto (certainly not composed by Vālmīki):

"Whoe'er this noble poem reads
That tells the tale of Rāma's deeds,
Good as the scriptures, he shall be
From every sin and blemish free.
Whoever reads the saving strain,
With all his kin the heavens shall gain.
Brahmans who read shall gather hence
The higher praise for eloquence.

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[1]) A vivid description of this festival from personal observation is given by J. C. *Oman*, The Great Indian Epics, The Stories of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, London, 1899, pp. 75 ff. *Cf.* M. M. *Underhill*. The Hindu Religious Year, Heritage of India series, 1921, pp. 79 f.

[2]) *Cf.* W. *Crooke*, Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India, 2nd Ed., 1896, I, pp. 85 ff., W. J. *Wilkins*, Hindu Mythology, 2nd Ed., Calcutta, 1882, p 405, *Underhill*, l. c., pp. 119 f.

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The warrior o'er the land shall reign
The merchant luck in trade obtain ;
And Śūdras listening ne'er shall fail
To reap advantage from the tale.[1] "

Significant also is the legend of Dāmodara II, a king of Kashmir, who was changed into a snake through a curse, and could not be released from the curse until he had had the whole Rāmāyaṇa read to him in one single day.[2]

But it is the very popularity of the Rāmāyaṇa, as in the case of the Mahābhārata, which became a reason for the fact that the poem has not come down to us in its original form, but much increased and disfigured by additions and alterations. The work, as we have it before us, consists of seven books and contains about 24,000 couplets (ślokas): but which of these are early or late, genuine or spurious, we shall only be able to determine when we have given a short summary of the contents of the poem.

Contents of the Rāmāyaṇa.[3]

Book I, called *Bālakāṇḍa* (section of childhood), begins with an introduction upon the origin of the poem, and relates the story of the youth of Rāma. Put in this book, too, exactly as in the Mahābhārata, the course of the narrative

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[1]) Translated by R. T. H. *Griffith*.

[2]) Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī, I, 166.

[3]) Translated into English verse by R. T. H. *Griffith* (in 5 vols. 1870-1874, in one vol., Benares, 1895, new ed. with a memoir by M. N. *Venkataswami*, Benares, 1915); into English prose by *Manmathanath Dutt*, Calcutta, 1892-94; condensed into English verse by *Romesh Dutt*, London, 1900; translated into Italian by G. *Gorresio*, Parigi, 1847-58, into French by H. *Fauche*, Paris, 1854-58, and by A. *Roussel*, Paris, 1903-1909; only Book I into German by J. *Menrad*, München, 1897, and a few extracts by Fr. *Rückert*, s. Rückert Nachlese, I, 271 ff. An outline of the story is given by J. C. *Oman*, The Great Indian Epics, pp. 19 ff.; a full account of the contents by H. *Jacobi*, Das Râmâyaṇa, Bonn, 1893. Scenes from the Ramayan, by R. T. H. *Griffith*, reprinted and published by the Panini Office, Allahabad, 1912.

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is interrupted by the insertion of numerous brahmanical myths and legends; and some of these are the same which also appear in various versions in the Mahābhārata. Thus a mention of *Ṛṣyaśṛṅga* serves as a pretext for relating the legend with which we are already familiar.[1] The appearance of *Vasiṣṭha* and *Viśvāmitra* gives rise to the narration of numerous legends referring to these ṛṣis, famous from ancient days. Thus especially, the story of Viśvāmitra's austerities, which he performed in order to become a Brahman, and of the temptations of this ṛṣi by the Apsarases Menakā and Rambhā is told in detail.[2] The cycle of Viśvāmitra-legends also includes the ancient legend of Śunaḥśepa.[3] Of the other myths and legends we may mention those of the *dwarf-incarnation of the god Viṣṇu* (I, 29), the birth of the war-god *Kumāra* or *Kārttikeya* (I, 35-37), the 60,000 sons of Sagara (the ocean) and the *descent of Gaṅgā* from heaven,[4] and the *twirling of the ocean* by the gods and demons.[5]

From the introduction we shall call attention only to the pretty story of the *invention of the śloka*[6]:

Vālmīki was wandering through the forest along the bank of a river, when he noticed a pair of curlews which were hopping about on the grass singing sweetly. Suddenly a wicked fowler comes along and kills the male bird with his arrow. Now, when the bird is weltering in his blood and his mate mourning for him in pitiful tones, Vālmīki is seized with the deepest pity, and he utters a curse on the fowler. But the words of the curse of their own accord take the form of a śloka. Then god Brahman appears and bids the poet to sing of the deeds of Rāma in this very metre.

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[1]) I, 9-11. See above, pp. (399 ff.) and *Lüders*, NGGW., 1897, 1, pp. 18 ff.

[2]) I, 51-65.

[3]) I, 62, *cf.* above, pp. 211 ff.

[4]) I, 38-44. An outline of this story is given by J. C. *Oman*, The Great Indian Epics, pp. 87 ff. It has been translated into German by A. W. von *Schlegel* in his "Indische Bibliothek," I (1823), pp. 50 ff.

[5]) I, 45. *Cf.* above, p. 389.

[6]) I, 2. Translated by F. von *Schlegel*, Uber die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier, p. 266. H. *Jacobi* (Das Râmâyaṇa, pp. 80 f.) suggests that the basis of this legend may be the fact that the epic śloka in its final form is to be traced back to Vālmīki.

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Book I gives the following history of Rāma's youth:

In the land of the Kosala (north of the Ganges), in the city of Ayodhyā (the present Oudh), there ruled a mighty and wise king, named *Daśaratha*. He was long childless. Then he resolved to offer a horse-sacrifice. The seer *Ṛṣyaśṛṅga* is engaged as the conductor of this great sacrifice, and he presents a specially powerful sacrificial offering efficacious in causing the begetting of sons. Just at that time the gods in heaven were much troubled by the demon Rāvaṇa. They therefore turn to *Viṣṇu* begging him to become a mortal, and as such kill Rāvaṇa. Viṣṇu agrees and resolves to be born on earth as the son of Daśaratha. So, after the horse-sacrifice was concluded, the three wives of King Daśaratha bore him four sons: *Kausalyā* bore *Rāma* (in whom Viṣṇu had incarnated himself), *Kaikeyī* bore *Bharata*, *Sumitrā* bore *Lakṣmaṇa* and *Śatrughna*. Of these four princes Rāma, the eldest, was the declared favourite of his father. But from his youth Lakṣmaṇa was deeply devoted to his elder brother. He was as his second self, and fulfilled all his wishes even before they were uttered.

When the sons had grown to manhood, the great ṛṣi *Viśvāmitra* came to the court of Daśaratha. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa went forth with him to slay demons, for which they were rewarded by the ṛṣi with magic weapons. Viśvāmitra also accompanies the princes to the court of King Janaka of Videha. The latter had a daughter named *Sītā*. She was no common mortal, for once when the king was ploughing the field, she had come forth out of the earth—hence her name "Sītā," "the field-furrow"—and Janaka had brought her up as a daughter. But the king possessed a wonderful bow and had announced that he would give his daughter Sītā in marriage only to the man who could bend the bow. Many princes had already tried in vain. Then Rāma came and bent the bow, so that with a thundering crash, it broke in two. Highly delighted the king gives him his daughter in marriage. Daśaratha is informed and fetched, and then, amid great rejoicings the marriage of Rāma and Sītā is celebrated. And for many years they both lived in happiness and joy.

The real story begins with *Book* II, which describes the events at the royal court of Ayodhyā, and is therefore entitled *Ayodhyā-Kāṇḍa*.[1]

[1]) A free poetical rendering of this Book in German by A. *Holtzmann*, "Indische Sagen."

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When Daśaratha felt old age approaching, he resolved to appoint his favourite son Rāma as heir to the throne, and caused all the necessary preparations for the consecration to be made by his domestic priest Vasiṣṭha. This is noticed by the hunchbacked maid of Queen Kaikeyī, and she urges her mistress to procure from the king the nomination of her own son Bharata as heir to the throne. The king had once promised to grant her two wishes, which she has up till now kept pending. Now she requests of the king that he will banish Rāma for fourteen years and appoint her son Bharata as heir to the throne. The king is much cast down, but Rāma himself, as soon as he hears of the matter, does not hesitate for a moment to go into banishment, so that his father may not be guilty of breaking his word. In vain his mother Kausalyā and his brother Lakṣmaṇa try to keep him back. He insists that it is his highest duty to help his father to keep his word. He immediately also tells his wife Sītā that he is determined to go into banishment into the forest. He asks her to be friendly to Bharata, to live piously and continently at the court of Daśaratha and to serve his father and his mothers [1] obediently. But Sītā answers him in a magnificent speech on the duties of a wife, that nothing shall prevent her from following him into the forest:

"My lord, the mother, sire and son
Receive their lots by merit won;
The brother and the daughter find
The portions to their deeds assigned.
The wife alone, whate'er await,
Must share on earth her husband's fate.
So now the king's command which sends
Thee to the wild, to me extends.
The wife can find no refuge, none,
In father, mother, self, or son:
Both here, and when they vanish hence,
Her husband is her sole defence.
If, Raghu's son,[2] thy steps are led
Where Daṇḍak's pathless wilds are spread,

[1]) It is interesting to note that Rāma always speaks of all the wives of his father as his "mothers."

[2]) Rāghava, "descendant of Raghu," *i.e.* Rāma.

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My feet before thine own shall pass
Through tangled thorn and matted grass...
And as with thee I wander there
I will not bring thee grief or care.
I long, when thou, wise lord, art nigh,
All fearless, with delighted eye,
To gaze upon the rocky hill,
The lake, the fountain, and the rill;
To sport with thee, my limbs to cool,
In some pure lily-covered pool,
While the white swan's and mallard's wings
Are playing in the water-springs.
So would a thousand seasons flee
Like one sweet day, if spent with thee.
Without my lord I would not prize
A home with gods above the skies;
Without my lord, my life to bless,
Where could be heaven or happiness?" [1])

Rāma describes to her all the terrors and dangers of the forest, in order to dissuade her from her resolve. But she remains firm and will hear nothing of a separation; as Sāvitrī once followed Satyavat, so, she says, will she not leave him.

Then Rāma at last consents that Sītā shall go forth with him into the forest. Nor will faithful Lakṣmaṇa, of course, be hindered from following his brother into banishment. Clothed only in garments of bark, the banished ones go forth into the forest amidst the sympathy of the whole population.

But King Daśaratha cannot overcome his grief at the loss of his son. A few days after Rāma had gone into banishment, the king awakes from uneasy sleep about midnight. Then he remembers a crime he had committed in his youth; he tells Kausalyā how he had once killed a young hermit by accident, when hunting, and how the blind father of the latter had cursed him, that he should die of grief at the loss of his son. Now this curse is being fulfilled:

"'I see thee not: these eyes grow blind,
And memory quits my troubled mind.

[1]) II, 27. Translated by *Griffith*.

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Angels of Death are round me : they
Summon my soul with speed away.
What woe more grievous can there be,
That, when from light and life I flee,
I may not, ere I part, behold
My virtuous Rāma, true and bold ?
Grief for my son, the brave and true,
Whose joy it was my will to do,
Dries up my breath, as summer dries
The last drop in the pool that lies...
Ah Raghu's son, ah mighty-armed,
By whom my cares were soothed and charmed,
My son in whom I took delight,
Now vanished from thy father's sight !
Kausalyā, ah, I cannot see ;
Sumitrā, gentle devotee !
Alas, Kaikeyī, cruel dame,
My bitter foe, thy father's shame ! '
Kausalyā and Sumitrā kept
Their watch beside him as he wept.
And Daśaratha moaned and sighed,
And grieving for his darling died." [1]

After the death of the king, Bharata, who is staying in Rājagṛha, is sent for, and invited by his mother Kaikeyī, as well as by the counsellors, to ascend the throne. But Bharata will hear nothing of it, and declares with determination that the sovereignty belongs to Rāma, and that he will bring him back. With a great retinue he sets out to fetch his brother. Meanwhile, Rāma is sojourning in the Citrakūṭa hills, and is just describing the beauties of the landscape to Sītā,[2] when clouds of dust are seen to rise and the noise of an approaching army is heard. Lakṣmaṇa climbs up a tree and sees the army of Bharata drawing near. He believes that it is a hostile attack, and is greatly enraged. But he soon observes that Bharata leaves his army behind and draws near alone. He approaches Rāma, throws himself at his feet, and the brothers embrace one another.

[1] II, 64. Translated by *Griffith*.

[2] II, 94. A magnificent description of nature, such as are not rare in the Rāmāyaṇa.

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Now Bharata, with many tears and reproaches against himself and his mother Kaikeyī, reports to Rāma the death of his father, and asks him to return and commence his reign. Rāma says he could not reproach either him or his mother; but that which his father had commanded, must even now be dear to him, and he will never depart from his decision to spend fourteen years in the forest. In vain are all the entreaties of Bharata, who reminds him of the departure of their father. Rāma, with many lamentations, offers the funeral libation for the departed one, but remains firm in his resolve. Rāma comforts his mourning brother in a magnificent speech on the natural, necessary transitoriness of existence, and the inevitableness of death, which makes every lament seem unreasonable.

"In scatterings end collections all;
High towering piles at length must fall;
In parting every meeting ends;
To death all life of creatures tends.
The early fall to earth is sure,
Of fruits on trees that hang mature.
Of mortals here behold a type;
They, too, succumb, for death when ripe.
As houses fall when long decay
Has worn the posts which formed their stay,
So sink men's frames, when age's course
Has undermined their vital force.....
As logs that on the ocean float,
By chance are into contact brought,
But, tossed about by wind and tide,
Together cannot along abide;—
So wives, sons, kinsmen, riches, all
Whate'er our own we fondly call,—
Obtained, possessed, enjoyed, to-day,
To-morrow all are snatched away.
As, standing on the road a man
Who sees a passing caravan,
Which slowly winds across the plain,
Cries, "I will follow in your train,"
So men the beaten path must tread
On which their sires of yore have led.

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Since none can nature's course elude,
Why o'er thy doom in sorrow brood?" [1]

The counsellors, too, come in order to invite Rāma to begin his reign. One of these, *Jābāli*, a great heretic and representative of nihilistic views, tries to drive away his moral scruples. Everyone lives only for himself, he says, one need not trouble about father and mother, death is the end of all things, the talk of a Beyond is only spread abroad by crafty priests, in order to procure presents,—therefore he should only consult his common-sense and ascend the throne. Rāma energetically rejects these teachings of the nihilist.[2] Even the representations of the pious priest Vasiṣṭha cannot make him change his mind. And finally Bharata is compelled to consent to conduct affairs for Rāma. Rāma gives him his sandals as a symbol of sovereignty,[3] and Bharata returns to Ayodhyā, where Rāma's sandals are solemnly placed on the throne as the representatives of the king, while he himself transfers his residence to Nandigrāma, in order from there to manage the affairs of the country for Rāma, as his representative.

Beginning with *Book III*, which describes the forest-life of the exiles, and hence is called *Araṇya-kāṇḍa*, "Forest section," we leave, as it were, the world of reality, and enter a miraculous fairy-tale world, from which we do not emerge before the end of the poem. While Book II shows us the life at an Indian prince's court, and begins from a court

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[1]) II, 105, 16 ff. Translated by J. *Muir*, Metrical Translations from Sanskrit Writers, pp. 41 f. Sayings of this kind belong to the *common property* of Indian poets, which has already been mentioned several times. We meet them again almost literally in the Mahābhārata, in Purāṇas, in the legal literature (*e.g.* Viṣṇusmṛti XX, 32), in the Buddhist proverbial wisdom, in the sayings of Bhartṛhari, and so on. Rāma's speech of consolation also forms the nucleus of the *Dasaratha-Jātaka*, *cf.* below p.

[2]) The expression corresponds exactly to the Sanskrit *nāstika*, "one who teaches that nothing exists (nāsti)." Here these words are placed in the mouth of Rāma: "Like a thief is *the Buddha*, and know thou that the Tathāgata is a nāstika." This verse, which does not even appear in all the recensions, has long ago been proved spurious. *Jacobi* (l. c., pp. 88 f.) considers the entire Jābāli episode to be an interpolation. A. *Hillebrandt*, however, observes (Festschrift Kuhn, p. 23): "The situation is described very well, and such an effective contrast has been made between the materialist and the pious Rāma that I cannot consider this passage as spurious."

[3]) On the shoe as a symbol of law in old Norse and old German law, *cf.* Jacob *Grimm*, Deutsche Rechtsaltertümer, 4th Ed., 1899, I, 213 ff. A. *Holtzmann* has already compared the strikingly similar Hebrew custom, Ruth 4, 7.

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intrigue, such as in reality occurred in India more than once, the only fabulous element in it being perhaps the exaggerated generosity of the two brothers Rāma and Bharata, Book III begins the battles and adventures of Rāma with fabulous and demoniacal beings.

When the exiles had lived in the Daṇḍaka forest for a long time, the forest-hermits living there besought Rāma for protection against the Rākṣasas. Rāma promises this protection, and from that time is incessantly engaged in battles against these devilish monsters. The man-eating giant Virādha is the first to be killed.[1] Fateful for the exiles is the meeting with *Śūrpaṇakhā* ("having claws as big as winnows"), the sister of Rāvaṇa. This she-devil falls in love with Rāma and makes amorous proposals to him. But he refers her to his brother Lakṣmaṇa who is not yet married.[2] Lakṣmaṇa scornfully declines her advances. Full of rage she is about to swallow Sītā, when Lakṣmaṇa cuts off her ears and nose. Howling she flees to her brother *Khara*. The latter sets out against Rāma, first with 14, then with 14,000 Rākṣasas, but Rāma slays them all. After Khara too has fallen, Śūrpaṇakhā hastens to *Laṅkā*, a fabulous land beyond the ocean,[3] and incites her brother *Rāvaṇa*, a ten-headed monster and ruler of Laṅkā, to revenge against Rāma. At the same time she describes to him the wondrous beauty of Sītā in the most alluring colours, and incites him to gain possession of her and to make her his wife. Then Rāvaṇa arises, drives in his golden chariot through the air across the ocean and there meets his friend, the demon *Mārīca*, who is living there as an ascetic. With Mārīca's aid he succeeds in parting Sītā from her protectors and stealing her away. He bears her away on his chariot through the air. Sītā cries loudly for help. The vulture Jaṭāyus, an old friend of Daśaratha's, comes flying along; he succeeds in smashing Rāvaṇa's chariot, but finally he himself is overcome by Rāvaṇa. The demon again seizes Sītā with his claws and flies away with her. As she

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[1]) Here again follow (in Cantos 8-14) all sorts of legends, *e.g.* of the Ṛṣi *Agastya* and others, just as in Book I, and in the Mahābhārata.

[2]) This passage is one of the many proofs of the spuriousness of the first Book, in which it is related that the brothers of Rāma were married at the same time as Rāma.

[3]) *Not*, as is usually assumed, Ceylon. It was not till a much later time that Laṅkā was identified with Ceylon. See *Jacobi*, Râmâyana, pp. 90 ff. M. V. *Kibe*, Rawana's Lanka Discovered, 2nd Ed., 1920, attempts to determine the geographical position of Laṅkā.

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is borne flying through the air, the flowers fall from her hair, and the jewelled bands slip from her feet to the ground. The trees, in whose branches the wind rustles, seem to call to her: "Be not afraid!" the lotuses droop their heads, as though they were mourning for their beloved friend; lions, tigers and other wild beasts run behind the shadow of Sītā, as if in rage; with tear-washed faces, *i.e.* the waterfalls, and up-stretched hands, i.e. the towering peaks, the hills seem to make moan for Sītā. Even the great sun, whose rays are darkened and whose orb pales at sight of the stolen Sītā, seems to lament: "There is no more justice, no truth, no righteousness, no innocence, if Rāvaṇa steals Sītā, the wife of Rāma." (III, 52, 34-39). But Rāvaṇa flies with the stolen lady across the ocean to Laṅkā, where he accommodates her in his harem. He conducts her round his palace, shows her all its splendours, and describes to her the immeasurable riches and marvels over which he rules. With coaxing words he tries to persuade her to become his wife. But Sītā answers him full of anger, that she will never break her faith with Rāma, and will never allow herself to be touched by him. Then Rāvaṇa threatens that, if she does not yield herself to him within twelve months, he will have her cut in pieces by the cooks and will eat her for his breakfast. Thereupon he has her taken to a grotto, and delivers her to the strict guardianship of the Rākṣasa women.

Meanwhile Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa have returned, and, to their horror, find the hut empty. In vain they seek Sītā in the forest. Rāma raises a bitter lament, he questions the trees, the rivers, the hills and the animals—but none can give him news of Sītā. At last they find the flowers and ornaments which fell from Sītā in her flight, soon they find the ruins of Rāvaṇa's chariot, scattered weapons and other traces of a fight. Rāma cannot but believe that Sītā has been killed by Rākṣasas, and in mad passion, he declares his intention of destroying the whole world. He will fill the air with his arrows, stay the course of the wind, annihilate the rays of the sun and envelop the earth in darkness, hurl down the summits of the hills, dry up the lakes, destroy the ocean, uproot the trees, nay more, even annihilate the gods themselves if they do not give him back his Sītā. Only with much trouble does Lakṣmaṇa succeed in soothing the raving one and in persuading him to renew the search. Then they find the vulture Jaṭāyus weltering in his blood. Dying, he still relates to them what has occurred, but dies in the middle of his story. Wandering towards the south the brothers encounter a roaring, headless monster, *Kabandha*, whom they deliver from a heavy curse. In gratitude for this,

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he advises Rāma to ally himself with the monkey-king *Sugrīva*, who will be helpful to him in the recovery of Sītā.

Book IV, the *Kiṣkindhā-kāṇḍa*, tells of the alliance which Rāma forms with the monkey, in order to win back Sītā.

The brothers reach the lake Pampā, the sight of which causes Rāma to fall into a melancholy mood; for it is spring, and the sight of the awakening of nature arouses in him great longing for the distant loved one.[1] Here they soon meet with the monkey-king Sugrīva. He tells them that he has been robbed of his wife and his dominion by his brother *Vālin*, and driven from his kingdom. Rāma and Sugrīva now form a close bond of friendship. Rāma promises to help Sugrīva against Vālin, while Sugrīva promises to aid Rāma in the recovery of Sītā. Before *Kiṣkindhā*,[2] the residence of Vālin, a battle takes place between the hostile monkey brothers. Rāma comes to Sugrīva's aid and kills Vālin. The monkey Sugrīva is consecrated as king, and *Aṅgada*, the son of Vālin, as heir to the throne.

Among the counsellors of Sugrīva, *Hanumat*,[3] the son of the wind-god, is the wisest. Sugrīva has the greatest confidence in him, and commissions him to find Sītā. Accompanied by a host of monkeys under the leadership of Aṅgada, the clever Hanumat starts on his way to the south. After many adventures they meet with *Sampāti*, a brother of the vulture Jaṭāyus. The latter tells them how once, when he wanted to fly to the sun in a race with his brother,[4] his wings were scorched, so that he had now to stay helpless on the Vindhya hills. But he had seen how Rāvaṇa had stolen Sītā away and taken her to Laṅkā. He describes to them the position of Laṅkā, and the monkeys descend to the ocean. But when they saw the immeasurable billowing sea before them, they simply despaired of getting across it. Aṅgada, however, tells them not to be despondent, "for despondency kills a man, as the angry snake kills a boy" (IV, 64,9). Then they take counsel together, as to who can jump the furthest, and it appears that none can jump so far as Hanumat. The

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[1]) The whole first canto is an elegy, which might be entitled "Longing for the beloved in spring," quite in the style of the later ornate poetry.

[2]) Hence the title of Book IV.

[3]) Also *Hanūmat*. The name signifies: "He with the jaws." According to IV, 66, 24, he is so called because Indra crushed his jaws with the thunderbolt.

[4]) Like Icarus. This myth is at first briefly touched upon (IV, 58), then (IV, 59-63) related in purāṇa-like diffusiveness.

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latter then ascends the hill Mahendra and prepares to leap across the ocean.

Book V describes the wonderful island of Laṅkā, the town of residence, the magnificent palace and harem of Rāvaṇa, and relates how Hanumat gives Sītā news of her beloved Rāma, and at the same time finds out the strength of the enemy. The book may have received the title *Sundara-kāṇḍa*, "the beautiful section," on account of the many poetical descriptions,[1] or because it contains even more fabulous stories than all the other books. If the whole second half of the Rāmāyaṇa is already a "romantic" epic, then this fifth book is very specially "romantic," and for Indian taste the romantic is always the most beautiful.

With a mighty leap, which causes the hill Mahendra to tremble in its depths and terrifies all the living beings on the hill, the monkey Hanumat rises into the air and flies across the ocean. After a flight of *four days*, on which he encounters various adventures and performs miracles, he finally reaches Laṅkā. From a hill he looks at the town, which seems to him almost impregnable. He makes himself as small as a cat,[2] and after sunset, penetrates into the town. He views the whole demon-city, the palace of Rāvaṇa and the wonderful chariot called Puṣpaka, on which the Rākṣasa is wont to drive through the air. He also penetrates into Rāvaṇa's harem, where he sees the powerful demon prince reposing in the midst of his beautiful women.[3] After long fruitless searching, he at last finds Sītā, consumed by grief, in the Aśoka-grove. He makes himself known as

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[1]) Thus according to *Jacobi*, Râmâyana, p. 124.

[2]) According to another explanation: "as a horse-fly." Hanumat can change his form at pleasure.

[3]) The nightly seraglio-scene (V, 9-11) is described vividly in the style of ornate poetry, and forcibly recalls the description in the Buddha legend, where Prince Siddhārtha, surrounded by his wives, awakens at the hour of midnight, and is seized with disgust at sensual pleasure. The similarity of the situation and of the description is sufficiently striking to justify the supposition that it is an imitation of the description in *Aśvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita* (V, 47 ff.). For as E. B. *Cowell* rightly remarks (in the preface to his edition of the Buddhacarita), this scene forms an essential part of the Buddha legend, while in the Rāmāyaṇa, it is only an entirely unnecessary embellishment. Of course we must not ascribe the piece to Vālmīki himself, but the imitation must be ascribed to a later interpolator.

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a friend and messenger of Rāma. She tells him that Rāvaṇa has threatened to devour her, and that she must die after two months, if Rāma does not deliver her before then. Hanumat assures her of the certainty of Rāma's coming to deliver her.[1])

Thereupon Hanumat returns to the hill, flies across the ocean and relates his adventures in Laṅkā to the monkeys awaiting him there. Then he goes to Rāma, reports to him how he found Sītā, and delivers him her message.

Book VI, which describes the great battle between Rāma and Rāvaṇa, hence called "*Yuddha-kāṇḍa*," "battle section," is the most extensive of all.

Rāma praises Hanumat for the successful execution of his errand, and heartily embraces him. But he despairs at the thought of the difficulty of getting across the ocean. Sugrīva advises the construction of a bridge to Laṅkā. Hanumat gives an exact description of the city of Rāvaṇa and its fortification, and declares that the principal heroes of the monkey-host would be able to overcome it. So Rāma commands that the army shall be prepared for the march, and soon the tremendous monkey-army sets out southwards towards the sea-shore.

When the news of the approaching army of monkeys had reached Laṅkā, Rāvaṇa summoned his counsellors, all great and powerful Rākṣasas, to a council. Now while all the other relatives and counsellors urge Rāvaṇa in boasting speeches to fight, *Vibhīṣaṇa*, Rāvaṇa's brother, points to unfavourable omens and advises him to return Sītā. Rāvaṇa is much enraged at this, and accuses him of envy and ill-will; relatives, he says, are always the worst enemies of a king and hero. Feeling deeply offended by his brother, Vibhīṣaṇa renounces him, flies across the ocean with four

[1]) With this, Hanumat's mission is fulfilled, and the following narrative (41-55) is doubtless a later interpolation: in order to test the strength of the enemy, Hanumat instigates a quarrel by destroying the Aśoka-grove. In tremendous battles with thousands of Rākṣasas he alone remains the victor. But finally he is put into fetters and taken before the demon-king. Hanumat introduces himself as the messenger of Rāma and demands the return of Sītā. Rāvaṇa decides to kill him, but is persuaded to spare him as an ambassador. However, in order to punish him, he causes cotton rags soaked in oil to be wrapped round the monkey's tail and to be set alight. Sītā hears of it, and prays to Agni, the fire-god, that he may not burn Hanumat. The monkey now leaps with his burning tail from house to house, and sets the whole town on fire, while he himself escapes uninjured. The spuriousness of this passage has been indisputably proved by *Jacobi*, l. c., pp. 31 ff.

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other Rākṣasas and allies himself with Rāma. On the advice of Vibhīṣaṇa Rāma appeals to the Ocean-god himself to aid him in crossing the sea. The latter calls the monkey Nala, the son of the divine masterbuilder Viśvakarman, and instructs him to bridge the ocean. At Rāma's command, the monkeys bring rocks and trees, in a few days a bridge is built over the ocean, and the whole of the great army passes over to Laṅkā.

Now Rāvaṇa's residence town is surrounded by the army of monkeys. Rāvaṇa gives the command for a general sortie. A battle takes place, also many cases of single combat between the chief heroes of the two fighting armies. Lakṣmaṇa, Hanumat, Aṅgada and the bear-king Jāmbavat are the most prominent fellow-combatants of Rāma, while on Rāvaṇa's side, his son Indrajit is the most conspicuous. The latter is versed in all magic arts and knows how to make himself invisible at any moment.

Thus, on one occasion, he inflicts dangerous wounds on Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. But in the night, on the advice of the bear-king Jāmbavat, the monkey Hanumat flies to Mount Kailāsa, in order to fetch thence four particularly powerful healing herbs. As these herbs are concealed, the monkey simply takes the whole mountain-peak with him and carries it to the battle-field, where, through the fragrance of the healing herbs, Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and all the wounded are immediately healed. Hereupon Hanumat puts the mountain back into its place.

On another occasion, Indrajit, versed in magic, comes out of the city carrying on his war-chariot a magically produced image of Sītā, which he ill-treats and beheads before the eyes of Hanumat, Lakṣmaṇa and the monkeys. Horrified, Hanumat reports to Rāma that Sītā is killed; Rāma falls into a swoon. Lakṣmaṇa breaks into lamentations and utters a blasphemous speech with bitter complaints against Fate that has no regard to virtue (VI, 83, 4 ff.) but he is soon enlightened by Vibhīṣaṇa that the whole affair is only a delusion produced by Indrajit. Finally, Indrajit is killed by Lakṣmaṇa after a violent duel.

Furious at the death of his son, Rāvaṇa himself now appears on the field of battle. A dreadful duel between Rāma and Rāvaṇa takes place, continuing day and night. The gods themselves come to Rāma's aid, especially Indra with his chariot and his projectiles. But as many times as Rāma strikes off Rāvaṇa's heads, so often a new head grows again. At last he succeeds in piercing Ravaṇa's heart with a weapon created by god Brahman himself. There is great rejoicing in the army of the monkeys, and wild flight of the Rākṣasas.

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Now Rāvaṇa is solemnly buried and Vibhīṣaṇa is installed as king in Laṅkā by Rāma.

Only now does Rāma send for Sītā, and proclaim to her the joyous news of the victory—but then, in the presence of all the monkeys and Rākṣasas, he rejects her. He has (so he declares) had his revenge for the ignominy he has had to suffer, but with her he will have no more to do; for a woman who has sat on the lap of another man, and who has been looked at with lustful eyes by another, could no longer be received as a wife by a Rāma. Then Sītā raises a bitter complaint against the unjust suspicion of Rāma, and asks Lakṣmaṇa to erect a pyre: for now nothing remained for her but to enter the fire. Rāma gives his consent, the pyre is erected and lighted, and Sītā, invoking the fire as witness of her innocence, rushes into the flames. Then the god Agni arises out of the burning pyre with the uninjured Sītā and delivers her to Rāma, assuring him, in a solemn speech, that she has always kept her faith with him, and even in the palace of the Rākṣasa remained pure and innocent. Thereupon Rāma declares that he himself never had any doubts concerning Sītā's innocence, but that it was necessary to prove her innocence before the eyes of the people.

Now Rāma and his people, accompanied by Hanumat and the monkeys, return to Ayodhyā, where they are received with open arms by Bharata, Śatrughna, and the mothers. They enter amidst the rejoicings of the populace. Rāma is consecrated as king and rules happily and for the welfare of his subjects.

This really concludes the story of Rāma, and there can be no doubt at all that the original poem ended with Book VI, and that the following *Book VII*, is a later addition. This seventh book—it is called *Uttara-kāṇḍa*, "last section," again contains numerous myths and legends similar to those which also occur in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, which have nothing at all to do with the Rāma-legend. The first cantos deal with the origin of the Rākṣasas and the battles of Indra with *Rāvaṇa*,[1] after which the story of the youth of *Hanumat* is related (VII, 35 f.). Only about a third of

[1]) VII, 1-34. *Jacobi* calls the piece "Rāvaneīs."

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the book deals with Rāma and Sītā, and the following is related :

One day Rāma is informed that the people are expressing their disapproval at his having received Sītā back after she (during her abduction) had sat on the lap of Rāvaṇa; it was feared that this might have a bad effect on the morals of the women in the land. The model king Rāma is very sad about this ; he cannot bear the reproach that he is setting the people a bad example, and requests his brother Lakṣmaṇa to take Sītā away and desert her in the forest. With a heavy heart Lakṣmaṇa takes her on his chariot, leads her to the Ganges and brings her to the further bank of the river, where he discloses to her that Rāma has rejected her on account of the suspicions of the people. In deep grief, but yet full of submission to her fate, Sītā only sends Rāma friendly greetings. Soon after, some hermit-boys find the weeping Sītā in the forest and lead her to the hermitage of the ascetic *Vālmīki*. The latter delivers her into the protection of hermit-women. After some time she gives birth, in the hermitage, to the twins *Kuśa* and *Lava*.

Several years pass. The children have grown up and become pupils of the ascetic and singer Vālmīki. At this time Rāma organises a great horse-sacrifice. This is also attended by Vālmīki and his pupils. He instructs two of them to recite, in the sacrificial assembly, the Rāmāyaṇa composed by him. All listen with rapture to the wonderful recitation. But Rāma soon discovers that the two youthful singers Kuśa and Lava,[1] who recite the poem to the accompaniment of the lute, are sons of Sītā. Then he sends messengers to Vālmīki and asks him to arrange that Sītā may purify herself by an oath before the sacrificial assembly. The next morning Vālmīki brings Sītā, and, in a solemn speech, the great ascetic declares that she is pure and innocent, and that her children, the twin-brothers Kuśa and Lava, are the true sons of Rāma. Thereupon Rāma declares that, though he is satisfied with the words of Vālmīki, he still desires that Sītā shall purify herself by means of an oath. Then all the gods descended from heaven. But Sītā, with downcast glance and folded hands, said: "As truly as I have never, even with one thought, thought of another than Rāma—may Goddess Earth open her arms to me! As truly as I have always, in thought, word and deed, honoured only Rāma

[1]) Professional " travelling singers," who sang epic songs to the accompaniment of the lute, were called *kuśīlava* ; the names Kuśa and Lava were invented as a kind of etymological interpretation of the word kuśīlava. *Cf. Jacobi*, l. c., pp. 62 f., 67 f.

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—may Goddess Earth open her arms to me! As I have here spoken the truth and never known another than Rāma—may Goddess Earth open her arms to me!" Scarcely was the oath finished, than there arose out of the earth a heavenly throne, borne on the heads of snake-demons, and Mother Earth, seated on the throne, embraced Sītā and vanished with her into the depths. In vain Rāma now adjures the Goddess Earth to give him back his Sītā. Only god Brahman appears and comforts him with the hope of reunion in heaven. Soon afterwards Rāma gives up the government to his two sons Kuśa and Lava, and himself enters heaven, where he again becomes Viṣṇu.

The thread of this narrative in Book VII is constantly interrupted by the interpolation of numerous myths and legends. There we find again the familiar legends of *Yayāti* and *Nahuṣa* (VII, 58f.), of the *slaying of Vṛtra by Indra*, who by this becomes guilty of Brahman-murder (VII, 84-87), of *Urvaśī*, the beloved of the gods Mitra and Varuṇa, who in a marvellous manner beget the Ṛṣis *Vasiṣṭha* and *Agastya* VII, 56f.), of King *Ila*, who as the woman *Ilā* bears *Purūravas* (VII, 87-90), and so on. Many truly brahmanical legends with an exaggerated tendency compare well with similar stories of Book XIII of the Mahābhārata. Thus the story of the ascetic *Śambūka*, belonging to the Śūdra caste, whose head Rāma strikes off, for which he is commended by the gods, because a Śūdra should not take it upon himself to practise asceticism; or of the god who is compelled to eat his own flesh because, in a former incarnation, he practised asceticism, but omitted to make presents to the Brahmans (VII, 73-81), and similar "edifying" legends. The whole of the book bears the character of the latest parts of the Mahābhārata.

The Genuine and the Spurious in the Rāmāyaṇa.[1]

There can be no doubt that the whole of *Book VII* of the Rāmāyaṇa was added later to the work; but it has also

[1]) The problems of the Rāmāyaṇa have been fully dealt with first by A. *Weber*, "Uber das Râmâyana," (ABA., 1870). The fundamental work on these problems is that

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long been recognised that the whole of *Book I* cannot have belonged to the original work of Vālmīki. Not only are there numerous internal contradictions in the book, but the language and style, too, stand out as inferior to those of Books II to VI. Moreover, in the genuine parts of the poem there is never any reference to the events in Book I, in fact there are details in this book which directly contradict the statements of later books.[1]

Only in Books I and VII is Rāma throughout conceived as a divine being, an incarnation of the god *Viṣṇu*. In Books II to VI, apart from a few passages which are doubtless interpolated,[2] he is always only a mortal hero, and in all indisputably genuine parts of the epic there is no indication whatever of his being conceived as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. Where mythology enters into the genuine parts of the poem, it is not Viṣṇu, but the god *Indra* who, as in the Veda, is regarded as the highest god.

It is characteristic, too, of the two Books I and VII that, as we have seen, the thread of the narrative is frequently interrupted, and, in the manner of the Mahābhārata and of the Purāṇas, numerous brahmanical myths and legends are inserted. There are only very few passages in Books II to VI (*e. g.* at the beginning of Book III) where this kind of thing occurs also. The additions and extensions in *these* books—and they are numerous enough—are generally of quite a different kind. They consist chiefly of the *spinning out* of the most beautiful and most popular passages by the singers by means of their own additions. We must imagine the Rāmāyaṇa as having been *orally* transmitted for a long time

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of H. *Jacobi*, Das Râmâyana, Geschichte und Inhalt, Bonn, 1893. See also C. V. *Vaidya*, The Riddle of the Ramayana, Bombay and London, 1906; and *Dineshchandra Sen*, The Bengali Ramayanas, Calcutta, 1920.

[1]) *E. g.* the marriage of Lakṣmaṇa, see above p. 487 Note 2.

[2]) Thus, for instance, at the end of Book VI, where, at the moment when Sītā ascends the pyre, all the gods come on the scene and praise Rāma as god Viṣṇu.

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—perhaps through centuries—in the circles of travelling singers like the brothers Kuśa and Lava in the Uttara-kāṇḍa. These singers or minstrels regarded the epic songs as their property, with which they took every kind of liberty. If they noticed that the audience was deeply moved by the touching plaints of Sītā, Daśaratha or Kausalyā, they would fabricate a number of additional verses, so that they could linger over it for a longer time; if the battle-scenes met with greater appreciation from a more warlike public, then it was easy for the singer to gather together more and more new heroes for duels, to have a few more thousands or tens of thousands of monkeys or Rākṣasas slaughtered or to relate again with a little variation a heroic deed which had already been related; if the audience enjoyed comical scenes, especially those in which the monkeys appear, then it was tempting for the singer not only to spin out such scenes, but also to add new similar ones; if he had a learned audience of Brahmans before him, he sought to win their favour by spinning out the didactic portions, adding new moral maxims or inserting aphorisms taken from elsewhere; especially ambitious rhapsodists would extend the descriptions of nature, probably already popular in the ancient and genuine poem, by means of additions in the style of the ornate court poetry.[1] Probably the Rāmāyaṇa, like the Mahābhārata, only received a more or less definite form when it was *written down*.[2] But this must have happened at a time when the poem was already so famous and so popular, that it was already regarded as of religious merit to read and to hear it, and that heaven was

[1]) It was favourable for the amplifications, though unfavourable for the preservation of the genuine, that the śloka is a metre easy to handle. To produce any amount of ślokas almost in no time, is an easy matter for any tolerably educated Indian who knows Sanskrit.

[2]) The activity of the *commentators*, by which the text was made still more secure, began much later still.

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promised to him who copied it.[1] The more one copied of so magnificent and so salutary a poem, "that imparts long life, health, renown, good brothers and intelligence,"[2] the more certain one was of entering heaven. Therefore the first compilers and editors to handle the written poem, did not regard it as their task to view the transmitted material critically, to distinguish the genuine from the spurious, but, on the contrary, welcomed everything which presented itself under the title of "Rāmāyaṇa."

We can, however, only speak of a "*more or less*" definite form of the Rāmāyaṇa, for the manuscripts in which the epic has come down to us, differ greatly from one another, and there are at least *three different recensions* of the text, representing the transmission in different regions of India. These recensions differ from one another not only in reference to various readings of certain passages, but also in the fact that in each of them verses, long passages and even whole cantos occur, which are missing in others; also the order of the verses is very frequently different in the different recensions. The recension most widely spread (in the North as well as in the South of India), is the one which Jacobi designates as "C," which has several times been printed in Bombay.[3] The only complete edition which has appeared in Europe, by G. Gorresio.[4] contains the *Bengal* recension. The text of the *North-Western Indian* (Western Indian, Kashmiri) recension

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[1]) VI, 128, 120: "Those men who, full of love towards Rāma, write down this collection (saṃhitā) compiled by the Ṛṣi, attain to a dwelling in Indra's heaven."

[2]) VI, 128, 122. Also see above, pp. 478 f.

[3]) I quote from this recension in the edition of the NSP. by K. P. *Parab*, 2nd Ed., Bombay, 1902. It was a mistake to call this recension "Northern Indian," for the Southern Indian MSS. give the same text; see *Winternitz*, Catalogue of South Indian Sanskrit Manuscripts, London, 1902, p. 67; M. *Winternitz* and A. B. *Keith*, Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Bodleian Library, II, pp. 145 f.

[4]) Turin, 1843-1867. See on this edition E. *Windisch*, Geschichte der Sanskrit-Philologie (Grundriss I, 1 B), pp. 145 f. Only the two first Books have been edited (with a Latin translation) by A. W. von *Schlegel*, Bonnae, 1829, 1838, on eclectic principles.

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is now being printed at Lahore.[1] The only explanation for the great differences between the recensions is the fact that the text of the epic was for a long period only handed down by oral transmission. It is conceivable that the order of the verses became dislocated in the memory of the rhapsodists, that the wording must often have suffered considerable changes, and that the singers of different regions made different additions and extensions respectively.

All these recensions agree, however, in that they contain all the seven books, and that in all of them, spurious passages are side by side with genuine ones. For this reason none of the recensions represent an "original text" of the Rāmāyaṇa. But the omission of a passage in one of the recensions is always justifiable ground for suspecting its genuineness; and on the whole it is certainly easier to detect what is spurious and later in the Rāmāyaṇa, than it is in the Mahābhārata. "As on many of our old, venerable cathedrals," says Jacobi,[2] "every coming generation has added something new and repaired something old, without the original construction being effaced, in spite of all the added little chapels and turrets; so also many generations of singers have been at work at the Rāmāyaṇa; but the old nucleus, around which so much has grown, is to the searching eye of the student, not difficult to recognise, if not in every detail, yet in its principal features." Jacobi himself, in his work "Das Rāmāyaṇa"

An edition from a Bengali MS. with comparative foot-notes was published by Pandit Rasiklal *Bhattāchārya* in the "Pandit," N. S., Vols. 28-34. A comparative study of the recensions C and B (Bengali) has been made by M. *Vallauri*, GSAI. 25, 1912, pp. 45 ff.

[1]) Critically edited by Pandit *Ram Labhaya*, published by the Research Department, D. A. V. College, Lahore, 1923 ff. *Cf.* Hans *Wirtz*, Die westliche Recension des Rāmāyaṇa. Diss. Bonn, 1894; S. *Lévi*, JA. 1918, s. 11, t. xi, pp. 5 ff. Only when we shall have critical editions of all the three recensions, will it be possible to decide which of them contains the more authentic text.

[2]) Das Râmâyaṇa, p. 60.

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has indisputably proved a large number of additions and extensions to be such. The fact that, in an attempt at a critical reconstruction of the text, perhaps only a quarter of the transmitted 24,000 verses of the Rāmāyaṇa would prove to be "genuine," does not speak against the justification of the criticism.[1] It is only on account of the *great mass* of the "spurious" in the Indian epics, that the reading of them, which often carries us away to the greatest admiration, still oftener disappoints us. And if a comparison between the Indian and the Greek epics with reference to artistic value must necessarily result unfavourably for the former, the blame rests far more with those versifiers who increased and disfigured the ancient songs with their own additions and alterations, than with the ancient Indian poets. The "formless fermenting verbiage," with which Friedrich Rückert reproaches the Rāmāyaṇa, is surely more often to be placed to the account of the imitators of Vālmīki than to that of Vālmīki himself. But on the whole the German poet is probably right when he seeks the beauty of the Indian epic *elsewhere* than that of the Greek, saying:

"Such fantastic grimaces, such formless fermenting verbiage
As Rāmāyaṇa offers thee, that has Homer
Certainly taught thee to despise; but yet such lofty thoughts
And such deep feeling the Iliad does not show thee." [2]

The Age of the Rāmāyaṇa.[3]

Closely connected with the question of the genuine and the spurious in the Rāmāyaṇa is the question of the age of the poem. For in order to answer this question it is certainly of importance whether we can form some idea, at least, of

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[1] In Vol. 51 of ZDMG. (1897), pp. 605 ff., *Jacobi* made an attempt to deal critically with a considerable connected portion of the Rāmāyaṇa, in which, out of 600 verses, not quite a quarter remained.

[2] F. *Rückert*, Poetisches Tagebuch, Frankfurt a. M., 1888, p. 99.

[3] *Cf. Jacobi*, l.c., p. 100 ff.; A. B. *Keith*, JRAS 1915, p. 318 ff.

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the interval of time which may have elapsed between the original poem, whose genuine parts are to be found in Books II-VI, and the two added Books I and VII.

We have now seen that in the genuine books Rāma is merely a human hero, and that it is only in Books I and VII (and in a few interpolated passages of the other books) that he appears as the incarnation of the god Viṣṇu. It is the epic itself which has made Prince Rāma a national hero. This transformation of Rāma from a man into a semi-divine national hero and finally into the Universal God Viṣṇu must necessarily have taken a very long time. Moreover, the poet Vālmīki appears as a pious forest hermit and Ṛṣi and a contemporary of the hero Rāma in the first and last books of the Rāmāyaṇa. Thus Vālmīki had already become a legendary personage in the minds of the poets of these later books. All this makes it seem likely that centuries elapsed between the genuine and the spurious portions of the poem.[1]

We should immediately add here, though, that also in our Mahābhārata, which knows not only the Rāma legend, but the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki, Rāma is regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, and Vālmīki is mentioned as an ancient Ṛṣi. It has already been mentioned above (p. 384) that the *Rāmopākhyāna* of the Mahābhārata is in all probability only a free abridged rendering of the Rāmāyaṇa, and we may add, of the Rāmāyaṇa in a very late form, fairly nearly approaching the present one. For, to the author of the Rāmopākhyāna Rāma is already Viṣṇu become man,[2] he knows that Hanumat "burned" Laṅkā—a passage proved to be spurious—,[3] and he is already acquainted with that

[1]) *Jacobi*, l. c., p. 65.
[2]) Mahābh. III, 147, 31; 275, 5 ff.
[3]) Mahābh. III, 148, 9. *Cf.* above p. 491 Note 1.

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part of Book VII which refers to Rāvaṇa.[1] The story of Rāma is related in the Mahābhārata in order to console Yudhiṣṭhira for the stealing of Draupadī. But this whole episode of the stealing of Draupadī is surely only an imitation of the stealing of Sītā in the Rāmāyaṇa. In the latter, indeed, this abduction is the nucleus of the legend and of the poem, while in the Mahābhārata the abduction of Draupadī has practically no significance for the course of the narrative. Other striking coincidences in single features in the two epics have been pointed out, especially the resemblance between the heroes Arjuna and Rāma. The banishment into the forest for twelve to fourteen years, the bending of the bow, and endowment of the heroes with divine weapons which they fetch from the gods [2]—these are points in which the influence of the one epic upon the other is *possible*, but can hardly be proved. Nevertheless it is more likely that the Mahābhārata borrowed motives from the Rāmāyaṇa than the reverse. For while the Rāmāyaṇa shows no kind of acquaintance with the Pāṇḍava legend or the heroes of the Mahābhārata,[3] the Mahābhārata, as we have seen, knows not only the Rāma legend, but the Rāmāyaṇa itself. In the Harivaṃśa there is even already a mention of a dramatic representation of the Rāmāyaṇa (see above, p. 451 Note). It is still more important, however, that the Mahābhārata (VII, 143, 66) quotes a "śloka once sung by Vālmīki," which is actually to be found in our Rāmāyaṇa, (VI, 81, 28). Vālmīki is mentioned in several places in

[1]) *Jacobi*, l. c., pp. 73 f. Also in Mahābh., VII, 59, and XII, 29, 51 ff., the Rāma legend is briefly touched on, and a few verses partly agreeing with Rām. VI, 128, 95 ff., refer to the paradisiacal condition of the subjects of Rāma "who ruled for ten thousand and ten hundred years."

[2]) *Cf.* A. *Holtzmann*, Das Mahābhārata, IV, 68 f. E. *Windisch*, LZB., 1879, No. 52, col. 1709.

[3]) It is true that the poet of the Rāmāyaṇa knew the poem of Sāvitrī and the song of Nala (Rām. II, 30, 6; V, 24, 12), but it is not certain that he knew them as parts of the Mahābhārata (as is assumed by *Hopkins*, Great Epic, p. 78 note).

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the Mahābhārata as a "great ascetic" and venerable Ṛṣi, by the side of Vasiṣṭha and other Ṛṣis of ancient times.[1] On one occasion he tells Yudhiṣṭhira that, in the course of a disputation with holy Munis he was once reproached with being a "Brahman-murderer," and that through this reproach the guilt of Brahman-murder had come upon him, from which he could only cleanse himself by the worship of Śiva.[2] All these facts justify our agreeing with Jacobi (l. c., p. 71) when he says that the Rāmāyaṇa must already "have been generally familiar as an *ancient* work, before the Mahābhārata had reached its final form." It is quite in accord with this that the "process of degeneration," if one may say so, *i.e.* the superseding of the genuine by the spurious, and the penetrating of later elements into the old parts has gone so far in the Mahābhārata as to pervade the whole work, while in the Rāmāyaṇa it was checked in the beginning and extends only to Books I and VII and a few parts of the remaining books.

But if the Mahābhārata already had, on the whole, its present form in the fourth century A. D. (see above, p. 465), then the Rāmāyaṇa must have received its "final" form (the word "final" is to be taken *cum grano salis*) at least one or two centuries earlier.

However, this does not by any means answer the question as to which is the older of the two epics. After all that we have said about the history of the Mahābhārata as well as of the Rāmāyaṇa, it is clear enough that this question

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[1]) Mahābh. 1, 2, 18; II, 7, 16; V, 83, 27; XII, 207, 4; Hariv. 268, 14539.

[2]) Mahābh. XIII, 18, 8. According to the Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa, Vālmīki lived among robbers when he was a young man, though he was a Brahman by birth. The same tradition is to be found in the Bengali Rāmāyana. *Cf. Jacobi*, l. c., p. 66 note; D. *Ibbetson* and A. K. *Mojumdar* in Ind. Ant., 24, 1895, p. 220; 31, 1902, p. 351; D. Ch. *Sen*, Bengali Ramayanas, p. 125 (a similar Mohammedan legend, pp. 127f.). Bālmīk, *i.e.* Vālmīki, is worshipped as a kind of saint by the caste of the scavengers in Eastern Punjab, s. R. C. *Temple*. The legends of the Punjāb, 1 (1884), pp. 529 f.

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in itself has no sense at all, but naturally resolves itself into three different questions, namely: I. Which of the two works, *in the form in which they are now before us*, is the older? II. What relation does the period of time in which an original *Mahābhārata epic* gradually became the great *compilation* combining heroic songs and didactic poetry, bear to that period of time in which *the ancient poem of Vālmīki* became enlarged into the *present Rāmāyaṇa* by means of greater or smaller additions in the older books, and finally by the addition of Books I and VII? III. Was there, generally speaking, a Mahābhārata epic or a Rāmāyaṇa epic first in existence?

Only to the first of these three questions a definite answer could be given, namely that our present Rāmāyaṇa is older than the Mahābhārata in its present form. As regards the second question, we may assume that the Rāmāyaṇa, being so much shorter, required a shorter time for its gradual growth than the Mahābhārata. It has already been pointed out that the character of the two spurious books of the Rāmāyaṇa is strikingly similar to that of the Mahābhārata, and that the same brahmanical myths and legends often recur in both. The stories which are common to both works are, however, told with such variations that we are compelled to assume that they are derived from the same source, the Itihāsa literature orally transmitted in brahmanical circles, rather than that borrowing took place. Furthermore, all the books of the Rāmāyaṇa and of the Mahābhārata have numerous phrases, hemistiches, proverbial idioms and whole verses in common,[1] and in language, style and metre there is a far-reaching conformity in the two works.[2] From

[1] This has been proved especially by E. W. *Hopkins* in the American Journal of Philology, Vols. XIX, pp. 138 ff. and XX, pp. 22 ff., and in his book, The Great Epic of India, pp. 58 ff., 403 ff.

[2] On the Śloka in the two epics see *Jacobi*, l. c., pp. 24 ff., and Gurupūjākaumudī, pp. 50 ff.

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these facts we conclude that the period of the growth of the Rāmāyaṇa *falls within* the longer period of the development of the Mahābhārata.

The third and most important question, which of the two *original* epics is the earlier, can only be answered by way of hypothesis. The Hindus declare the Rāmāyaṇa to be earlier than the Mahābhārata, because, according to the traditional list of Viṣṇu's incarnations, the incarnation as Rāma preceded that as Kṛṣṇa.[1] This argument has no force, because in the old, genuine Rāmāyaṇa, as we have seen, Rāma does not as yet appear as an incarnation at all. It is a fact, however, that allusions to Vāsudeva (Kṛṣṇa), Arjuna and Yudhiṣṭhira already occur in Pāṇini's grammar, whereas Rāma is not mentioned either by Pāṇini or Patañjali, nor in inscriptions of the pre-Christian era.[2] It is likely, too, that the theory of incarnation arose out of the Kṛṣṇa cult, and that the transformation of the hero Rāma into an incarnation of Viṣṇu resulted only later, by analogy to the Kṛṣṇa incarnation.[3] A few scholars[4] have declared the Rāmāyaṇa to be the earlier of the two epics, because the *burning of widows* does not occur in it, whilst it is mentioned in the Mahābhārata. The fact of the matter, however, is that in the old, genuine Mahābhārata the burning of widows is just as much absent as in the genuine Rāmāyaṇa, whilst there *are* allusions to it in the later portions of the Rāmāyaṇa, though less frequent than in the Mahābhārata.[5]

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[1]) According to the Purāṇas, Rāma appears in the Kṛtayuga, but Kṛṣṇa not until the Dvāparayuga. *Cf.* A. *Govindācārya Svāmin* in JBRAS., 23, 1911-12, pp. 244 ff.

[2]) *Cf.* R. G. *Bhandarkar*, Early History of the Deccan, 2nd Ed., Bombay, 1895, p. 10; Vaiṣṇavism, etc., pp. 46 f.

[3]) *Jacobi* in ERE., VII, 194 f. R. *Chanda*, The Indo-Aryan Races, I, 1916, pp. 88 f., 111 ff.

[4]) *Jacobi*, l. c., pp. 107 f., and before him A. W. v. *Schlegel* and Monier *Williams*, also J. *Jolly*, Recht und Sitte, p. 68.

[5]) *Cf. Winternitz*, Die Frau in den indischen Religionen, I, 1920, pp. 58 f.; J. J. Meyer, Das Weib im altindischen Epos, pp. 307 f.

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Jacobi (l. c., pp. 78, 81 ff.) is so sure about the Rāmāyaṇa being the older poem, that he even takes for granted that the Mahābhārata only became an epic under the influence of the poetic art of Vālmīki. This seems to me to go far beyond what is warranted by facts, indeed it seems to be in contradiction with some facts. In more than one respect the Rāmāyaṇa, as compared with the Mahābhārata, indicates progress in the art of epic poetry. In the Mahābhārata we still have a distinct remnant of the ancient ballad form in the *prose formulae* such as "Yudhiṣṭhira spake," "Kuntī spake," "Duryodhana spake," and so on, introducing the speeches of the various characters, while in the Rāmāyaṇa the speakers throughout are introduced in verses.[1] It has also already been pointed out to how great an extent the Rāmāyaṇa already shows the peculiarities of the style of ornate court poetry, the kāvya.[2] Of course it is hard to say which of it is old, and which parts have been added later. Nevertheless, this peculiarity of the Rāmāyaṇa which separates it considerably from the Mahābhārata and brings it nearer to the epics of Kālidāsa, must make us chary of assuming a greater antiquity for the Rāmāyaṇa.[3]

There is a second point, too, in which the Mahābhārata makes a much more archaic impression than the Rāmāyaṇa. Throughout the Mahābhārata—at least in the nucleus of the poem, which treats of the Pāṇḍava story and the Kuru battle—we encounter rougher manners and a more warlike spirit than in the Rāmāyaṇa. The battle scenes of the Mahābhārata read quite differently from those described in the Rāmāyaṇa.

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[1]) See above, p. 324. The Purāṇas have always retained these prose formulas in order to preserve the appearance of antiquity.

[2]) See above, pp. 475 f., 489 note 1, 490 and *cf.* p. 461.

[3]) E. W. *Hopkins* (Cambridge History, I, p. 251) says of the Rāmāyaṇa "Whatever may have been the date of its germ as a story, as an art-product it is later than the Mahābhārata." *Cf.* also *Oldenberg*, Das Mahabharata, pp. 53 ff., and H. *Raychaudhury* in Calcutta Review, Mar. 1922, pp. 1 ff.

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Those in the Mahābhārata give the impression that the poet belonged to a rough race of warriors, and had himself seen bloody battle-fields, while those in the Rāmāyaṇa sound rather as though a story-teller is relating battles of which his only source of information is the reports he has heard. There is not that embittered hatred, that fierce resentment between Rāma and Rāvaṇa, Lakṣmaṇa and Indrajit, as in the Mahābhārata when we read of the battles between Arjuna and Karṇa or Bhīma and Duryodhana. The Sītā of the Rāmāyaṇa, when she is stolen, abducted and persecuted by Rāvaṇa, or when she is rejected by Rāma, always maintains a certain calmness and meekness in her accusations and lamentations, and in her speeches there is not a trace of the wild passion which we so often find in Draupadī in the Mahābhārata. Kuntī and Gāndharī, too, are true hero-mothers of a warlike race, while Kausalyā and Kaikeyī in the Rāmāyaṇa can rather be compared with the stereotyped queens of the classical dramas. This seems to indicate that the Mahābhārata belongs to a ruder, more warlike age, while the Rāmāyaṇa shows traces of a more refined civilization; unless, in order to explain this sharply marked difference between the two epics, we assume that the Mahābhārata reflects a rougher civilization of *Western* India, while the Rāmāyaṇa reflects a more refined civilization of *Eastern* India, and that the two epics do not represent the poetry of different *periods*, but of different *regions* of India. Even from this point of view, however, it is difficult to conceive that the Mahābhārata should only have become an epic under the influence of Vālmīki's poetic art.

There can be no doubt that the Mahābhārata belongs to the West of India, and the Rāmāyaṇa to the East. Western peoples play the principal part in the Mahābhārata, while the chief events of the Rāmāyaṇa take place in the the land of the Kosala, where, according to tradition, Vālmīki is said to have lived, and where, in all probability, he did

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really live.[1] But in *Eastern* India *Buddhism* originated, and in Magadha, as in the neighbouring Kosala land, it was first propagated. So much the more important is the question: What is the relationship of the Rāmāyaṇa to Buddhism?

It has already been pointed out above (p. 471) that, in the oldest Buddhist literature, we still find examples of the Ākhyāna or ballad poetry, in which we have recognised a forerunner of the epic. T. W. *Rhys Davids*[2] has concluded from this that the Rāmāyaṇa could not have yet existed as an epic at the time of the origin of these Buddha-ballads. Now it could be objected that perhaps the ancient Ākhyāna or ballad poetry might have lived on beside the new literary form of the epic which had developed out of it, in the same way as we find ballad and epic poetry side by side in modern literatures. It is remarkable, notwithstanding, that we find nothing but Buddha-ballads throughout early Buddhist literature, whilst a Buddha epic was not written until centuries later. It is still more important that in the Tipiṭaka we find the *Dasaratha-Jātaka*,[3] which relates how Bharata brings the news of the death of Dasaratha, whereupon Rāma tells Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā to step into the water to offer the libations for the departed. This gives rise to a conversation, in which Bharata asks Rāma how it is that he shows no sign of sorrow,[4]

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[1]) *Jacobi*, l. c., pp. 66 ff., 69.

[2]) Buddhist India, London, 1903, p. 183.

[3]) The Pāli text of this Jātaka (No. 461) was first published with an English translation by V. *Fausböll*, Copenhagen, 1871. It has been treated in detail by *Weber*, l. c., 1 ff.; *Jacobi*, l. c., 84 ff. E. *Senart*, Essai sur la légende du Buddha, 2nd Ed., Paris, 1882, pp. 317 f.; *Lüders*, NGGW., 1897, 1, pp. 40 ff: D. Ch. *Sen*, The Bengali Ramayauas, pp. 9 ff.; G. A. *Grierson*, JRAS., 1922, 135 ff.; N. B. *Utgikar* in Centenary Supplement to JRAS., 1924, pp. 203 ff. Only the gāthās of the Jātaka belong to the Tipiṭaka. The prose narrative is the fabrication of the compilers of the commentary (about the fifth century A. D.), and all conclusions drawn from this story, such as those of D. Ch. Sen and others, are faulty.

[4]) Here we see that even the Jātaka-gāthās were remodelled with a Buddhist tendency. In the Rāmāyaṇa Rāma himself laments exceedingly at the news of his father's death, before making the speech of consolation, s. Rām. II, 102-105, and the same thing probably holds good for the ancient ballad too.

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and Rāma replies with a lengthy speech of consolation, explaining how futile it is to lament over the dead, as death comes to all mortals. The fact that only *one* of the twelve ancient gāthās of the Jātaka appears in our Rāmāyaṇa,[1] proves that our epic cannot be the source of these verses, but that the Jātaka is based upon an ancient Rāma ballad. In the same Jātaka book there is also the Sāma-Jātaka,[2] which we may probably consider as an older form of the tale about the hermit-boy killed in the chase, which is told by Daśaratha in Rāmāyaṇa II, 63 f. There are a few other Jātakas, too, in which we find passages reminding us of the Rāmāyaṇa, but only very seldom literal agreement.[3] It is striking, too, that in the whole of the Jātaka, which tells so many tales of demons and fabulous animals, we hear not a word of the Rākṣasa Rāvaṇa or of Hanumat and the monkeys. All this makes it seem likely that, at the time when the Tipiṭaka came into being (in the fourth and third centuries B.C.) there were ballads dealing with Rāma, perhaps a cycle of such ballads, but no Rāma epic as yet.[4]

Another question is whether traces of Buddhism can be proved in the Rāmāyaṇa. It can probably be answered with

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[1]) Parallels to other verses in Rāma's speech of consolation (Rām. II, 105, 21: 22) have been traced by *Lüders* (ZDMG., 58, 1904, 713f.) in Jātaka 328, gā. 2-4. In the commentary on the Dasaratha-Jātaka there is also a verse about the ten thousand years' reign of Rāma, which corresponds to Rām. VI, 128 ; 104. An allusion to the Rāma legend also occurs in Jātaka 513, gā. 17.

[2]) Jātaka 540, also in Mahāvastu II, 209 ff. *Cf. Charpentier*, WZKM., 24, 1910, 397; 27, 1913, 94. *Oldenberg*, NGGW., 1918, 456ff.; D. Ch. *Sen*, l. c., pp. 15 ff.

[3]) There are a few scenes and situations in the Vessantara-Jātaka which remind us of the Rāmāyaṇa, but there is not a single case of literal agreement between the Rāmāyaṇa and the Jātaka-gāthās. In Jātaka 519, however, there is a stanza in which a demon tries to persuade faithful Sambulā to desert her sick husband and to follow him, uttering the same threat as is used by Rāvaṇa to Sītā in Rām. V, 22, 9, namely, that if she is not willing, he will devour her for his breakfast. *Cf.* D. Ch. *Sen*, l. c., pp. 18 ff. The Jātaka-gāthās, too, contain earlier and later portions, and some parts may be later than the Rāmāyaṇa.

[4]) *Cf.* T. W. *Rhys Davids*, Buddhist India, p. 183.

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an absolute negative; for the only place in which the Buddha is mentioned (see above, p. 486, Note 2) is decidedly spurious. However, there may be one, though very distant, relation to Buddhism. Weber had still believed that the Rāmāyaṇa was based on an "ancient Buddhist legend of the pious prince Rāma, in whom the legend glorified the ideal of Buddhist equanimity."[1] That is surely not the case. Nevertheless, the idea of explaining the exceeding mildness, gentleness and tranquillity which are ascribed to Rāma, by Buddhistic undercurrents, should perhaps not be rejected. At the least, it is conceivable that, in a land strongly influenced by Buddhism, an epic was composed by a non-Buddhist, the hero of which, in spite of all his splendid demon-battles, is more a sage after the heart of the Buddha, than a hero of war. It appears, then, that the authors of the ancient Buddhist texts in the fourth and third centuries B.C. had as yet no knowledge of the Rāmāyaṇa, but that they knew ballads utilised by Vālmīki for his Rāma epic, and that on the other hand the Rāmāyaṇa was influenced at least indirectly by Buddhism. From this we may probably argue that the Rāmāyaṇa came into being at a time when Buddhism had already spread in Eastern India and the Buddhist Canon was in course of formation.

This is in harmony with the circumstance that the *metre* (the śloka) of the Rāmāyaṇa appears to represent a later stage of development than that of the Buddhist Pāli poetry, and that it approximates more nearly to the metre of the later portions of the Mahābhārata.[2]

H. Jacobi thought it possible to assume a pre-Buddhist time of origin of the epic on *linguistic* grounds. This epic language is a popular *Sanskrit*. About 260 B.C., for his

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[1]) "Über das Rāmāyaṇa," pp. 6 f.

[2]) *Cf.* H. *Oldenberg* in Gurupūjākaumudī, pp. 9 ff., and E. W. *Hopkins*, Great Epic, pp. 236 ff. *Jacobi*, l. c., p. 93, and *Keith*, JRAS., 1915, pp. 321, 324 ff., contest the soundness of this argument.

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inscriptions addressed to his people, King Aśoka used, not Sanskrit, but dialects similar to Pāli. Buddha, too, as early as the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. preached, not in Sanskrit, but in the popular language. But popular epics, so he said,[1] cannot be composed in an already "extinct" language, but must be composed in the living language of the people. Now, as in Aśoka's time and even already in Buddha's time, Sanskrit was no longer the language of the people, the popular epics (in their original form) must belong to an older pre-Buddhist period when Sanskrit was still a living language. Against this, it may be urged that Sanskrit has always "lived" in India as a *literary language*, side by side with the popular languages, and has also been understood in extensive circles in which it was not spoken. There is nothing strange in the fact that, at the same time as Buddhist and Jain monks composed and preached in popular dialects, Sanskrit epics also were composed and listened to. Down to the present day in India it is not at all unusual for two or more languages to be current side by side in the same district. And in a great part of Northern India there is current, even to-day, (besides Sanskrit) a *modern Indian* literary language, which differs strongly from the colloquial language.[2] Therefore, if we here and there encounter the same verses which we find in the Rāmāyaṇa or in the Mahābhārata, in Pāli or in Prākrit, in Buddhist or in Jainistic texts, it does not always follow that the Sanskrit verses must have been translated from the popular languages. Still less justification is there for the view of some prominent scholars that the epics as a whole were originally composed in popular dialects and only translated into Sanskrit later. It is highly improbable that such a translation could have occurred without any record of it

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[1]) *Jacobi*, l. c, pp. 116 ff.

[2]) *Cf.* above p. 43 note, and *Grierson* in JRAS., 1906, pp. 441 f.

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having been kept anywhere. Jacobi[1] has convincingly shown how unacceptable this hypothesis is on other grounds also. But when he here, in opposition to the view that "a popular epic must be recited in the language of the people," recalls the fact "that the songs of the Iliad and the Odyssey also were presented in the Homeric language, although the language of the audience differed considerably from it," and when he emphasizes the fact hat the conception "nation" could never, in India, have the meaning which we connect with the word, he refutes his own view that the Rāmāyaṇa must have been composed when Sanskrit was still the "popular language," and that it must therefore be pre-Buddhist.[2]

During the first centuries of the Christian era, Sanskrit was used by the Buddhists also. The Buddhacarita of the great Buddhist poet *Aśvaghoṣa* is an ornate epic (kāvya) in

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[1]) ZDMG., 48, 1894, pp. 407 ff. The view that the epics were originally composed in Prākrit was first expressed by A. *Barth* (Revue Critique, 5 avril 1886) and later defended by him in detail (RHR., t. 27, 1893, pp. 288 ff.; t. 45, 1902, pp. 195 f.: Oeuvres II, 152 ff., 397 f.). *Cf.* also *Grierson*, Ind. Ant., 23, 1894, p. 55.

[2]) The question as to whether Sanskrit was a living language at the time when the epics were composed, has been much discussed. It is a fact that all our ancient inscriptions (beginning approximately about 300 B. C.) are written in popular dialects, and that it is only inscriptions of the Christian era which are also written in Sanskrit. (*Cf.* R. O. *Franke*, Pali und Sanskrit, Strassburg, 1902, and T. W. *Rhys Davids*, Buddhist India, pp. 148 ff.) However, the inscriptions only prove that, in those pre-Christian centuries, Sanskrit was not as yet used as the *language of the royal offices*: they prove nothing against its use as a *literary* language. R. G. *Bhandarkar* (JBRAS., 16, 1885, 268 ff., 327 ff.) has already shown that, at the time of the grammarians Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali, Sanskrit was by no means a "dead" language. See also E J. *Rapson* and F. W. *Thomas*, JRAS., 1904, pp. 435 ff. 460 ff., 747 ff. The objections of *Rhys Davids*, *Grierson*, and *Fleet* (*ib.* pp. 457 ff., 471 ff., 481 ff.) prove nothing against the assumption that, at the time when the epics came into being, Sanskrit was a literary language understood in wide circles and spoken to some extent. *Cf.* also *Keith* and *Grierson*, JRAS., 1906, pp. 1 ff., 441 f.; 1915, 318 f.; and *Windisch* in OC., XIV, Paris, 1, 257, 266. The fact that in the drama the sūtas speak only Sanskrit, also tends to show that the sūta poetry, *i. e.* the epic, was composed in Sanskrit. On archaisms in the language of the Rāmāyaṇa s. T. *Michelson*, JAOS., 25, 1904, 89 ff. and Transactions and Proceed. American Philol. Assoc. 34, pp. xl f.; M. A. *Roussel*, JA,. 1910, s. 10, t xv, pp. 1 ff.; *Keith*, JRAS., 1910, pp. 1321 ff.

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Sanskrit, for which the poetry of Vālmīki certainly served as a model.[1] On the other hand we find, in a spurious portion of the Rāmāyaṇa, a scene [2] which is most probably an imitation of a scene of the Buddhacarita. Now, as Aśvaghoṣa is a contemporary of *Kaniṣka*, we may conclude that at the beginning of the second century A.D.,[3] the Rāmāyaṇa was already regarded as a model epic, but that it had not yet received its final form to such an extent as to exclude further interpolations. Towards the end of the second century, however, it must have already had its final form, as follows from what has been said above concerning the relationship of the Rāmāyaṇa to the Mahābhārata.

A public recitation of the Rāmāyaṇa is already mentioned in Kumāralāta's Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā,[4] which was probably written towards the close of the second century A.D. In Chinese translations of Buddhist tales, which are said to date back to the third century A.D., the Rāma legend is related in a form prepared to suit Buddhist purposes.[5] We glean from Chinese sources, too, that, at the time of the Buddhist philosopher Vasubandhu (fourth century A.D.,) the Rāmāyaṇa was a well known and popular poem also among the Buddhists in India.[6] As early as in the second half of the first century A.D. the Jain monk Vimala Sūri recast the Rāma legend in his Prākrit poem Paümacariya (Padmacarita), bringing it

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[1]) *Cf.* A. *Gawronski*, Studies about the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature, w. Krakowie, 1919 (Prace Komiji Orj. Pol. Akad. Um. No. 2), pp. 27 ff.

[2]) The seraglio scene, above p. 490, note 3.

[3]) Much as has been written about the period of Kaniṣka, it is not yet definitely settled. However, there is ever increasing evidence for the theory that he reigned during the first half of the second century A. D. *Cf. Smith*, Early History, pp. 271 ff., 276n.

[4]) Translated from the Chinese as "Aśvaghoṣa's Sūtrālaṃkāra" by Ed. *Huber*, Paris, 1908 p. 126.

[5]) *Cf.* S. *Lévi* in Album Kern, pp. 279 ff.; Ed. *Chavannes*, Cinq cents contes, III, p. f.; Ed. *Huber* in BEFEO., 4, 1904, 698 ff.

[6]) See K. *Watanabe*, JRAS.. 1907, pp. 99 ff.

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into line with the religion and philosophy of the Jains.[1] It was obviously his intention to offer his co-religionists a substitute for the poem of Vālmīki which was already famous at that time. In about 600 A.D. the Rāmāyaṇa was already famous in far-off Cambodia as a sacred book of Hinduism, for an inscription reports that a certain Somaśarman presented "the Rāmāyaṇa, the Purāṇa, and the complete Bhārata" to a temple.[2]

The circumstance that the *ancient* poem already served as a model for Aśvaghoṣa, and hence must have been composed long before the time of the latter, agrees well with the entire absence, in the old and genuine Rāmāyaṇa, of any traces of *Greek* influence or of an acquaintance with the Greeks. For two allusions to the *Yavanas* (Ionians, Greeks) have been proved to be spurious. And it is quite out of the question that, as was once suggested by Weber, the Homeric poems should have had any sort of influence on Vālmīki's composition. There is not even a remote similarity between the stealing of Sītā and the rape of Helen, between the advance on Laṅkā

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[1]) According to the concluding verses belonging to the poem itself, it was written in the year 530 after Mahāvīra (*i.e.* about 62 A.D.). E. *Leumann* (to whom I am indebted for valuable information about the Paümacariya) considers this date as unassailable. H. *Jacobi* (ERE., VII, p. 467) assumes that it was written in the third century A. D. The later Jain recensions of the Rāma legend (in the 68th Parvan of Guṇādhya's Uttarapurāṇa and in the 7th Parvan of Hemachandra's Saṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra) are based on the Paümacariya. On Hemachandra's "Jain Rāmāyaṇa" s. D. Ch. *Sen*, Bengali Ramayanas, pp. 26 ff. (The Jain Rāmāyaṇa influenced the Bengali versions of the Rāmāyaṇa, as is shown by D. Ch. Sen, l. c., pp. 204 ff.). However, the appearance of Rāvaṇa as a great sage and ascetic, and of Sītā as Rāvaṇa's daughter in Buddhist and Jain versions of the poem of Rāma, should not be looked upon as traits pointing to ancient traditions, as is done by D. Ch. Sen. In the *Adbhutottarakhaṇḍa*, too. Sītā appears as the daughter of Mandodarī, Rāvaṇa's queen. This, however, is a late appendix to the Rāmāyaṇa, written in praise of Sītā as Śakti, and is popular among the Śāktas in Kashmir. *Cf. Weber*, HSS., Verz. I, pp. 123 f., *Eggeling*, Ind. Off. Cat. VI, p. 1183; D. Ch. *Sen*, l. c., pp. 35, 59, 227 f.; *Grierson*, JRAS., 1921, pp. 422 ff.

[2]) See A. *Barth*, Inscriptions Sanscrites du Cambodge (Notices et extraits des MSS. de la bibliothèque nationale, t. xxvii, 1, Paris, 1885), pp. 29 ff. On the Old Javanic Rāmāyaṇa see R. *Friederich*, JRAS 1876., pp. 172 ff. and H. *Kern*, Verspreide Geschriften, Vol. 9, pp. 251 ff., 297.

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and that on Troy, and only a very remote similarity of motive between the bending of the bow by Rāma and that by Ulysses.[1]

As an epic the Rāmāyaṇa is very far removed from the *Veda*, and even the Rāma *legend* is only bound to Vedic literature by very slender threads. Whether that King *Janaka* of Videha who is frequently mentioned in the Upaniṣads[2] is the same as the father of Sītā, must remain an open question. Weber[3] has pointed out a few slight connections between the Rāmāyaṇa and the Yajurveda. *Sītā*, the heroine of the epic, probably belongs to the oldest elements of the Rāma legend. Her name signifies "field furrow," she came forth out of the earth, and Mother Earth receives her again. Although the latter feature of the legend only occurs in the late Book VII, yet it may be very old. The idea of a goddess of agriculture, *Sītā*, who is already invoked in a blessing on the land, in the Ṛgveda (IV, 57, 6) is extremely ancient, and certainly reaches back far into the Vedic period. The Gṛhyasūtras have preserved for us prayer-formulas, in which she is personified in an extremely life-like manner— "lotus-crowned, radiant in every limb ... black-eyed," and so on.[4] Yet Weber[5] is probably right when he remarks that this Vedic idea of Sītā as the goddess Field-furrow is "separated *by a wide gulf* from the representation of her in the Rāma legend." Neither is there anything to indicate that

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[1]) See *Jacobi*, l. c., pp. 94 ff.

[2]) Rāma does not appear in the old Upaniṣads. The Rāmapūrvatāpanīya-Upaniṣad and the Rāmottaratāpanīya-Upaniṣad (The Vaiṣṇava-Upanishads ..., ed. by Mahadeva Sastri, Adyar, 1923, pp. 305 ff., 326 ff.; Deussen, Sechzig Upanishads, pp. 802 ff., 818 ff.) are very late fabrications, which are "Upaniṣads" only in name; and in them Rāma is honoured as an incarnation of the god Viṣṇu.

[3]) Uber das Rāmāyaṇa, pp. 8 f.

[4]) Kauśikasūtra 106. See A. *Weber* "Omina und Portenta" (ABA. 1858, pp. 368 ff.)

[5]) "Episches im vedischen Ritual" (SBA., 1891., p. 818).

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songs of Rāma and Sītā already existed in Vedic times.[1] Even if, with Jacobi, we were inclined to find in the legend of the battle of Rāma with Rāvaṇa, another form of the ancient myth of the battle of Indra with Vṛtra,[2] the "wide gulf," which separates the Veda from the epic, would still remain.

If we briefly summarise the results of our investigations into the age of the Rāmāyaṇa, we can say the following:—

1. The later parts of the Rāmāyaṇa, especially Books I and VII, are separated from the genuine Rāmāyaṇa of Books II to VI by a long interval of time.

2. The whole Rāmāyaṇa, including the later portions, was already an old and famous work when the Mahābhārata had not yet attained its present form.

3. *It is probable* that the Rāmāyaṇa had *its present extent and contents* as early as *towards the close of the second century A.D.*

4. The older nucleus of the Mahābhārata, however, is probably older than the ancient Rāmāyaṇa.

5. In the Veda we find no trace of the Rāma epic and only very faint traces of the Rāma legend.

6. The ancient Buddhist texts of the Tipiṭaka betray no knowledge of the Rāmāyaṇa, but contain traces of ballads in which the Rāma legend was sung.

7. There are no obvious traces of Buddhism to be seen in the Rāmāyaṇa, but the characterisation of Rāma may possibly be traceable to remote Buddhist influence.

8. There can be no question of Greek influence in the Rāmāyaṇa, and the genuine Rāmāyaṇa betrays no acquaintance with the Greeks.

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[1]) I am unable to follow the fantastic expositions of Julius v. *Negelein*, who thinks he is able to discover in the Veda the "outline of the Rāma-Sītā legend" (WZKM., 16, 1902, pp. 226 ff.)

[2]) *Jacobi*, l. c., p. 131.

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9. *It is probable* that *the original Rāmāyaṇa* was composed *in the third century B.C.* by Vālmīki on the basis of ancient ballads.

The Purāṇas and their Position in Indian Literature.[1]

It is difficult to determine the exact position of the Purāṇas in the history of Indian literature, both according to contents and chronologically. Actually they belong to the *religious* literature, and are, for the later Indian religion, which is generally called "*Hinduism*,"[2] and which culminates in the worship of Viṣṇu and Śiva, approximately what the Veda is for the oldest religion or Brahmanism. On the other hand, how closely the Purāṇas are connected with the *epic* compositions can already be deduced sufficiently from the fact that in the preceding chapters we repeatedly had to speak of them. Indeed, the Mahābhārata for the greater part and the Harivaṃśa almost entirely, are nothing other

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[1]) The first to make a thorough study of the Purāṇas was H. H. *Wilson*, in his "Essays on Sanskrit Literature" which first appeared in 1832 ff. and in the Introduction and Notes to his translation of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa (see Works by the late H. H. Wilson, ed. by R. Rost and Fitzedward Hall, Vol. III, pp. 1-155, and Vol. VI, Preface). He had a predecessor in *Vans Kennedy*, Researches into the Nature and Affinity of Ancient and Hindu Mythology, London, 1831. Valuable services have also been rendered to the investigation of the Purāṇa literature by Eugène *Burnouf* (Preface to his edition and translation of the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa) and by the compilers of the great catalogues of manuscripts, especially Th. *Aufrecht* (Bodl. Cat, pp. 7 ff.) and Julius *Eggeling* (Ind. Off. Cat., Part VI, London, 1899). For *Wilson's* services in the investigation of the Purāṇas, *cf. Windisch*, Geschichte der Sanskrit-Philologie, pp. 41 ff. For more recent researches on the Purāṇas see R. G. *Bhandarkar*, A Peep into the Early History of India, JBRAS., 20, 1900, 403 f., new ed. 1920, pp. 66 ff.; W. *Jahn* Festschrift Kuhn, pp. 305 ff.; F. E. *Pargiter*, ERE., X, 1918, 448 ff.; Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, London. 1922, pp. 15 ff. and *passim*; J. N. *Farquhar*, An Outline of the Religious Literature of India, London, 1920, pp. 136 ff.; E. J. *Rapson*, Cambridge History, I, pp. 296 ff.

[2]) On this religion *cf.* A. *Barth*, Religions of India, 2nd ed., London, 1889, pp. 153 ff.; M. Monier *Williams*, Brahmanism and Hinduism, London, 1891; E. W. *Hopkins*, Religions of India, Boston, 1895, pp. 434 ff.; Sir Charles *Eliot*, Hinduism and Buddhism, London, 1921, Vol. II; H. v. *Glasenapp*, Der Hinduismus, Munich, 1922.

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than Purāṇas, and even the later books and sections of the Rāmāyaṇa partake of the character of Purāṇas. Furthermore, the Purāṇas undoubtedly reach back to great antiquity and are rooted in Vedic literature; many a legend, already familiar from Ṛgvedic hymns and from the Brāhmaṇas, reappears in the Purāṇas;[1] but, just as undoubtedly, those works which have come down to us under the title of "Purāṇa" are of a later date, and up to the present day books are fabricated which assume the proud title "Purāṇa," or claim to be parts of ancient Purāṇas. What has been said in the Introduction (see above, p. 30) about "new wine in old bottles," applies especially to these works. Even the latest productions of this literature have the external form and the archaic frame of the oldest Purāṇas.

The word "purāṇa" means originally nothing but *purānam ākhyānam, i.e.* "old narrative."[2] In the older literature, in Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads and old Buddhist texts, we generally find the word in connection with *itihāsa*. But it has already been remarked (see above, p. 314) that the "Itihāsas and Purāṇas" or "Itihāsapurāṇa" so often mentioned in olden times, do not mean actual books, still less, then, the epics or Purāṇas which have come down to us. On the other hand, definite works may have been thought of, when, in the *Atharvaveda*,[3] beside the four Vedas, "the Purāṇa" also is enumerated. Only in the Sūtra literature is the existence of *real Purāṇas* definitely proved, *i.e.*

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[1]) Instances are the myths of Purūravas and Urvaśī, of Saraṇyū (s. A. *Blau*, ZDMG., 62, 1908, pp. 337 ff.), of Mudgala (s. *Pargiter*, JRAS., 1910, pp. 1328 ff.), of Vṛṣakapi (s. *Pargiter*, JRAS., 1911, 803 ff.).

[2]) The Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra I, 5 (p. 10) in its definition of *itihāsa*, enumerates *purāṇa* and *itivṛtta* as belonging to the content of *itihāsa*. As *itivṛtta* can only mean a "historical event," *purāṇa* probably means "mythological and legendary lore."

[3]) XI, 7, 24. In the verse Ath. V. 19, 9 the Ṛṣi Nārada is addressed in such a manner as to make one believe that the verse is taken out of a Purāṇa dialogue. *Cf.* M. *Bloomfield*, SBE., Vol. 42, p. 435.

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of works whose contents approximately agreed with our present Purāṇa texts. In the *Gautama-Dharmasūtra*,[1] which is regarded as the oldest of the preserved law-books, it is taught that the king is to take as his authorities on the administration of justice, the Veda, the law-books, the Vedāṅgas, and "the Purāṇa." The expression "the Purāṇa" can here, like "the Veda" only denote a species of literature. It is still more important that another law-book, the *Āpastambīya-Dharmasūtra*, contains not only two quotations from "the Purāṇa," but also a third quotation from a "Bhaviṣyat-Purāṇa." The latter quotation, it is true, is not to be found in the Purāṇa which has come down to us under that title, neither can the other two quotations be found literally in our Purāṇas. However, there certainly are similar passages in our texts.[2] As there are good grounds for assigning the abovementioned Dharmasūtras to the fifth or fourth century B.C., there must have been even at that early period works resembling our Purāṇas.[3] It is indeed likely enough that our Purāṇas are only recasts of older works *of the same species*, namely, of works of religious

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[1]) XI, 19. Thus also in the law-books of *Bṛhaspati*, which are many centuries later (SBE., Vol. 33, p. 280) and *Yājñavalkya*, I, 3. In still later law-books the Purāṇas are not only enumerated generally among the sources of law, but also quoted as such in innumerable instances. *Cf. Jolly*, Recht und Sitte (Grundriss, II, 8) pp. 30 f. The lawyer *Kulluka* (Manu I, 1) quotes "from the Mahābhārata" the verse: "The Purāṇa Manu's law-book, the Veda with the Vedāṅgas and the science of therapeutics are four things that are established by authority, they cannot be refuted with reasons." I have not found the verse in our Mahabhārata editions.

[2]) *Cf.* G. *Bühler*, Ind. Ant., 25, 1896, pp. 323 ff. and SBE., Vol. 2, 2nd ed., 1897, pp. xxix ff., and *Pargiter*, Anc. Ind. Hist. Trad., pp. 43 ff.

[3]) It does not, however, follow from these quotations that the Purāṇas contained separate sections on *dharma* at that time, as is the case with our present Purāṇas; we need only assume that, in connection with the "ancient lore" they also handed down all kinds of ancient legal principles and maxims. *Cf. Pargiter*, Anc. Ind. Hist. Trad., pp. 48 f. The Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra recommends that misguided princes be instructed by means of Purāṇas (V, 6, p. 257), and counts Paurāṇikas, i.e. "Purāṇa specialists," among the court officials (V, 3, p. 247). However, I cannot agree with *Pargiter* (l. c., pp. 54 f.) in regarding this as a proof of the existence of definite Purāṇas in the fourth century B. C., as I consider the Kauṭilīya as a work of the 3rd or 4th century A. D.

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didactic contents, in which were collected ancient traditions of the Creation, the deeds of the gods, heroes, saints and ancient ancestors of the human race, the beginnings of the famous royal families, and so on.

Also the relationship of the *Mahābhārata* to the Purāṇas[1] indicates that the latter reach back to great antiquity, and that Purāṇas certainly existed already long before the final redaction of the Mahābhārata. Our Mahābhārata not only calls itself a Purāṇa, but also begins exactly as the Purāṇa texts usually begin, Ugraśravas, the son of the Sūta Lomaharṣaṇa, appearing as narrator. This Ugraśravas is called "versed in the Purāṇas," and Śaunaka, when inviting him to narrate, says to him: "Thy father once learned the whole Purāṇa;... in the Purāṇa are told the stories of gods and the genealogies of the sages, and we heard them once long ago from thy father." Very frequently legends in the Mahābhārata are introduced with the words "it is heard in the Purāṇa"; gāthās and ślokas, especially genealogical verses, "sung by those versed in the Purāṇas," are quoted; an account of the Creation, composed in prose (Mahābh. XII, 342) is called "a Purāṇa," the snake-sacrifice of Janamejaya is taught "in the Purāṇa," and those versed in the Purāṇas recommend it; "in remembrance of the Purāṇa proclaimed by Vāyu,"[2] the past and future ages of the world are described, and the Harivaṃśa not only quotes a Vāyu-Purāṇa, but in many places agrees literally with the Vāyu-Purāṇa transmitted to us. Numerous myths, legends, and didactic passages are common to the Purāṇas and the epics. Lüders[3] has proved that the Ṛṣyaśṛṅga legend has an older

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[1]) *Cf.* A. *Holtzmann*, Das Mahābhārata, IV, pp. 29 ff. and E. W. *Hopkins*, The Great Epic of India, pp. 47 ff.

[2]) Mahābh. III, 191, 16. As *Hopkins*, l. c., pp. 48 f., has shown, the description in our Vāyu-Purāṇa is more ancient than the one given in the Mahābhārata.

[3]) NGGW., 1897, pI, p. 8 ff.

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form in the Padma-Purāṇa than in our Mahābhārata: In a verse of the Mahābhārata, which, it is true, was added very late,[1] the "eighteen Purāṇas" are already mentioned. From all this it appears that Purāṇas, as a species of literature, existed long before the final redaction of the Mahābhārata, and that even in the Purāṇas which have come down to us there is much that is older than our present Mahābhārata.

It is, however, only an apparent paradox, when we say that the Mahābhārata is older than the Purāṇas, and that the Purāṇas are older than the Mahābhārata. For the Purāṇas are just as little unified works as the epic, and in them too, early and late portions are found side by side. In the numerous cases in which the Purāṇas agree with each other, and with the Mahābhārata, more or less literally, it is more probable that they all are derived from the same old source, than that one work is dependent on the other.[2] This old source was, on the one hand, oral tradition, comprising Brahman traditions reaching back to Vedic times, as well as the bard poetry handed down in the circles of the Kṣatriyas,[3] and on the other hand, it was certain definite texts, probably far less in bulk than our present Purāṇas. The number of these was probably not exactly eighteen from the outset. Perhaps there were only four, as indicated by the legendary report in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa.[4] It is, however, most unlikely indeed that, as is assumed by some scholars,[5]

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[1]) XVIII, 6, 95. Another verse, XVIII, 5, 46, is not to be found in all editions.

[2]) Of course we do not wish to deny that, in isolated cases, one Purāṇa may have copied from another.

[3]) I doubt, however, whether we are justified in drawing the line between the Kṣatriya tradition and the brahmanical tradition as definitely as is assumed by *Pargiter*.

[4]) III, 6. According to this, the Sūta Romaharṣaṇa and three of his pupils wrote the four fundamental Purāṇasaṃhitās (mūlasaṃhitā). Similarly Bhāgavata-Pur. XII, 7. *Cf. Burnouf*, Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, I, Préface, pp. xxxvii ff. However, we should not place much reliance on these legends.

[5]) A. M. T. *Jackson*, JBRAS., 21, 1905, Extra Number, pp. 67 ff.; A. *Blau*, ZDMG., 62, 1908, 337; *Pargiter*, Anc. Ind. Hist. Trad. 35 ff., 49 ff.

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all the Purāṇas originated in a *single* original Purāṇa. There was never *one* original Purāṇa, any more than there was *one* original Brāhmaṇa whence all the Brāhmaṇas sprang, or *one* original Upaniṣad whence all the Upaniṣads sprang. When, as we have seen above, ancient works here and there mention "the Purāṇa," they only mean "the old tradition" or "Purāṇa literature," in the same way as the expressions "Veda" or "Śruti" or "Smṛti" are used in the singular. That our present Purāṇas are not the ancient works themselves which bore this title, can already be deduced from the fact that, in content, none of them agrees with the definition of the term Purāṇa as given in themselves. According to this certainly very old definition,[1] every Purāṇa is to have "five characteristics" (pañcalakṣaṇa) *i. e.* it is to treat five subjects: (1) Sarga, "creation," (2) Pratisarga, "re-creation," *i. e.* the periodical annihilation and renewal of the worlds, (3) Vaṃśa, "genealogy," *i. e.* the genealogy of the gods and Ṛṣis, (4) Manvantarāṇi, "the Manu-periods of time," *i. e.* the great periods, each of which has a Manu or primal ancestor of the human race, and (5) Vaṃsānucarita, "the history of the dynasties, *viz.* "the early and later dynasties whose origin is traced back to the sun (solar dynasty) and the moon (lunar dynasty). These five things only partly form the contents of the Purāṇas handed down to us; some contain much more than what is included in the "five characteristics," while others scarcely touch upon these subjects, but deal with quite different things. What is especially significant of almost all our Purāṇas, their *sectarian* character, *i. e.* their being dedicated to the cult of some god or other, of Viṣṇu or Śiva, is completely ignored by the old definition.[2] In most

[1]) It is found in the more important Purāṇas, also in the ancient Indian lexicon, the Amarakośa, as well as in other lexicons.

[2]) In the Brahmavaivarta-Purāṇa it is certainly said that the "five characteristics" are only for the *upapurāṇas*, while the *mahāpurāṇas* ("the great Purāṇas") have ten

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of these works there are also considerable sections on the rights and duties of the castes and of the Āśramas, on the general brahmanical rites, especially the funeral sacrifices (śrāddhas),[1] as well as on particular ceremonies and feasts (vratas) in honour of Viṣṇu or Śiva, and frequently also sections on Sāṅkhya and Yoga philosophy.

In such Purāṇas as have preserved an old nucleus, we find sections on cosmogony and history of primeval times, corresponding to the "five characteristics." We find, too, genealogical lists of the ancient royal houses, continued from the first kings, whose origin is traced back to the sun and moon, down to the heroes of the great war of the Mahābhārata. As our Purāṇas are ascribed to Vyāsa, who is said to have lived at the beginning of the Kaliyuga contemporaneously with the heroes of the Bhārata battle, the history of "the past" ends with the death of the Pāṇḍavas or shortly afterwards.[2] In several of these Purāṇas,[3] however, the royal dynasties of the "past" are followed by lists of the

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"characteristics," including "praise of Viṣṇu and the gods individually." The Bhāgavata-Purāṇa likewise mentions "ten characteristics" of the "Purāṇa" in two places (II, 10, 1 and XII, 7, 8 ff.). (See E. *Burnouf*, Le Bhâgavata Purâṇa, t. I. Préf., pp. xlvi ff.) But these definitions, too, only partly correspond to the contents of the actually existing Purāṇas.

[1]) Here the Purāṇas often agree literally with later law-books. *Cf.* W. *Caland*, Altindischer Ahnenkult, pp. 68, 79, 112.

[2]) When the Kaliyuga era had become current the Indians felt the need of associating the starting-point of the era with some important "historical" event, and they used the Bhārata battle for this purpose. There was, however, a school of astronomers, thus Varāhamihira (died A. D. 587) with whom the historian Kalhaṇa agrees, which does not date the beginning of the Kaliyuga from the battle of the Mahābhārata, but reckons this battle as having been fought in the 653rd year of the Kaliyuga (2449 B. C.). In the Aihoḷe inscription (634 A. D.) the date "after the Bhārata battle" is already mentioned. *Cf.* J. F. *Fleet*, JRAS., 1911, 675 ff. Indian kings were just as fond of tracing their ancestry back to those who fought in the Bhārata battle as European princes were anxious to prove their descent from the heroes of the Trojan war. *Cf. Rapson*, Cambridge History, I, p. 307. I consider it as entirely contrary to historical criticism to draw chronological conclusions as is done by *Pargiter* (Anc. Ind. Hist. Trad., pp. 175 ff.) from this fiction of the coincidence of the Bhārata battle with the beginning of the Kaliyuga.

[3]) Matsya-, Vāyu-, Brahmāṇḍa-, Bhaviṣya-, Viṣṇu-, Bhāgavata,- and Garuḍa-Purāṇas.

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kings of the "future" in the form of *prophecies*.[1] In these lists of kings of the Kali era, we meet, among others, the dynasties of the Śiśunāgas, Nandas, Mauryas, Śuṅgas, Andhras and Guptas which are well known in history. Among the Śiśunāgas are Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru, who are mentioned in Jain and Buddhist writings as contemporaries of Mahāvīra and Gautama Buddha (6th to 5th century B. C.); and with the Maurya Candragupta, who came to the throne in 322 B. C., we emerge into the clear daylight of history. Though these lists of kings of the Kaliyuga can only be utilised as historical sources, with caution and discrimination,[2] V. A. *Smith*[3] has shown that the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa is very reliable as regards the Maurya dynasty (326-185 B. C.) and that the Matsya-Purāṇa is also very reliable as regards the Andhra dynasty (which came to an end about 225 A. D.) whilst the Vāyu-Purāṇa describes the rule of the Guptas as it was under Candragupta I (about 320-330 A. D.). At the end of the lists of kings, these Purāṇas enumerate a series of dynasties of low and barbarian descent (Śūdras and Mlecchas), such as Abhīras, Gardabhas, Śakas, Yavanas, Tuṣāras, Hūṇas and so on, which were contemporary with the former, and then follows a dreary description of the Kali age. This prophecy reminds us of the account given by the Chinese pilgrim Sung-yun[4] of the barbarian invasions in the northern Punjab in about 465 A. D.

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[1]) In Rāmāyaṇa IV, 62, 3 *purāṇa* means "a prophecy made in olden times."

[2]) F. E. *Pargiter* has rendered valuable services to the criticism of these lists of kings, by his book: The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age, London, 1913. It is probable that the sources of these prophecies are ancient annals and chronicles; for this reason we find occasional expressions such as "abhavat," "smṛta" in our texts, in spite of the prophetical future tense (*cf.* Pargiter, l. c., p. ix). Pargiter gives good reasons for the hypothesis that these sources were written in Prākrit; but we should not therefore jump to the conclusion that the Purāṇas as a whole were translated from the Prākrit. Pargiter's views have been contested by A. B. *Keith*, JRAS., 1914, 1021 ff.; 1915, 328 ff. *Cf.* the discussion *ib.* 141 ff., 516 ff., 799 ff.

[3]) Early History, pp. 11 ff.; ZDMG., 56, 1902, 654, 672 f.; 57, 1903, 607 f. *Cf.* D. R. *Bhandarkar*, JBRAS., 22, 155 f.

[4]) *Cf.* S. *Beal*, Buddhist Records of the Western World, I, p. c; *Smith*, Early History, p. 328.

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and of Kalhaṇa's[1] vivid description of the rule of the Hun chieftains Toramāṇa (about 500 A. D.) and Mihirakula (about 515 A. D.) who ruled "like the god of death in the kingdom swamped by the barbarian hordes," and, surrounded day and night by thousands of murderers, took no pity even on women and children. Moreover, foreign dynasties ruled in India over and over again as early as in the first centuries of the Christian era. It is possible that we may have to interpret the prophecies about the evil Kaliyuga as an echo of these various barbarian invasions and foreign rules. The data are, however, too confused to serve as a basis for safe conclusions as to the date of origin of the Purāṇas. All that we can safely conclude is that the earlier Purāṇas must have come into being *before the 7th century*, for neither later dynasties nor later famous rulers such as for instance Harṣa, occur in the lists of kings.

Another point which would seem to bear out the theory that the *earlier* Purāṇas had come into being, with, to all intents and purposes, their present form, as early as in the first centuries of the Christian era, is the striking resemblance between the Buddhist Mahāyāna texts of the first centuries of the Christian era, and the Purāṇas. The Lalitavistara not only calls itself a "Purāṇa," but really has much in common with the Purāṇas. Texts like Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, Kāraṇḍavyūha and even some passages of the Mahāvastu, remind us of the sectarian Purāṇas not only by reason of the boundless exaggerations but also on account of the extravagance in the praise of *Bhakti*. The Digambara Jains, too, composed Purāṇas from the 7th century onwards.[2]

It used to be the general opinion of Western scholars that our Purāṇas belong to the latest productions of Sanskrit

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[1]) Rājataraṅgiṇī I, 289 ff. *Cf. Smith*, Early History, 328 ff., 333 ff.

[2]) Raviṣeṇa wrote the Padmapurāṇa in 660 A. D. See also *Pargiter*, Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa Transl., p. xiv.

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literature and only originated in the last thousand years.[1] This view is certainly no longer tenable. For the poet *Bāṇa* already (about 625 A.D.) knows the Purāṇas well, and relates in his historical romance Harṣacarita, how he attended a reading of the Vāyu-Purāṇa in his native village. The philosopher *Kumārila* (about 750 A.D.) relies on the Purāṇas as sources of law, while *Śaṅkara* (9th century) and *Rāmānuja* (12th century) refer to them as ancient and sacred texts in support of their philosophical doctrines. It is also important that the Arabian traveller *Albērūnī* (about 1030 A.D.) is very familiar with the Purāṇas, gives a list of the "eighteen Purāṇas," and not only quotes Āditya, Vāyu, Matsya, and Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, but has also studied one of the later Purāṇa texts, the Viṣṇudharmottara, very minutely.[2] The erroneous opinion that the Purāṇas must be "quite modern" is also connected with the formerly prevalent notion that the Purāṇa religion, the Viṣṇu and Śiva worship, was of a late date. More recent investigations have proved, however, that the sects of the Viṣṇu and Śiva worshippers at all events

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[1]) This view was first expressed by H. H. *Wilson* and often repeated after him. He saw references to the Mahomedan conquest in the description of the Kaliyuga. *Vans Kennedy* (see Wilson, Works X, 257 ff.) already advocated emphatically a greater antiquity of the Purāṇas.

[2]) *Cf.* G. *Bühler*, Ind. Ant., 19, 1890, 382 ff.; 25, 1896, 328 ff.; P. *Deussen*, System des Vedānta, Leipzig, 1883, p. 36; *Smith*, Early History, pp. 22 ff. A manuscript of the Skanda-Purāṇa in Gupta script is assigned by *Haraprasād Śāstrī* (JASB., 1893, p. 250) to the middle of the 7th century. In records of land-grants of the 5th century B. C. verses are quoted, which, according to *Pargiter* (JRAS., 1912, 248 ff., Anc. Ind. Hist. Trad., p. 49), occur only in the Padma-, Bhaviṣya-, and Brahma-Purāṇa, and hence he concludes that these particular Purāṇas are earlier. It is more probable, however, that these verses both in the inscriptions and in the Purāṇas were taken from earlier Dharmaśāstras. *Cf. Keith*, JRAS., 1912, 248 ff., 756, and *Fleet*, *ib.*, 1046 ff. *Fleet* himself believes that chronological deductions could be made from the fact that in some of the Purāṇas the planets, beginning with the sun, are enumerated in the same order in which they appear in the days of the week, which points to the period after 600 A. D. However, any arguments of this nature are conclusive merely for isolated chapters, and not for complete Purāṇa texts.

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reach back to pre-Christian and perhaps pre-Buddhist times.[1]

The orthodox Hindus themselves regard the Purāṇas as extremely ancient. They believe that the same Vyāsa who compiled the Vedas and composed the Mahābhārata was also, in the beginning of the Kaliyuga,[2] the present age of the world, the author of the eighteen Purāṇas. But this Vyāsa is a form of the exalted god Viṣṇu himself, "for" (says the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa) "who else could have composed the Mahābhārata?" His pupil was the Sūta Lomaharṣaṇa, and to him he imparted the Purāṇas.[3] Thus the Purāṇas have a divine origin. And the Vedānta philosopher *Śaṅkara*, for a proof of the personal existence of the gods, turns to Itihāsas and Purāṇas, because these, as he says, rest not only upon the Veda, but also upon sense-perception, namely on the perception of people like Vyāsa, who personally spoke with the gods.[4] The authority of the Purāṇas certainly cannot be compared with that of the Vedas. Itihāsa and Purāṇa are, to a certain extent, merely a supplement to the Veda, principally intended for the instruction of women and Śūdras, who are not entitled to the study of the Veda. Thus already an ancient verse says: "By Itihāsas and Purāṇas the Veda is to be strengthened: for the Veda fears an unlearned man, thinking that the latter might injure it."[5] Only the Veda, says

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[1]) *Cf.* G. *Bühler*, Ep. Ind. II, 1894, p. 95. Kadphises II (about 78 A. D.) was so ardent a Śiva-worshipper that he had a picture of Śiva stamped on his coins (V. A. *Smith*, l. c., p. 318).

[2]) Thus according te Mahābh. XII, 349 and Śaṅkara in his commentary on the Vedānta-Sūtras III, 3, 32.

[3]) Viṣṇu-Purāṇa III, 4 and 6. The name Lomaharṣaṇa (or Romaharṣaṇa) is explained etymologically in the Vāyu-Purāṇa I, 16, as "one who, by his beautiful narrations, causes the *hairs* (loman) on the bodies of the hearers to *stand on end* (harṣaṇa) with joy."

[4]) Ved.-Sû. I, 3, 33. SBE., Vol. 34, p. 222. Śaṅkara adds: From the fact that men no longer to-day speak with the gods, it in no wise follows that this was not the case in ancient times.

[5]) The verse is quoted by Rāmānuja (SBE., Vol. 48, p. 91) as a Purāṇa text. It is to be found in Vāyu-Pur. I, 201; Mahābhār. I, 1, 267, and Vāsiṣṭha-Dharmas. 27, 6.

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Rāmānuja,[1] serves for the attainment of the highest knowledge, the knowledge of Brahman, while Itihāsa and Purāṇa lead only to the cleansing from sins. The Purāṇas, then, are sacred books of the second grade.[2] This is easily explained, for originally the Purāṇas were not priestly literature at all. The *Sūtas* or bards were undoubtedly the creators and bearers of the oldest Purāna poetry as well as of the epic.[3] This is also borne out by the circumstance that in almost all the Purāṇas the *Sūta* Lomaharṣaṇa or his son Ugraśravas, "the Sauti," *i.e.* "the son of the Sūta," appears as narrator. This is so much the case that *Sūta* and *Sauti* are used almost as proper names in the Purāṇas. But the Sūta was certainly no Brahman, and he had nothing to do with the Veda.[4] But when this old bard poetry ceased, we do not know when, this literature did not pass into the hands of the *learned* Brahmans, the Veda-knowers, but the lower priesthood, which congregated in temples and places of pilgrimage, took possession of it; and these rather uneducated temple-priests used it for the glorification of the deities whom they served, and in later times more and more for the recommendation of the temples and places of pilgrimage in which

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[1]) SBE., Vol. 48, pp. 338 f.

[2]) This is expressed most clearly by *Rāmānuja* (on Ved.-Sû. II, 1, 3, SBE., Vol. 48, p. 413) when he says that the Purāṇas have indeed been proclaimed by the Creator Hiraṇyagarbha, but that they, just as Hiraṇyagarbha himself, are not free from the qualities of passion (rajas) and of darkness (tamas) and are therefore subject to error.

[3]) According to the Vāyu- and the Padma-Purāṇa, the preservation of the genealogies of the gods Ṛṣis and famous kings, is the duty of the Sūtas. *Cf. Pargiter*, Anc. Ind. Hist. Trad., pp. 15 ff. Thus even at the present day the Bhâtas preserve the genealogies of the Kṣatriyas; see C. V. *Vaidya*, History of Mediaeval Hindu India, II, Poona, 1924, pp. 260 ff.

[4]) "The Sūta has no claim at all to the study of the Vedas," says the Vāyu-Purāṇa, I, 33, and also according to Bhāg. Pur. I, 4, 13, the Sūta is conversant "with the whole realm of literature *with the exception of the Veda.*" *Cf.* E. *Burnouf*, Le Bhâgavata-Purâṇa I, pp. xxix and liii ff.

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they maintained and often enriched themselves.[1] But how very strongly, nevertheless, even to the present day, the Hindus believe in the sanctity of the Purāṇas, is best shown by a lecture delivered by Manilal N. *Dvivedi* at the Congress of Orientalists in Stockholm (1889).[2] As a man of Western education he spoke of anthropology and geology, of Darwin and Haeckel, Spencer and Quatrefages, but only in order to prove that the view of life of the Purāṇas and their teachings upon the Creation are scientific truths, and he finds in them altogether only the highest truth and deepest wisdom—if one only understands it all correctly, *i.e.* symbolically.

The Purāṇas are valuable to the historian and to the antiquarian as sources of political history by reason of their genealogies, even though they can only be used with great caution and careful discrimination.[3] At all events they are of inestimable value from the point of view of the history of religion, and on this head alone deserve far more careful study than has hitherto been devoted to them. They afford us far greater insight into all aspects and phases of Hinduism—its mythology, its idol-worship, its theism and pantheism, its love of God, its philosophy and its superstitions, its festivals and ceremonies and its ethics, than any other works.[4] As literary productions, on the other hand, they are by no means a pleasing phenomenon. They are in every respect regardless

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[1]) According to Manu III, 152, temple-priests (devalaka) cannot be invited to sacrifices any more than physicians and vendors of meat. The historian *Kalhaṇa* speaks of these priests with undisguised contempt. *Cf.* M. A. *Stein*, Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī..... translated...Westminster, 1900), Vol. I, Introduction, p. 19 f. The epics, as well as the Purāṇas, are now-a-days recited by special reciters" (Pāṭhakas) or "narrators" (Kathakas) belonging to the Brahman caste.

[2]) OC, VIII Stockholm, II, pp. 199 ff.

[3]) As historical sources they surely do not deserve such confidence as is placed in them by F. E. *Pargiter* (JRAS 1914, 267 ff., Bhandarkar Com. Vol., p. 107 ff., and Anc. Ind. Hist. Trad., 77 ff., 119 ff. and *passim*).

[4]) *Cf. Pargiter*, ERE X, pp. 451 ff. and J. N. *Farquhar*, Outline of the Religious Literature of India, p. 136 ff. and *passim*.

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of form and proportions. The careless language and poor versification, in which the grammar often suffers for the sake of the metre, are just as characteristic of these works as are the confused medley of contents and the boundless exaggerations. Just a few examples of the latter. While in the Ṛgveda Urvaśī sojourns with Purūravas for *four* years, the two lovers in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa spend 61,000 years in pleasure and delight. While even the older Purāṇas know only *seven* hells, the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa speaks of "hundreds and thousands" of hells, and the Garuḍa-Purāṇa counts no less than 8,400,000.[1] The later the Purāṇa—this may be regarded as a general rule—the more boundless are the exaggerations. This, too, indicates that it was an inferior class of literary men, belonging to the lower, uneducated priesthood, which was engaged in the transmission of the Purāṇas. Yet, many of the old legends of kings and some very old genealogical verses (anuvamśaśloka) and song-verses (gāthās) have been saved from the original *bard poetry* and incorporated into the later texts which have come down to us. Fortunately, too, the compilers of the Purāṇas, who collected their materials from anywhere and everywhere without choice, did not despise the good either, and received into their texts many a dialogue, in form and contents recalling the Upaniṣads, as well as some profound legends, taken from the old ascetic poetry. Thus the following short survey of the most important Purāṇas and their contents will show that even in the desert of Purāṇa literature oases are not wanting.

Survey of the Purāṇa-Literature.

In the Purāṇas themselves which have come down to us, the number of existing Purāṇas "composed by Vyāsa" is

[1]) *Scherman*, Visionslitteratur, p. 32 f.

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unanimously given as *eighteen*; and also with reference to their titles there is almost complete agreement. Most of the Purāṇas also agree in the order in which they enumerate the eighteen Purāṇas, *viz.*:

1. Brāhma	10. Brahmavaivarta
2. Pādma	11. Laiṅga
3. Vaiṣṇava	12. Vārāha
4. Śaiva or Vāyavīya	13. Skānda
5. Bhāgavata	14. Vāmana
6. Nāradīya	15. Kaurma
7. Mārkaṇḍeya	16. Mātsya
8. Āgneya	17. Gāruḍa
9. Bhaviṣya or Bhaviṣyat	18. Brahmāṇḍa[1]

It is peculiar that this list of "eighteen Purāṇas" is given in each one of them, as though none were the first and none the last, but all had already existed when each separate one was composed. All these Purāṇas point out in extravagant terms the advantages to be attained both in this world and in the world beyond, by reading and hearing these

[1]) The list is given thus in Viṣṇu-P. III, 6; Bhāgavata-P. XII, 13 (varying only slightly XII, 7, 23 f.); Padma-P. I, 62; Varāha-P. 112; Matsya-P. 53; Agni-P. 272 and at the end of the Mārkaṇḍeya-P. Padma-P. IV, III; VI, 219; and Kūrma-P. I, 1 only diverge by putting 6 after 9. Padma-P. IV, iii has also the order 16, 13, 12, 15, 14 instead of 12-16, and Padma-P. VI, 263 has the order 17, 13, 14, 15, 16 instead of 13-17. Saura-P. IX, 6 f. has the order 5, 8, 7, 9, 6 instead of 5-9. The Liṅga-P. (see Aufrecht, Bodl. Cat., p. 44) has the order: 1-5, 9, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 14-17, 13, 18. A list in which the order is quite different, is that of the Vāyu-P. 104, 1 ff: Matsya, Bhaviṣya, Mārkaṇḍeya, Brahmavaivarta, Brahmāṇḍa, Bhāgavata, Brahma, Vāmana, Ādika, Anila (*i.e.* Vāyu), Nāradīya, Vainateya (*i.e.* Garuḍa), Pāḍma, Kūrma, Śaukara (Saukara ? Varāha ?), Skānda. (These are only 16, though "18 Purāṇas") are spoken about; a verse has probably been omitted. For a similar list in the Purānasaṃhitāsiddhāntasāra, see F. R. *Gambier-Parry*, Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. purchased for the Max Müller Memorial Fund, Oxford, 1922, p. 43.) The list in the Devībhāgavata-P. (quoted by *Burnouf*, Bhāgavata-Pur., Préface, I, p. lxxxvi) also begins with the Matsya, but otherwise diverges. Albērūnī (Sachau, I, p. 130) gives a list of the 18 Purāṇas, which was read to him from the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, and which agrees with our list, and also a second, widely diverging list, which was dictated to him. A list which is very different from the usual one is given in the Bṛhaddharma-Purāṇa 25, 18 ff.

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works. In some places [1] the length (number of ślokas) of the various Purāṇas is mentioned, but the texts which have come down to us are mostly shorter. In one passage of the Padma-Purāṇa (I, 62) all of the eighteen Purāṇas are enumerated as parts of Viṣṇu's body (the Brahma-Purāṇa is his head, the Padma-Purāṇa is his heart, etc.), and are thus all stamped as sacred books. In another text of the same work,[2] on the other hand, we find the Purāṇas classified according to the three Guṇas [3] from the standpoint of Viṣṇuism. According to this classification, only the Viṣṇuite Purāṇas (Viṣṇu, Nārada, Bhāgavata. Garuḍa, Padma, Varāha) are of the quality of "goodness" (sāttvika) and lead to salvation; the Purāṇas dedicated to Brahman (Brahmāṇḍa, Brahmavaivarta, Mārkaṇḍeya, Bhaviṣya, Vāmana, Brahma) are of the quality of "passion" (rājasa) and only serve to attain heaven; whilst the Purāṇas in praise of Śiva (Matsya, Kūrma, Liṅga, Śiva, Skanda, Agni) are described as charged with "darkness" and as leading to hell. The texts which have come down to us, only partially agree with this artificial classification.[4] All this is additional confirmation of the fact that none of the Purāṇas has come down to us in its original form.

Besides the eighteen Purāṇas, which are often called the "great Purāṇas" (mahāpurāṇa), some of the Purāṇas themselves make mention of so-called Upapurāṇas or "secondary

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[1]) Matsya-P. 53, 13 ff.; Bhāgavata-P. XII, 13; Vāyu-P. 104, 1-10: Agni-P. 272.

[2]) In the Uttarādhyāya of the Padma-P. 263, 81 ff.

[3]) See above, p. 430.

[4]) For instance, the Matsya-P., which is condemned as a tāmasa, has both Viṣṇuite and Śivaite chapters in our text; the Brahmavaivarta-P. is dedicated rather to Kṛṣṇa than to Brahman, the Brahma-P. teaches sun-worship as well as Viṣṇu and Śiva worship, the Mārkaṇḍeya-P. and the Bhaviṣya-P. are not sectarian at all, and so on. The above classification of the Purāṇas also shows that we can hardly talk of a "canon of eighteen Purāṇas" (s. *Farquhar*, Outline, p. 225); for the Purāṇas are not the books of *one* religion, neither do they form a unified whole in any respect. For the religious views of the Purāṇas, *cf. Pargiter*, ERE X, 451 ff.

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Purāṇas," whose number also is occasionally given as eighteen.[1] While, however, in the enumerations of the Purāṇas there is almost complete agreement with regard to the titles, this is by no means the case with the titles of the Upapurāṇas. Obviously there was a definite tradition about the existence of eighteen Purāṇas, while any modern religious text could assume the title of an "Upapurāṇa," if the author did not prefer to declare his work as a part of one of the "eighteen Purāṇas." The latter is the case especially with the exceedingly numerous *Māhātmyas, i.e.* "glorifications" of sacred places (places of pilgrimage, tīrthas).[2] But also many *Stotras, i.e.* "songs of praise" (usually to Viṣṇu or Śiva, but also to other deities), *Kalpas, i.e.* "rituals" and *Ākhyānas* or *Upākhyānas, i.e.* "legends," give themselves out as belonging to one or the other of the ancient Purāṇas.

We now give a short summary of the contents of the eighteen Purāṇas, in which we can only dwell a little longer on the most important ones.

1. The *Brāhma* or *Brahma-Purāṇa*.[3] This is given as the first in all the lists, and hence is sometimes called *Ādi-Purāṇa, i.e.* "the first Purāṇa."[4] In the introduction it is related that the Ṛṣis in the Naimiṣa-forest are visited by Lomaharṣaṇa, the Sūta, and they invite him to tell them of the origin and the end of the world. Thereupon the Sūta declares himself prepared to impart to them the Purāṇa which the creator *Brahman* once revealed to Dakṣa, one of the

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[1]) But the Matsya-Purāṇa mentions only four Upapurāṇas. The Brahmavaivarta-P., without enumerating them, says that eighteen Upap. exist. The Kūrma-P. enumerates them.

[2]) The "Māhātmyas" of sacred texts or of rites and festivals are not so numerous.

[3]) *i.e.* "The Brahmaic Purāṇa" or "The Purāṇa of Brahman"; all the other double titles, *e.g.* Vaiṣṇava-("the Viṣṇuite") or Viṣṇu-Purāṇa ("the Purāṇa of Viṣṇu") are similarly explained. The Brahma-Purāṇa has been published in ĀnSS No. 28.

[4]) But there are other Purāṇas also which occasionally call themselves "Ādi-purāṇa." *Eggeling*, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1184 f., describes, for instance, an Upapurāṇa which calls itself Ādipurāṇa and is devoted to the praise of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā.

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primal ancestors of the human race. Then follow the legends, more or less common to all the Purāṇas, of the creation of the world, the birth of the primal man Manu and his descendants, the origin of the gods, demigods and other beings, about the kings of the solar and lunar dynasties, as well as a description of the earth with its various divisions, of the hells and heavens. By far the major portion of this Purāṇa is devoted to glorifications (māhātmyas) of sacred places (tīrthas). Oṇḍradeśa or Utkala (the present-day Orissa) with its sacred places and temples is described in very great detail. As Utkala owes its sanctity to sun-worship, we find here also myths of the origin of the Ādityas (the gods of light) and of the sun-god Sūrya. The description of a forest sacred to Śiva in Utkala gives rise to stories of the birth of Umā, the daughter of the Himālaya, and her marriage with Śiva, as well as other Śiva myths. A hymn to Śiva (Chapt. 37) is also inserted here. Nevertheless the Purāṇa is by no means Śivaite, for the Mārkaṇḍeyākhyāna (Chapt. 52 ff.) contains numerous Viṣṇu legends, and rituals and stotras of the Viṣṇu cult. Here, too, (Chapt. 178) the charming legend of the ascetic *Kaṇḍu* [1] is related, who spends many hundred years in sweet love dalliance with a beautiful Apsaras, and finally awaking from the intoxication of love, thinks that only a few hours of a single day have passed. A large section (Chapt. 180-212) is devoted to Kṛṣṇa. The well-known legends of Kṛṣṇa's childhood, adventures and heroic deeds are told in exact, often literal agreement with the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa. The introduction to this passage mentions the incarnations of Viṣṇu, which are then described in detail in Chapt. 213. The last chapters contain rules for the

[1]) Printed in Ch. *Lassen's* "Anthologia Sanscritica," translated into German by A. W. v. *Schlegel*, Indische Bibliothek, I, 1822, p. 257 ff., and into French by A. L. *Chézy* in JAI., 1822, p. 1 ff. The legend is also related in the Viṣṇu-P. I, 15.

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Śrāddhas, for a moral life, the duties of the castes and āśramas, the rewards of heaven and the punishments of hell, and the merit of Viṣṇu worship. Then come a few chapters on the periods of the world (yugas) and the periodical destruction of the world, and in conclusion explanations on Sāṃkhya and Yoga and the path leading to salvation.

The Gautamīmāhātmya, the glorification of the sacred places on the Ganges (Chapt. 70-175), frequently appears in manuscripts as an independent text. The Uttara-Khaṇḍa (*i.e.* "last section") of the Brahma-Purāṇa, which occurs in some manuscripts, is nothing but a māhātmya of a sacred river Balajā (Banās in Marwar ?).

Surely only a small portion of what has come down to us as the Brahma-Purāṇa can lay claim to be an ancient and genuine Purāṇa. About the middle of the 7th century A.D. Hsüan-Tsang still found over a hundred Buddhist monasteries with a myriad monks, but he also already found 50 Deva temples in Orissa. Śivaism was introduced in Orissa in the 6th century, and Viṣṇuism still later.[1] As the sun temple of Konārka, which is mentioned in our Purāṇa, was not built until 1241, at least the large section on the sacred places of Orissa cannot be earlier than the 13th century.[2] It is probable, however, that the Māhātmyas do not belong to the original Purāṇa.

The *Saura-Purāṇa*,[3] which claims to be a supplement (khila) of the Brahma-Purāṇa, but which is quoted as an authority by Hemādri as early as in the 13th century, proves

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[1]) See Th. *Watters*, On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India (London, 1905), II, p. 193; W. *Crooke*, ERE, Vol. 9, p. 566.

[2]) See *Wilson*, Works III, p. 18.

[3]) Text published in ĀnSS No. 18, 1889. An analysis with extracts and partial translation of the work has been given by W. *Jahn*, Das Saurapurāṇam, Strassburg, 1908. The Saura-P. is sometimes also called Āditya-P. However, there is another Āditya-Purāṇa, which is different from, though related to the Saura-P. See Jahn, l. c., pp. ix, xiv and Festschrift Kuhn, p. 308. The Brahma-P., too, is sometimes called "Saura-P." *Cf.* *Eggeling*, Ind. Off. Cat. VI, p. 1185 ff.

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that there must have been an earlier Brahma-Purāṇa. The Saura-Purāṇa (the "Purāṇa of the sun-god") which is mentioned in the lists of the Upapurāṇas, is of great value as regards our knowledge of Śivaism, especially of the Liṅga cult. Its main purpose is to glorify god Śiva. In many places, however, Śiva is identified with the sun-god who reveals the Purāṇa, or else the sun-god recommends Śiva worship. The advantages of Śiva worship are praised in the most extravagant terms, instructions are given for the worship of the god and the liṅga, and many Śiva legends are told. A few chapters also deal with the genealogies; in Chapter 31 on the descent of Yadu there is a version of the Urvaśī legend.[1] In the philosophical sections the work takes up an intermediate position between the orthodox systems. On the one hand Śiva is explained as the Ātman, in accordance with the Vedānta, and on the other hand the creation from the primal matter (prakṛti) is explained, as in the Sāṃkhya. Three chapters (38-40) are devoted to polemics against the system of Madhva (1197-1276), which is important from the point of view of chronology.[2]

II. The *Pādma* or *Padma-Purāṇa*. There are two different recensions of this voluminous work.[3] The printed edition,[4] consisting of the six books Ādi, Bhūmi, Brahma,

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[1]) See P. E. *Pavolini*, GSAI 21, 1908, p. 291 ff., and *Jahn*, Das Saurapurāṇam, p. 61.

[2]) See A. *Barth* in Mélanges Charles de Harlez, Leyden, 1896, p. 12 ff. As Madhva lived from 1197-1276 and Hemādri wrote between 1260 and 1309, the Saura-Purāṇa would have been compiled approximately between 1230 and 1250. However, as Chapters 38-40 do not occur in all the MSS. (s. Edition, p. 125 note, and *Eggeling*, Ind. Off. Cat. VI, p. 1188), it is more probable that they have been interpolated, and that the work is earlier. *Cf. Jahn*, l. c., p. xiv.

[3]) In the Purāṇa itself (V, 1, 54; VI, 219, 28) and in the lists, the number of Ślokas is said to be 55,000. However, according to *Wilson*, the Bengali recension only contains nearly 45,000 ślokas, whilst the edition contains 48,452.

[4]) Edited by V.N. *Mandlick* in ĀnSS No. 28, 1894, 4 vols. At the end of the Bhūmi-Khaṇḍa in this edition there is a verse which enumerates the Khaṇḍas with the same titles and in the same order as in the Bengali MSS. The printed recension thus itself proves that the Bengali recension is the earlier one. *Cf. Lüders*, NGGW 1897, 1, p. 8.

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Pātāla, Sṛṣṭi and Uttara-Khaṇḍa, is a later recension. The earlier one, which has come down to us only in Bengali manuscripts, consists of the following five books or Khaṇḍas.[1]

Book I, *Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa, i.e.* "section of the Creation," commences with the usual introduction :[2] Lomaharṣaṇa sends his son, the Sūta Ugraśravas, to the Naimiṣa forest to recite the Purāṇas to the Ṛṣis assembled there. At the request of Śaunaka he tells them the Padma-Purāṇa, so-called after the lotus (padma) in which the god Brahman appears at the creation. The Sūta then reproduces the account of the creation as he has heard it from Brahman's son Pulastya. The cosmological and cosmogonic myths are here too related similarly as in the other Purāṇas. But in this book, it is not Viṣṇu who is assumed as the first cause, but the highest Brahman in the form of the personal god Brahman. Nevertheless, even this book is Viṣṇuite in character, and contains myths and legends for the glorification of the god Viṣṇu. After the account of the Creation come the usual genealogies of the solar dynasty, into which a section about the Pitṛs, the "fathers" of the human race and their cult by means of Śrāddhas has been interwoven,[3] and of the lunar dynasty down to the time of Kṛṣṇa. Myths are then told of the conflicts between gods and demons, followed by a chapter which is

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In the Srṣṭi-Khaṇḍa 1, 53-60, the Padma-Purāṇa is described as consisting of five Parvans : (1) Pauṣkaram, treating of the creation, (2) Tīrthaparvan, about mountains, islands and oceans, (3) a chapter on the kings who offered rich sacrificial gifts, (4) a chapter on the genealogies of the kings, and (5) a chapter on salvation. This, too, corresponds to the arrangement in the Bengali recension in all essentials.

[1]) My account of the Bengali recension is based on the Oxford manuscripts, which I inspected in 1898, and on the descriptions by *Aufrecht*, Bodl. Cat. I, p. 11 ff. and *Wilson*, Works III, p. 21 ff.; VI, p. xxix ff.

[2]) In the ĀnSS edition, too, the Srṣṭi-Khaṇḍa begins as though it were the beginning of the Purāṇa, but it has 82 Adhyāyas here, whilst in the Bengali recension it only consists of 46 (Wilson) or 45 (Aufrecht).

[3]) Chapt. 9-11 in ĀnSS edition.

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of interest from the point of view of the history of religion,[1] and from which we here give a short extract.

At first the gods were defeated by the demons. However, Bṛhaspati, the teacher of the gods, finally caused the gods to triumph in the following manner. In the guise of Śukra, the teacher of the Asuras, he goes to the Asuras, and by means of heretical speeches, lures them from their pious faith in the Vedas. He tells them that the Veda and the tenets of the Vaiṣṇavas and the Śaivas are full of violence (hiṃsā), and that they are preached by married teachers. How then can there be any good in them? How can Śiva, the god in the form of a semi-female (ardhanārīśvaraḥ), surrounded by hosts of evil spirits and even adorned with bones,[2] tread the path of salvation? How can Viṣṇu, who uses violence, attain to salvation? If the path to heaven consists of felling a tree to make a sacrificial stake out of it, of killing a sacrificial animal and causing slaughter, what is the path to hell? How is it possible to attain heaven by sexual intercourse, or purity by earth and ashes? Soma seduced Tārā, the wife of Bṛhaspati; Budha, the son whom she bore, violated her; Indra committed adultery with Ahalyā, the wife of the Ṛṣi Gautama. Then the demons beg him to tell them to which god they can fly for safety. Bṛhaspati considers in what way he can demoralise them. Viṣṇu now comes to his aid, by causing the phantom figures of a nude Jain monk (digambara) and a Buddhist monk (raktāmbara, "red-mantle") to appear, to initiate the demons into Jain and Buddhist doctrines. After thus giving up their old (brahmanical) way of life, they yield dominion to god Indra.

One of the principal parts of the book consists of the description of the lake Puṣkara (Pokher in Ajmir),[3] sacred to Brahman, which is recommended and glorified as a place of pilgrimage. Numerous myths and legends, many of which occur in different connections in other Purāṇas, are told in praise of Puṣkara. Moreover various feasts and vows (vrata) in honour of the goddess Durgā are mentioned here.

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[1]) V, 13, 316 ff. in ĀnSS edition. Cf. Viṣṇu-Purāṇa III, 17, 41-18, 33.

[2]) One of Śiva's forms is that of the half-female. His adornment is a wreath of human skulls, and his retinue is formed by the Bhūtas or ghosts.

[3]) The Sṛṣṭi-Khaṇḍa is therefore also called Pauṣkara-Khaṇḍa.

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Thereupon the theme of the Creation is resumed. The book concludes with myths of Viṣṇu as the destroyer of demons, and the birth and marriage of Skanda.[1]

Book II, *Bhūmikhaṇḍa*,[2] *i.e.* "section of the earth," begins with legends of Somaśarman, who in a later rebirth became the famous Viṣṇu worshipper Prahlāda.[3] The aim of the legends is to explain why on the one hand he was born among the demons, and yet, on the other hand, was able to become so great a devotee of Viṣṇu. Besides a description of the earth, this book contains numerous legends which are intended to prove the sanctity of various tīrthas or holy places. Not only sacred places are regarded as tīrthas, but also persons, such as the teacher, the father, or the wife. As a proof of the fact that a wife can be a "tīrtha" there is told,[4] for instance, the story of Sukalā, whose husband goes on a pilgrimage and leaves her behind in want and misery; the love-god Kāma and the king of gods, Indra, try in vain to seduce her: she remains faithful to her husband, and when he returns from the pilgrimage, *he* (!) receives a divine reward on account of the virtues of his wife. Here, too, in order to prove that a son can be "a tīrtha," the story of Yayāti and his son Pūru, already known to us from the Mahābhārata, is told.

Book III, *Svargakhaṇḍa*,[5] *i.e.* "section of the heavens," gives a description of the various worlds of the gods, of the

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[1]) The contents of the Sṛṣṭi-Khaṇḍa are still more variegated in the ĀnSS edition, where among other things, Chapt. 61-63 are devoted to the cult of Gaṇeśa and the final chapters to the cult of Durgā. The Ādi-Khaṇḍa, with which the edition begins, consists almost entirely of Māhātmyas of various Tīrthas. Only the last chapters (50-60) deal with Viṣṇu-bhakti and the duties of the castes and āśramas.

[2]) On the whole it corresponds to the Bhūmikhaṇḍa in the ĀnSS edition.

[3]) It is here taken for granted that the actual legend of Prahlāda, as told in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa (see below) is known.

[4]) Sukalācarita in ĀnSS edition Adhy. 41-60.

[5]) There is an English translation of the Svargakhaṇḍa by Panchánan Tarkaratna, Calcutta, 1906, which I have not seen.

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highest heaven of Viṣṇu, Vaikuṇṭha, the worlds of the Bhūtas, Piśācas, Gandharvas, Vidyādharas and Apsaras, the worlds of Sūrya, Indra, Agni, Yama, and so on, into which are woven numerous myths and legends. A mention of King Bharata gives rise to the narration of the story of Śakuntalā, which is here not told as in the Mahābhārata, but more in agreement with the drama of Kālidāsa. A comparison of Kālidāsa's drama with the versions of the Mahābhārata and of the Padma-Purāṇa shows that in all probability Kālidāsa used the last-mentioned as a source.[1] A description of the world of the Apsaras is the occasion for narrating the legend of Purūravas and Urvaśī. Also numerous other legends, which are known from the epics, recur in this book. It further contains instructions upon the duties of the castes and of the āśramas, upon the modes of Viṣṇu-worship and much upon ritual and morality.

Book IV, *Pātālakhaṇḍa*, *i.e.* "section of the nether world," first describes the subterranean regions, in particular the dwellings of the Nāgas or snake-deities. A mention of Rāvaṇa is the cause of the narration of the whole Rāma-legend, which is here given partly in conformity with the Rāmāyaṇa, but also often in literal agreement with Kālidāsa's epic Raghuvaṃśa.[2] Here we also find the Ṛṣyaśṛṅga-legend in a version which is older than that in our Mahābhārata.[3] The actual Rāma-legend is preceded by a story of the forefathers of Rāma, beginning with Manu, the

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[1]) This has been shown by *Śarmā*, Padmapurāṇa and Kālidāsa, Calcutta, 1925 (Calcutta Oriental Series, No. 17 E. 10). Professor Śarmā here also gives the text of the Śakuntalā episode according to the Bengali MSS. *Wilson* (Works III, p. 40) had maintained that the Purāṇa utilised Kālidāsa's drama.

[2]) H. *Śarmā*, l. c., has made it appear probable that, in this case also, the Padma-Purāṇa was Kālidāsa's source, and not, as *Wilson* (Works III, p. 47) assumed, that the compiler of the Purāṇa drew from the Raghuvaṃśa. H. *Śarmā*, l. c., has published a critical edition of the text of this chapter (which is missing in the ĀnSS edition).

[3]) This has been proved by *Lüders*, NGGW 1897, 1, p. 8 ff. This circumstance is further proof of the greater antiquity of the Bengali recension of the Padma-P.

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son of the sun-god, and his rescue from the flood. The slaying of Rāvaṇa, who was a Brahman, has laid the guilt of the murder of a Brahman on Rāma. By way of expiation he arranges a horse-sacrifice. In accordance with the prescribed rules, the horse destined for the sacrifice is let loose to roam at will for the space of one year, accompanied by a host of warriors with Śatrughna at their head. The adventures of the steed and his followers on their wanderings over the whole of India take up a considerable portion of the book; many sacred places are described, and legends attached to them are told. At length the horse reaches Vālmīki's hermitage, which is an occasion for narrating that part of the Rāma-legend which concerns Sītā.[1] Detailed instruction on the eighteen Purāṇas then follows. Here it is said that Vyāsa first proclaimed the Padma-Purāṇa, then sixteen others, and finally the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, which is glorified as the most sacred book of the Viṣṇu-worshippers. The book ends with a few chapters, probably added at a very late date, on Kṛṣṇa and the cowherdesses, with mention of Rādhā, on the duties of Viṣṇu-worshippers, the sanctity of the Śālagrāma stone and other details of the Viṣṇu cult.[2]

Book V, *Uttarakhaṇḍa, i.e.* "last section," is a very long book expounding the Viṣṇu cult and the feasts and ceremonies connected with it, in the most impressive manner. A large portion is devoted to the glorification of the month Māgha, which is especially sacred to Viṣṇu. The silliest of legends are related as evidence of the great merit of bathing during this

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[1]) *Wilson* (Works, III, p. 51) says: "This part of the work agrees in some respects with the Uttara-Rāma Charitra, but has several gossiping and legendary additions."

[2]) The Pātālakhaṇḍa in the ĀnSS edition only partly agrees with that of the Bengali recension. The sequence of the chapters is different, and it also contains a few chapters devoted to the Śiva cult (105-111). In the edition the Pātālakhaṇḍa is preceded by the short Brahmakhaṇḍa, which consists mainly of descriptions of Viṣṇuite feast days. Chapt. 7, treating of the birthday feast of Rādhā (rādhājanmāṣṭamī), indicates late origin. The cult of Rādhā is mentioned neither in the Mahābhārata and the Harivaṃśa, nor in the Rāmāyaṇa or the earlier Purāṇas. See below (Brahmavaivarta-Purāṇa)

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month. Another section glorifies the month Kārttikeya, in which the giving away of lamps is especially meritorious. In order to give especial prominence to the Viṣṇuite standpoint, the author causes Śiva himself, in a conversation with his wife Pārvatī, to declare the glory of Viṣṇu and to recite a long account of Viṣṇu's avatāras, which involves a repetition of the entire Rāma-legend in summary and the Kṛṣṇa-legend with a fair amount of detail. In answer to Pārvatī's question who the heretics are, it is Śiva himself who declares that the Śivaite teachers and the adherents of the Śivaite Pāśupata sect are among the heretics. In another passage we find, curiously enough, the cruel goddess Durgā holding forth upon Ahiṃsā. Śiva also explains what Viṣṇu-Bhakti is, and the various forms of the Viṣṇu cult. This book also contains a glorification of the Bhagavadgītā,[1] in fact there are legends to illustrate the merit of reading each single canto. One chapter contains the enumeration of the thousand names of Viṣṇu, in another Rādhā is identified with the great goddess Lakṣmī, and the celebration of her birthday is described The sectarian bias of this book cannot be better illustrated, however, than by the following legend:

A quarrel once arose among the Ṛṣis as to which of the three great gods, Brahman, Viṣṇu or Śiva, was deserving of greatest worship. In order to dissolve their doubts, they request the great ascetic Bhṛgu to go to the gods and convince himself personally which of them is the best. Accordingly Bhṛgu at first repairs to the mountain Kailāsa to visit Śiva, and is announced by Śiva's janitor Nandin. But Śiva is just enjoying the love of his wife, and does not admit the Ṛṣi at all. Thus insulted, the Ṛṣi pronounces a curse on Śiva, condemning him to take on the shape of the generative organs,[2] and to be worshipped not by Brahmans, but

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[1]) Gītāmāhātmya, Adhy. 171-188 in ĀnSS edition, where a glorification of the Bhāgavatapurāṇa (Adhy. 189-194) follows after it. This Bhāgavatamāhātmya also appears as an independent work in MSS. as well as in printed editions. The Māghamāhātmya and other parts of the Uttara-khaṇḍa also occur as independent works.

[2]) This refers to the worship of the Yoni and the Liṅga as symbols of the god Śiva.

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only by heretics. Thereupon Bhṛgu goes to the world of Brahman. The god is seated upon his lotus-throne, surrounded by the gods. The Ṛṣi bows before him in reverential silence, but filled with pride, Brahman does not even rise to greet him and to honour him as a guest. Spurred to anger, Bhṛgu pronounces a curse whereby Brahman is to enjoy no worship at all from the human race.[1] The saint now goes to the mountain Mandara in Viṣṇu's world. There he sees the god reposing upon the world-snake, while Lakṣmī caresses his feet. He awakens the god roughly by a kick on his chest. Viṣṇu awakens, gently strokes the sage's foot, and declares that he feels highly gratified and honoured by the touch of his foot. He and his wife hasten to rise, and do honour to the Ṛṣi with divine garlands, sandalwood oil, etc. Then the great ascetic bursts into tears of joy, bows before the "treasury of mercy," and praises Viṣṇu as the highest god, when he exclaims: "Thou alone shalt be worshipped by the Brahmans, none other of the gods is worthy of worship. They shall not be worshipped, Brahman, Śiva and the other gods, for they are charged with passion (rajas) and darkness (tamas): thou alone, endowed with the quality of goodness (sattva), shalt be worshipped by the first-born (*i.e.* the Brahmans). Let him who honours other gods, be counted among the heretics." Then Bhṛgu returns to the assembly of the Ṛṣis and tells them the result of his visit to the gods.[2]

A kind of appendix to the Uttarakhaṇḍa is formed by the *Kriyāyogasāra*,[3] *i.e.* "the essence of Yoga by works," which teaches that Viṣṇu should be worshipped not by meditation (dhyānayoga), but by pious acts, above all by pilgrimages to the Ganges and the celebration of the festivals dedicated to Viṣṇu. In evidence of the fact that the fulfilment of all possible desires can be attained by worshipping

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[1]) This is an allusion to the fact that there is scarcely any cult of Brahman in India.

[2]) In the Bengali recension this legend is found in the middle, in the ĀnSS edition at the end of the Uttara-khaṇḍa, which contains only 174 Adhyāyas in the Bengali recension, but 282 in the edition.

[3]) Many extracts from this book which is mentioned in the list of Upapurāṇas, Bṛhaddharma-P. 25, 24, have been translated into German by A. E. *Wollheim da Fonseca*, Mythologie des alten Indien, Berlin, s. a. The same scholar has given an analysis of the book in the "Jahresbericht der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft," 1846, p. 153 ff.

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Viṣṇu on the bank of the Ganges, many silly legends are told, but also the beautiful love story of Mādhava and Sulocanā.[1]

It is quite impossible to say anything definite as to the date of the Padma-Purāṇa. It is obviously a rather loose compilation, the parts of which belong to totally different periods, and are probably many centuries apart. The common characteristic of the five or six books is merely their rigidly sectarian character, for all of them inculcate the cult of Viṣṇu.[2] Moreover, all these books contain references to fairly modern aspects of the Viṣṇu cult, such as the adoration of Rādhā as a goddess, the sanctity of the Śālagrāma stone, of the Tulsī plant, and the like. The latest portions are certainly later than the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, which belongs to the latest works of Purāṇa literature. Nevertheless there is sure to be an ancient nucleus at least in the Sṛṣṭi, Bhūmi, Svarga and Pātāla Khaṇḍas. It remains the task of future research to extract this ancient nucleus.[3]

III. The *Vaiṣṇava* or *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*.[4] This is the main work of the Vaiṣṇavas or Viṣṇu-worshippers, and is frequently quoted as an authority by the philosopher Rāmānuja, the founder of the Viṣṇuite sect of the Rāmānujas, in his commentary on the Vedānta-sūtras. In this work Viṣṇu is praised and glorified as the highest being, as the one and only god, with whom Brahman and Śiva are one, and as the creator and preserver of the world. Yet it is precisely this Purāṇa which lacks all references to special feasts,

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[1]) Freely rendered into German verse by A. F. Graf von *Schack*, Stimmen vom Ganges, p. 156 ff.

[2]) The Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa, where Brahman is in the foreground, is an exception.

[3]) An essential preliminary for this would be a critical edition of the Padma-Purāṇa on the basis of the Bengali manuscripts.

[4]) Edited, with Ratnagarbha's commentary, Bombay śake 1824. An older commentary is that of Śrīdhara, from which Ratnagarbha has copied, s. *Eggeling*, Ind. Off. Cat. VI, p. 1310. Translated by H. H. *Wilson*, London 1840 (and Works, Vols. VI-X) and by Manmatha Nath *Dutt*, Calcutta, 1894.

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sacrifices and ceremonies dedicated to Viṣṇu; not even Viṣṇu-temples are mentioned, nor places sacred to Viṣṇu. This already leads to an assumption of the great antiquity of the work. The Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, too, approaches the most closely to the old definition of Purāṇa (see above p. 522), containing but little that is not included in those "five characteristics." Its character is more that of a unified composition than of a mere compilation, which is the case with most of the other Purāṇas. The fact that the title "Viṣṇu-Purāṇa" was hardly adopted at all for later works, Māhātmyas and such like,[1] likewise indicates that we are here dealing with a work of the earlier Purāṇa literature, which, on the whole, at least, has been preserved in its original form.[2]

A more detailed summary of the contents of this Purāṇa will best serve to give the reader an idea of the contents and significance of the Purāṇas altogether.

The work, which consists of six sections, begins with a dialogue between Parāśara, the grandson of Vasiṣṭha, and his pupil Maitreya. The latter asks his teacher about the origin and nature of the universe. To this Parāśara replies that this question reminds him of that which he had once heard from his grandfather Vasiṣṭha; and he prepares to

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[1]) *Aufrecht* CC. I, 591; II, 140; III, 124, mentions only a few stotras and minor texts which claim to be parts of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa. Nevertheless it is noteworthy that Matsya- and Bhāgavata-Purāṇa give the number of ślokas of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa as 23,000, while in reality it has not quite 7,000 verses, and that also a "Great Viṣṇu-Purāṇa" (Bṛhadviṣṇu-purāṇa, *Aufrecht*, CC. I, 591) is quoted.

[2]) It is no more possible to assign any definite date to the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa than it is for anylother Purāṇa. *Pargiter* (Anc. Ind. Hist. Trad., p 80) may be right in thinki g that it cannot be earlier than the 5th century. A. D. However, I do not think that it is much later. Cf. *Farquhar*, Outline, p. 143. C. V. *Vaidya* (History of Mediaeval Hindu India, I, Poona 1921, p. 350 ff.; JBRAS 1925, 1, p. 155 f.) endeavours to prove that the Viṣṇu-P. is not earlier than the 9th century, for he assumes that the Kailakila or Kaiñkila Yavanas mentioned in IV, 24 reigned in Andhra between 575 and 900 A.D., and were at the height of their power about 782 A.D. This assumption is, however, purely hypothetical and not proven.

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repeat that which he had heard. Contrary to the tradition (occurring, moreover, in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa itself), which ascribes all the Purāṇas to Vyāsa, Parāśara is here directly called the *author* of the work. After he has first glorified Viṣṇu in a hymn, he gives an account of the *creation of the world*, as it recurs, fairly uniformly, in most of the Purāṇas.[1] Philosophical views, essentially belonging to the Sāṅkhya-philosophy, are here in a remarkable manner mingled with popular mythical ideas, for which we can find many parallels among primitive peoples.

Attached to the account of the creation of the gods and demons, of the heroes and the primal ancestors of the human race, are numerous mythological narratives, allegories and legends of ancient kings and sages of primeval times. We have already become acquainted with many of these narratives in the Mahābhārata; thus that of the *twirling of the ocean*.[2] There is here a particularly poetical description of the goddess of Fortune and Beauty, *Śrī*, arising in radiant beauty out of the twirled milk-ocean, and throwing herself on Viṣṇu's breast. In a splendid hymn she is glorified and invoked by Indra as the mother of all beings, as the source of all that is good and beautiful, and as the giver of all happiness. Just as this piece serves, above all, for the glorification of *Viṣṇu*, whose wife *Śrī* is, so it is in all the other narratives always Viṣṇu, whose praise is sung in an extravagant manner. In the description of the power which can be gained by the worship of Viṣṇu, Indian fancy knows no bounds. One example is the myth of the prince *Dhruva*, who, vexed by the preference shown to his brother, entirely gives himself up, still as a boy, to austerities and Viṣṇu-worship,

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[1]) A summary of the accounts of the creation in the Purāṇas is given by Wilhelm *Jahn*, Über die kosmogonischen Grundanschauungen im Mānava-Dharma-Śāstram. Diss., Leipzig, 1904.

[2]) See above, p. 389. A collection of all the passages that are common to the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa and the Mahābhārata is given by A. *Holtzmann*, Mahābhārata, IV, 36 ff.

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so that Viṣṇu finds himself compelled to grant him his wish of becoming something higher than his brother, and even than his father; he makes him the Pole-star, which is higher and of greater constancy than all the other stars of the heavens.[1] The power of faith in Viṣṇu, however, finds its most magnificent expression in the legend of the boy *Prahlāda* (I, 17-20), whom his father, the proud demon-king Hiraṇyakaśipu, in vain tries to dissuade from his Viṣṇu-worship. No weapon can kill him, neither snakes nor wild elephants, neither fire nor poison nor magic spells can harm him. Hurled down from the balcony of the palace, he falls gently on the bosom of the earth. He is thrown fettered into the ocean, and mountains are piled upon him—but on the floor of the ocean he sings a hymn to Viṣṇu, his fetters drop off, and he hurls the mighty hills from him. Questioned by his father whence his marvellous powers are derived, Prahlāda replies:

"Whatever power I possess, father, is neither the result of magic rites, nor is it inseparable from my nature; it is no more than that which is possessed by all in whose hearts Acyuta [2] abides. He who meditates not of wrong to others, but considers them as himself, is free from the effects of sin, inasmuch as the cause does not exist; but he who inflicts pain upon others, in act, thought, or speech, sows the seed of future birth, and the fruit that awaits him after birth is pain. I wish no evil to any, and do and speak no offence; for I behold Keśava [2] in all beings, as in my own soul. Whence should corporeal or mental suffering or pain, inflicted by elements or the gods, affect me, whose heart is thoroughly purified by him? Love, then, for all creatures will be assiduously cherished by all those who are wise in the knowledge that Hari [3] is in all things." [4]

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[1] I, 11 f. A more detailed version of the myth is to be found in the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa (IV. 8 f.); on this is based the poem by *Schack*, Stimmen vom Ganges, p. 189 ff.

[2] Names of Viṣṇu.

[3] Also a name of Viṣṇu.

[4] I, 19, 1—9. Translated by H. H. *Wilson*. A version of the same legend is found in the Bhāgavata-P. VII, 4-6, on which the poetical rendering by *Schack*, Stimmen vom Ganges, p. 1 ff. is based.

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Book II of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa first gives (Chapt. 1-12) a fantastic description of the world. The seven continents and the seven oceans are described, in the midst of which is situated Jambudvīpa with the golden mountain Meru, the dwelling of the gods. In Jambudvīpa is Bharatavarṣa, *i.e.* "India," whose lands, mountains and rivers are enumerated. After this description of the earth follows a description of Pātāla, the nether world, in which the snake-gods dwell; next follow an enumeration and description of the still deeper-situated Narakas or hells. As a contrast there now follows a description of the heavenly spheres, the sun, the chariot of the sun and the sun-horses, with astronomical expositions on the sun's course, the planetary system, and the sun as giver of rain and preserver of beings. Next follows a description of the moon, of its car, its horses, its course, and its relation to the sun and planets. The section concludes with the statement that the whole world is but Viṣṇu, and that he alone is the only reality.

In connection with the name Bharatavarṣa there is then related (Chapt. 13-16) a legend of king *Bharata* of old,[1] which, however, only serves as an introduction to a philosophical dialogue in which the ancient *doctrine of the Unity of All*, familiar from the Upaniṣads, is presented from the Viṣṇuite standpoint. The style of the whole section recalls that of the Upaniṣads in many respects. The substance of the legend is as follows:

King Bharata was a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu. One day he went to bathe in the river. While he was bathing, a pregnant antelope came out of the forest to drink. At the same moment there was heard in close proximity, the loud roar of a lion. The antelope is startled, and, with a mighty leap, darts away. In consequence of her leap, her young

[1]) Cf. E. *Leumann*, Die Bharata-Sage, ZDMG, 48, 1894, p. 65 ff., and August *Blau*, Das Bharatopākhyāna des Viṣṇu-Purāṇa (Beiträge zur Bücherkunde und Philologie August Wilmanns zum 25 März 1903 gewidmet, Leipzig, 1903, p. 205 ff.)

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one is born and she herself dies. Bharata took the young one with him and reared it in his hermitage. From that time onwards nothing but the antelope concerned him. She was his one thought, his one care. And when at last, still thinking only of the antelope, he died, he was soon afterwards born again as an antelope, but with the remembrance of his former existence. In this antelope-existence also, he worshipped Viṣṇu and practised austerities, so that, in his next birth, he came into the world as the son of a pious Brahman. Although, as such, he had acquired the highest knowledge, the doctrine of the unity of all, yet he troubled about no Veda-study, performed no brahmanical rites, spoke disconnectedly and ungrammatically, went about dirty and in torn garments—in short he behaved absolutely like an idiot.[1] He was universally despised, and employed in the low work of a slave. Thus it happened that he was once employed by a servant of king Sauvīra as the king's palanquin-bearer. On this occasion a conversation takes place between the apparent idiot and the king, in which Bharata soon reveals himself as a great sage, and to the great joy of the king, reveals to him the doctrine of the unity of all. In elucidation of this he tells him the story of *Ṛbhu and Nidāgha*:

The wise and holy Ṛbhu, son of the creator Brahman, had been the teacher of Nidāgha. After a thousand years he once visited his pupil, was hospitably entertained by him, and was asked where he dwelt, whence he came, and where he was going. Ṛbhu answered him that these were quite unreasonable questions, for man (namely, the ātman) is everywhere, for him there is no going and no coming, and he makes the doctrine of the unity so clear to him that Nidāgha, enraptured, falls at his feet and asks who he is. Only now does he learn that it is his old teacher Ṛbhu who had come in order to teach him the true wisdom once again. After another thousand years Ṛbhu again comes to the town where Nidāgha lives. There he observes a crowd of people and a king, who is

[1]) The corresponding story in the Bhāgavata-P. V, 9; 10 has the title Jaḍabharata-carita, "Life of Bharata the Idiot," in the colophons. Jaḍabharata is mentioned, along with Durvāsas, Ṛbhu Nidāgha and other Paramahaṃsa ascetics, who "though not mad, behave like madmen," in the Jābāla-Upaniṣad 6. In Viṣṇu-P. I, 9 a legend is related of the ascetic Durvāsas (*i.e.* "Badly Clad") "who observed the vow of a madman." Cf. also A. *Barth*, Religions of India, p. 83. Similarly there were in the Middle Ages certain Christian saints, like St. Symeon Salos and St. Andreas, who wandered about like fools or idiots, exposing themselves to mockery and insults as a kind of asceticism. Cf. H. *Reich*, Der Mimus, Berlin, 1903, I, 2, p. 822 f., and J. *Horovitz*, Spuren griechischer Mimen im Orient, Berlin, 1905, p. 34 ff.

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entering the city with a great retinue. Far away from the crowd stands his former pupil Nidāgha. Ṛbhu approaches him and asks him why he thus stands apart. Thereupon Nidāgha replies: "A king is entering this city, there is a great crush, therefore I stand aside." Ṛbhu asks: "Which, then, is the king?" Nidāgha: "The king is he who sits on the great stately elephant." "It is well," says Ṛbhu, "but who is the elephant and who is the king?" Nidāgha: "The elephant is below and the king is above." Ṛbhu: "Now, what is the meaning of below, and what is the meaning of above?" Then Nidāgha jumps on the back of Ṛbhu and says, "I am above like the king, thou art below like the elephant." "Very well," says Ṛbhu, "but now tell me, my dear one, *which of us two art thou and which am I?*" Only now does Nidāgha recognise his old teacher Ṛbhu, for nobody is so filled with the doctrine of unity as *he*. Then the doctrine of the unity of the universe was so deeply impressed on Nidāgha that from now on he looked on all beings as one with himself, and attained complete liberation.

Book III of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa begins with an account of the Manus (primal ancestors of the human race) and the ages (manvantaras)[1] over which they ruled. Then follows a discussion on the four Vedas, on their division by Vyāsa and his pupils, and on the origin of the various Vedic schools. Then comes an enumeration of the eighteen Purāṇas and a list of all sciences.

Then the question is raised and discussed, how one may attain to liberation as a devout Viṣṇu-worshipper. In a beautiful dialogue (Chapt. 7) between Yama, the god of death, and one of his servants, it is explained that he who is pure in heart and leads a virtuous life and has directed his mind to Viṣṇu, is a true Viṣṇu-worshipper and therefore is free from the bonds of the god of death. This is followed by an exposition on the duties of the castes and āśramas, on birth and marriage ceremonies, ritual ablutions, the daily sacrifices, the duties of hospitality, conduct at meals, and so on. A long treatise (Chapt. 13-17) on the funeral oblations and ceremonies

[1]) On the Ages of the World according to the Purāṇas s. *Jacobi*, ERE I, 200 ff.

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for the worshipping of spirits of ancestors (śrāddhas) concludes this section, in which the Vedic-brahmanical religious customs are represented as the right kind of Viṣṇu-worship. The last two chapters of the book describe the origin of the heretical sects hostile to the Veda, whose adherents, especially the Jains, called Digambara, and the Buddhists known as "Red-mantles" (raktāmbaras),[1] are represented as the worst evil-doers. In order to show how sinful it is to have any sort of intercourse with such heretics, the story of the ancient king *Śatadhanu* (Chapt. 18) is told, who otherwise was a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu, but once, out of mere politeness, exchanged a few words with a heretic, and in consequence was re-born consecutively as a dog, jackal, wolf, vulture, crow and peacock, till at last—thanks to the constant faithfulness and piety of his wife *Śaibyā*—he again came into the world as a king.

Book IV of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa contains chiefly genealogical lists of the ancient royal races, of the solar dynasty, which traces its origin back to the sun-god, and the lunar dynasty, which traces its origin to the moon-god. Long lists of ancient kings—many of them purely mythical, some probably historical—are only occasionally interrupted in order to relate some legend about one or other of them. The marvellous plays a great part in all these legends. There is Dakṣa, who is born out of Brahman's right thumb; Manu's daughter Ilā, who becomes transformed into a man; Ikṣvāku, who owes his existence to the sneezing of Manu; King Raivata, who, with his daughter Revatī, goes to heaven, in order to have a husband for his daughter recommended to him by god Brahman;[2] or indeed King Yuvanaśva, who

[1] The rise of the heretical sects is here (III, 17 f.) explained by the legend according to which Viṣṇu sent a phantom figure to the demons in order to alienate them from the Veda religion, whereupon they can be defeated by the gods. Cf. Padma-Purāṇa, above p. 536 ff.

[2] IV, 1. A poetical rendering by *Schack*, Stimmen vom Ganges, pp. 120 ff.

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becomes pregnant and brings a son into the world, whom Indra suckles with the drink of immortality, the child putting his finger into the mouth of the god and then sucking it. Because Indra said: "He will be suckled by me" (mān dhāsyati), the child received the name *Māndhātṛ*. The latter became a powerful king and the father of three sons and fifty daughters. How he acquires a son-in-law, is related, with that peculiar humour which occasionally makes a pleasant break in the deep earnestness which usually prevails in the Indian legends of saints, in the legend of the pious ascetic *Saubhari*, who practises asceticism in the water for twelve years, until the sight of a fish-king enjoying himself with his young ones, awakens in him the desire for paternal joys.[1]

In this book we meet with many legends already familiar from the epics, for example, those of Purūravas and Urvaśī,[2] of Yayāti, and others. There is also here a short summary of the Rāma-legend. There is an account of the birth of the Pāṇḍavas, and of Kṛṣṇa, and the story of the Mahābhārata is briefly touched upon. The conclusion of this extensive genealogical book is formed by prophecies concerning the "future" kings of Magadha, the Śaiśunāgas, Nandas, Mauryas, Śuṅgas, Kāṇvāyanas and Andhrabhṛtyas (see above, p. 523 f.), concerning the foreign barbarian rulers who will succeed them, and the terrible age brought about by them, an age without religion and without morality, which will only be ended by Viṣṇu in his incarnation as Kalki.

Book V is a complete whole in itself. It contains a detailed biography of the divine cowherd Kṛṣṇa, in which practically the same adventures are told in the same order as in the Harivaṃśa.[3]

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[1]) IV, 2. A poetical rendering by *Schack*, l. c., p. 87 ff.

[2]) Translated by *Geldner*, Vedische Studien, I, p. 253 ff.

[3]) See above p. 446 ff. This chapter has been translated into German by *A. Paul*, Krischnas Weltengang, Munich, 1905.

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Book VI is quite short. Once again the four consecutive ages of the world (yugas)—Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali—are recalled, and the evil Kaliyuga is described in the form of a prophecy, to which is attached a presentation of the various kinds of dissolution (pralaya) of the universe. Next are described in a pessimistic manner (Chapt. 5) the evils of existence, the pain of being born, of childhood, of manhood, old age and death, the torments of hell and the imperfection of the bliss of heaven, and from this the conclusion is drawn that only liberation from existence, freedom from re-birth, is the highest happiness. But for this it is necessary to know the nature of God; for only *that* wisdom is perfect by which God is seen, all else is ignorance. The medium for obtaining this wisdom is *Yoga*, meditation upon Viṣṇu. The two penultimate chapters of the work give information on this medium. The last chapter recapitulates briefly the contents of the whole Purāṇa and ends with a praise of Viṣṇu and a final prayer.

IV. The *Vāyava* or *Vāyu-Purāṇa*.[1] This appears in some lists under the name of *Śaiva* or *Śiva-Purāṇa*,[2] a title which is given to the work because it is dedicated to the worship of the god Śiva. A "Purāṇa proclaimed by the Wind-god," *i.e.* a Vāyu-Purāṇa, is quoted in the Mahābhārata as well as in the Harivaṃśa, and the Harivaṃśa in many cases agrees literally with our Vāyu-Purāṇa.[3] It has already been mentioned (see above p. 526) that the poet Bāṇa (about 625 A.D.) had a Vāyu-Purāṇa read to him, and that in this Purāṇa the rule of the Guptas is described as

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[1]) Editions in Bibl. Ind. 1880-1889 and in ĀṇSS No. 49. 1905.

[2]) Thus in the Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata-P. But there is also a *Śiva-Purāṇa*, which is quite a different work and belongs to the Upapurāṇas. It consists of 12 Saṃhitās, including a Vāyavīya and a Dharma-Saṃhitā. Cf. *Eggeling*, Ind. Off. Cat. VI, p. 1311 ff. The Brahmāṇḍa-P. also is called Vaiyavīya, "proclaimed by Vāyu," and *Pargiter* (ERE X, 448) believes that Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa were originally *one* Purāṇa and only differentiated later.

[3]) Cf. *Hopkins*, Great Epic, p. 49. *Holtzmann*, Das Mahābhārata IV, p. 40 f. and above, p. 520 f.

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it was in the 4th century A.D. There certainly existed an ancient Purāṇa under this name, and undoubtedly there is still preserved in our texts much of the ancient work, which is probably not later than the 5th century A.D.[1] This work also deals with the same subjects, characteristic of the ancient Purāṇas—creation of the world, genealogies, etc., as the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa. Only here the legends which are related serve for the glorification of Śiva, not of Viṣṇu. Like the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, so also the Vāyu-Purāṇa in its last part gives a description of the end of the world, and deals with the efficacy of Yoga, but ends with a description of the splendour of Śivapura, "the city of Śiva," where the Yogin arrives who has entirely lost himself in meditation upon Śiva. Even in this Śivaite work two chapters are devoted to Viṣṇu.[2] The Purāṇa deals in detail with the fathers (pitṛs) and their cult by means of Śrāddhas.[3] One chapter is devoted to the art of song.[4] The Gayāmāhātmya printed at the end of the editions is certainly a later addition.[5] There are also other Māhātmyas, Stotras and ritual-texts, which claim to belong to the Vāyu-Purāṇa.

V. The *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*. This is indisputably that work of Purāṇa literature which is most famous in India. Still to-day it exerts a powerful influence on the life and thought of the innumerable adherents of the sect of the Bhāgavatas (worshippers of Viṣṇu under the name of "Bhagavat"). The extremely numerous manuscripts and prints of the text itself, as well as of many commentaries on the whole work

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[1]) Cf. *Bhandarkar*, Vaiṣṇavism etc., p. 47; *Farquhar*, Outline, p. 145. C. V. *Vaidya's* argument (JBRAS 1925, 1, p. 155 f.) for ascribing the Vāyu-P. to the 8th century is not convincing.

[2]) Adhyāyas 96, 97.

[3]) Śrāddhaprakriyārambha and Śrāddhakalpa, Adhy. 71-86.

[4]) Adhy. 87: gītālaṃkāranirdeśaḥ.

[5]) Adhy. 104-112. It is missing in some MSS. and appears as an independent text in MSS. as well as in Indian prints.

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and of separate explanatory writings on parts of it,[1] in addition to the many translations into Indian vernaculars,[2] bear witness to the enormous popularity and the extraordinary reputation of the work in India. It is in accordance with this its significance, that it is the first Purāṇa that has been edited and translated in Europe.[3] Nevertheless it belongs to the later productions of Purāṇa literature. In contents it is closely connected with the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, with which it often agrees literally, and it is undoubtedly dependent upon the latter. Even in India doubts as to the "genuineness" of the Bhāgavata as one of the ancient eighteen Purāṇas "composed by Vyāsa" have already been expressed, and there are polemic treatises[4] discussing the question whether the Bhāgavata—or the *Devībhāgavata-Purāṇa*,[5] a Śivaite work, belong to the "eighteen Purāṇas." In this connection the question is raised and discussed whether the grammarian *Vopadeva* is the author of the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa.[6] Rather

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[1]) See *Eggeling*, Ind. Off. Cat. VI, p. 1259 ff., and *Aufrecht*. CC. I, p. 401 ff.

[2]) In Bengali alone there are 40 translations, especially of the Kṛṣṇa-book. See. D. Ch. *Sen*, History of Bengali Language and Literature, Calcutta, 1911, p. 220 ff.

[3]) Le Bhâgavata Purâna ou histoire poétique de Krichṇa, traduit et publié par M. Eugène *Burnouf*, t, I-III, Paris 1840-47. T. IV et V publiés par M. *Hauvette-Besnault* et P. *Roussel*. Paris 1884 et 1898. A few legends from the Bhāg.-P. have been translated into French by A. *Roussel*, Légendes Morales de l'Inde. Paris 1900, I, 1 ff. and II, 215 ff. English translation by Manmatha Nath *Dutt*, Calcutta, 1895. A French translation of the Tamil version of the Bhāgavata was published as early as 1788 at Paris, and this was rendered into German, Zürich 1791 (s. *Windisch*, Geschichte der Sanskrit-philologie, p. 47 f.).

[4]) Thus the "box on the ear for villains" (durjanamukhacapeṭikā), the "big box on the ear for villains" (durjanamukhamahācapeṭikā) and the "slipper in the face of villains" (durjanamukhapadmapādukā). They are translated by *Burnouf*, l. c., I, Préface p. lix ff. These are quite modern writings.

[5]) This is also called simply Śrībhāgavatamahāpurāṇa in the MSS. Editions have been published in Bombay, and an English translation in the SBH. Cf. *Aufrecht*, Bodl. Cat., p. 79 ff.; *Eggeling*, Ind. Off. Cat. VI, p. 1207 f. There is also a Mahā-Bhāgavata-Purāṇa differing from it, which is described by *Eggeling* (l. c., p. 1280 ff.) as "an apocryphal Purāṇa recounting the story and exploits of Devī and urging her claims to being worshipped as the supreme deity."

[6]) This supposition seems to rest only on the fact that Vopadeva is the author of the *Muktāphala*, a work dependent on the Bhāgavata, and of the *Harilīlā*, an Anukramaṇī (index) to the Bhāgavata.

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hastily Colebrooke, Burnouf and Wilson have concluded from this, that Vopadeva really was the author of the Purāṇa, and therefore that it only originated in the 13th century.[1] In any case the work cannot possibly be as late as that, as it already passed as a sacred book in the 13th century.[2] There are good grounds for assigning it to the 10th century A.D.[3] Rāmānuja (12th century) did not yet recognise the Bhāgavata as an authority, for he does not mention it, and only alludes to the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa. But though it may have originated at a comparatively late date, it certainly utilised very ancient materials. Moreover it is the one Purāṇa which, more than any of the others, bears the stamp of a unified composition, and deserves to be appreciated as a literary production on account of its language, style and metre.[4]

The work is divided into twelve books (skandhas) and consists of about 18,000 ślokas. The cosmogonic myths agree on the whole with those of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, but in some interesting details also differ from it.[5] The incarnations of Viṣṇu are described in detail, especially that as a wild boar. It is remarkable that *Kapila*, the founder of the Sāṅkhya philosophy, is also mentioned as an incarnation of Viṣṇu and (at the end of Book III) himself recites a long exposition on

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[1]) Vopadeva was a contemporary of *Hemādri*, who lived between 1260 and 1309.

[2]) Ānandatīrtha Madhva (1199-1278), who himself wrote a commentary on the Bhāg.-Pur., places it on a level with the Mahābhārata.

[3]) C. V. *Vaidya* (JBRAS 1925, 1, 144 ff.) makes it seem probable that it is later than Śaṅkara (beginning of the 9th century) and earlier than Jayadeva's Gītagovinda (12th century). *Bhandarkar* (Vaiṣṇavism etc., p. 49) says that it "must have been composed at least two centuries before Ānandatīrtha." *Pargiter* (Anc. Ind. Hist. Trad., p. 80) places it "about the ninth century A.D.," *Farquhar* (Outline, p. 229 ff.) about 900 A.D., *C. Eliot* (Hinduism and Buddhism, II, p. 188 note) remarks that "it does not belong to the latest class of Purāṇas, for it seems to contemplate the performance of Smārta rites, not temple ceremonial." *Vaidya* (l. c., p. 157 f.) adduces arguments for the hypothesis that the author of the Bhāg.-P. lived in the land of the Dravidas. Cf. *Grierson*, JRAS 1911, p. 800 f.

[4]) Side by side with the śloka, metres of ornate poetry also appear. Cf. *Burnouf*, I, Préface, p. cv f.

[5]) See A. *Roussel*, Cosmologie Hindoue d'après le Bhâgavata-Purâṇa, Paris, 1898.

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Yoga. Buddha, too, already appears among the incarnations of Viṣṇu.[1] The legends which are told for the glorification of Viṣṇu are numerous. Most of them, like those of Dhruva, Prahlāda, and so on, are the same as are already familiar to us from the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa. With the Mahābhārata, too, the work has much in common; a few verses from the Bhagavadgītā are quoted literally.[2] The Śakuntalā episode is related in IX, 20, in quite a short extract, but probably after a very ancient source.[3] *Book X* is the most popular and the most frequently read of all. It contains the biography of *Kṛṣṇa* which is here given in much greater detail than in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa and in the Harivaṃśa. In particular the love scenes with the cowherdesses (gopīs) occupy a much larger space.[4] This book is translated into almost all the Indian vernaculars and is a favourite book with all classes of the Indian people. The annihilation of the Yādavas and the death of Kṛṣṇa are related in *Book XI*, while the last book contains the usual prophecies concerning the Kaliyuga and the destruction of the world.

VI. The *Bṛhannāradīya-Purāṇa, i.e.* "the great Purāṇa of Nārada." It is generally so called to distinguish it from the Nārada—or Nāradīya—Upapurāṇa. It is doubtful, however, whether even the Bṛhannāradīya-Purāṇa[5] deserves to be

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[1]) Though he appears, "to delude the foes of the gods" (I, 3, 24), he is among the avatāras, and as such (in the Nārāyaṇavarman, VI, 8, 17) he is invoked, whilst in the Viṣṇu-P. (III, 17 f.), Viṣṇu in order to delude the Daityas, causes a phantom form to issue forth from himself, which comes into the world as Buddha.

[2]) See *Holtzmann*, Das Mahābhārata, IV, 41-49, and J. E. *Abbott*, Ind. Ant. 21, 1892, p. 94.

[3]) In IX, 20, 16, *om* is used in the sense of "yes," which is very archaic. Cf. Ait.-Br. VII, 18; Chānd.-Up. I, 1, 8 and above p. 185, note. In Kurma-P. I, 23 (p. 248) and I, 27 (p. 294) *om* is also used in the sense of "yes" in the style of the old legends, though the Kūrma itself is a late work.

[4]) Rādhā, however, does not appear, from which *Vaidya*, l. c., rightly concludes that the Bhāg.-P. is earlier than the Gītagovinda.

[5]) Edited by Pandit *Hrishīkeśa Śāstrī*, Bibl. Ind. 1891, who calls the work an "Upapurāṇa." Cf. *Wilson*, Works, VI, p. li ff.; *Eggeling*, Ind. Off. Cat. VI, p. 1208 ff.

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counted among the ancient Purāṇas; for it is a purely sectarian text, wherein the Sūta repeats a conversation between Nārada and Sanatkumāra, and the sage Nārada appears in the character of a teacher of Viṣṇu-bhakti, the pious adoration of Viṣṇu. The real themes of the Purāṇas, the creation of the world, etc., are not touched upon; the main themes are descriptions of the feasts and ceremonies of the Viṣṇu-cult, illustrated by all manner of legends. Inserted in the legends we also find didactic sections upholding a rather intolerant brahmanical standpoint. Chapter XIV, a lengthy chapter containing a catalogue of the principal sins and the corresponding punishments of hell, is characteristic.

By way of example, the following are included among the sinners for whom there is no atonement, and who must irrevocably be condemned to hell: He who venerates a Liṅga or an image of Viṣṇu which is worshipped by a Śūdra or a woman; he who bows down before a Liṅga worshipped by a heretic, or who himself becomes a heretic. Śūdras, uninitiated persons, women, outcasts, who touch an image of Viṣṇu or Śiva, go to hell. He who hates a Brahman, can in no wise hope for atonement. There is no expiation for the Brahman who enters a Buddhist temple, even though he did so in a great emergency; even hundreds of expiation ceremonies are of no avail. The Buddhists are despisers of the Vedas, and therefore a Brahman shall not look at them, if he is truly devoted to the Vedas.[1] These sinners for whom there is no expiation, are not only condemned to roast in hell for hundreds and thousands of years—the author actually revels in the enumeration of the tortures of hell—but they are subsequently reborn again and again as worms and other animals, as Cāṇḍālas, Śūdras and Mlecchas. Dreadful torments of hell await him who recites the Veda in the presence of women or Śūdras. Nevertheless, in contradiction to all these damnations, the same chapter teaches that Viṣṇu-bhakti annihilates all sins, and that Ganges water, too, washes away the blackest sins.

In the Bṛhaddharma-P. I, 25, 23 both the Bṛhannāradīya and the Nāradīya are enumerated among the Upapurāṇas.

[1]) Pandit *Hrishīkeśa* concludes from this passage that the work was compiled when Buddhism "was rooted out and was universally despised." I think, on the contrary, that such violent outbreaks against the Buddhists could only have a meaning at a time when Buddhism was still a living power in India.

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Several chapters (22-28) deal in detail with the duties of the castes and āśramas, and with Śrāddhas and the ceremonies of expiation (prāyaścitta). The last chapters deal with the misery of transmigration (saṃsāra) and with salvation (mokṣa) by means of Yoga and Bhakti. Devotion to Viṣṇu is again and again declared to be the only means of salvation. Thus we read (28, 116): "Of what avail are the Vedas, the Śāstras, ablutions in sacred bathing-places, or austerities and sacrifices, to those who are without the worship of Viṣṇu (Viṣṇubhakti)?"

The *Nāradīya-Upapurāṇa* includes the Rukmāṅgadacarita, which also occurs as an independent book. The "edifying" legend of King Rukmāṅgada is here told in 40 chapters. King Rukmāṅgada has promised his daughter Mohinī that he will grant her a wish, whatsoever it may be. She demands that he shall either break his fast on the Ekādaśī (the eleventh day of the half-month sacred to Viṣṇu) or slay his son; the king decides upon the latter, this being the lesser of the two sins.

VII. The *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa*.[1] This is one of the most important, most interesting, and probably one of the oldest works of the whole Purāṇa literature. Yet even this Purāṇa is no unified work, but consists of parts which vary in value and probably belong to different periods.

The work takes its name from the ancient sage Mārkaṇḍeya, who enjoyed eternal youth, and who also appears in a large section of the Mahābhārata (see above p. 397 Note 4 and p. 425) as a narrator. We may probably regard those sections as the oldest,[2] in which Mārkaṇḍeya is actually the speaker and instructs his pupil Krauṣṭuki upon the creation of

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[1]) Edited by K. M. *Banerjea*, Bibl. Ind. 1862 and translated into English by F. Eden *Pargiter*, Bibl. Ind. 1888-1905.

[2]) These are chapters 45-81 and 93-136 (conclusion). Cf. *Pargiter*, Introd., p. iv. Verse 45, 64 is quoted twice by Śaṅkara (Vedānta-Sūtras I, 2, 23 and III, 3, 16, see P. *Deussen*, Die Sûtras des Vedânta aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt, Leipzig 1887, p. 119 and 570); but it is by no means certain that Śaṅkara knew the verse from the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa, for he does not mention it, but only says "It is said in the Smṛti."

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the world, the ages of the world, the genealogies and the other subjects peculiar to the Purāṇas. Special evidence for the great antiquity of these sections which contain the *old* Purāṇa is found in the circumstance that in them neither Viṣṇu nor Śiva occupies a prominent position, that, on the other hand, Indra and Brahman are much in the foreground, and that the ancient deities of the Veda, Agni (Fire) and Sūrya (Sun) are glorified by hymns in a few of the cantos, and that a large number of sun-myths are related.[1] This oldest part of the Purāṇa, as Pargiter considers, may belong to the third century A.D., but may perhaps be earlier. A large part of this section also consists of moral and edifying narratives.

This is still more the case in the first sections of the work, which are closely connected with the Mahābhārata and have very much in common with the character of Book XII of the epic. The Purāṇa actually commences with Jaimini, a pupil of Vyāsa, approaching Mārkaṇḍeya, and, after a few eulogies of the Mahābhārata,[2] asking him for the answers to four questions, which the great epic leaves unanswered. The first question is, how it was that Draupadī was able to become the common wife of the five Pāṇḍavas, and the last, why the children of Draupadī were killed at a youthful age. Mārkaṇḍeya does not answer these questions himself, but refers him to four wise birds, in reality Brahmans who were born as birds in consequence of a curse.[3] These tell

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[1]) Chapters 99-110. An impression of great antiquity is also created by the narrative of Dama who, in order to avenge the death of his father, cruelly kills Vapuṣmat and offers his flesh and blood to the spirit of his father, with the funeral cakes (136). The very fact that in the Bengali manuscripts the narrative ceases without any mention of the human sacrifice, is a proof of the great antiquity of traditions which could no longer be reconciled with the views of a later time. (Cf. *Pargiter*, p. vii.)

[2]) These partly agree literally with the praises at the beginning and end of the Mahābhārata itself (cf. above p. 325 f. and 453).

[3]) This is again a duplicate of a legend also occurring in the Mahābhārata (I, 229 ff.), where, however, one of the birds is called Droṇa, while in the Mārk.-P. the four birds are Droṇa's sons.

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Jaimini a series of legends in reply to the propounded questions. In reply to the last question it is related, how five angels (viśve devās) once took the liberty of finding fault with the great saint Viśvāmitra, when he treated King Hariścandra cruelly, for which they were cursed by the saint to be born again as human beings, which curse he mitigated so that they should die young and unmarried. The five sons of Draupadī were those angels. In connection with this is related the touching, but genuinely Brahmanical legend of King *Hariścandra*, who, through fear of the wrath and curse of Viśvāmitra, suffers endless sorrow and humiliation, until at last he is taken into heaven by Indra himself.[1]

After the answering of the four questions, there begins a new section (Chapts. 10-44) in which a conversation between a father and his son is communicated; this is a very lengthy amplification of the dialogue between father and son which we met with in the Mahābhārata (see above, p. 417 ff.). It is significant that the son, in the Mahābhārata, is called "Intelligent" (Medhāvin), while in the Purāṇa he bears the nickname *Jaḍa*, "the Idiot."[2] As in the Mahābhārata, here too, the son despises the life of the pious Brahman, which his father places before him as an ideal, he recalls all his previous births and sees salvation only in an escape from the Saṃsāra. In connection with this the "Idiot" gives a

[1]) Chapters 7 and 8. This famous legend has been translated into English by J. *Muir*, Original Sanskrit Texts, I, 3rd ed., p. 379 ff. and by B. H. *Wortham*, JRAS 1881, p. 355 ff., into German by F. *Rückert* (ZDMG 13, 1859, 103 ff.; Rückert-Nachlese II, 489 ff.). The legend was a favourite theme for later dramatists, thus it forms the subject of the Caṇḍakauśika by the poet Kśemīśvara (10th or 11th century A.D.). It is also told in a ballad that is still popular in the Punjab, s. R. C. *Temple*: The Legends of the Panjâb No. 42 (Vol. III, p. 53 ff.). The Śunaḥśepa legend, the Buddhist Vessantara-Jātaka, and the Hebrew Book of Job have been compared with the Hariścandra legend. Cf. *Weber* SBA 1891, p. 779 f. Ind. Stud. 15, p. 413 ff. On the legends of Viśvāmitra, Vasiṣṭha, Hariścandra, and Śuṇaḥśepa in tne Brāhmaṇas, Purāṇas and Epics, see F. E. *Pargiter*, JRAS 1917, p. 37 ff.

[2]) This "wise fool" also, like Jaḍabharata (see above, p. 549) is a proclaimer of the Yoga.

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description of the Saṃsāra and of the consequences of sins in various rebirths, and especially of the hells and the punishments of hell, which await the sinner. In the midst of this description of hell, magnificent of its kind, though not very enjoyable,[1] stands one of the gems of Indian legend poetry, the story of the noble king *Vipaścit* ("the Wise"),[2] which well deserves to be briefly reproduced here.

The extremely pious and virtuous king *Vipaścit* is, after his death, taken to hell by a servant of Yama. In answer to the king's amazed question as to why he should have to go to hell, Yama's servant explains to him that he once neglected to cohabit with his wife at the time suitable for conception, and he must atone for this light offence against the religious precepts, at least by a very short stay in hell. Thereupon he gives the king instruction upon good and bad deeds (karman), which must inevitably have their effects, and the punishments of hell which are laid down for every single sin. After these explanations the servant of the god of death is about to take him out of hell again. The king turns to go, when dreadful screams of agony smite on his ear, and the inhabitants of hell assail him with entreaties to stay only a minute longer, as an inexpressibly pleasant breath emanates from him, which alleviates the torments of hell which they are enduring. At his amazed question, Yama's servant gives him the explanation that, from the good works of a pious man, a refreshing breath is wafted towards the inhabitants of hell and alleviates their torments. Then says the king :

"Not in heaven, nor in Brahman's world, methinks,
Does man find such bliss as when
He can give refreshment to beings in torment.

If through my presence, racking torture
Of these poor ones is alleviated,
Then will I stay here, my friend,
Like a post, I will not move from this spot."

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[1]) This is the most detailed description of hell in the Purāṇa literature, but similar descriptions also occur in other Purāṇas. They are discussed by L. *Scherman*, Visionslitteratur, p. 23 ff., 45 ff.

[2]) Chapt. 15, Verses 47-79 translated into German by F. *Rückert* (ZDMG 12, 1858, p. 336 ff; Rückert-Nachlese II, 485 ff.).

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Yama's servant spake:

"Come, O King, let us go, do *thou* enjoy
The fruits of thy good deeds and leave the torments
To those who, through bad deeds, deserve them."

The king spake:

"No, I will not go hence, while these
Poor dwellers in hell are happy through my presence.
A disgrace and a shame is the life of a man
Who feels no pity for the tortured, poor ones,
Who implore him for protection—even for bitter foes.
Sacrifices, gifts, austerities serve neither here nor beyond
For his salvation, who has no heart for protecting tortured ones,
Whose heart is hardened to children, old men and the weak,
Not as a man do I regard him—he is a devil.
Even though, through the presence of these dwellers in hell
I suffer the torment of purgatory, the stink of hell,
And the pain of hunger and of thirst rob me of my senses—
Yet I deem it sweeter than the joy of heaven,
To give them, the tortured ones, protection and help.
If through *my* suffering many unhappy ones become glad,
What more do I want?—Do not tarry, depart and leave me."

Yama's servant spake:

"Behold! *Dharma* [1] comes, and *Śakra*, to fetch thee hence.
Thou must go indeed, King: up, and away from here!"

Dharma spake:

"Let me lead thee to the heaven which thou hast well deserved;
Enter this chariot of the gods without delay—away from here!"

The King spake:

"Here in this hell, Dharma, men are tortured a thousandfold;
'Protect us!' full of agony they cry to me; I will not move from here."

[1]) On *Dharma* as the name of the god of death see above p. 397. *Śakra* is a name of *Indra*, the king of the gods. In genuine old Ākhyāna-style, it is *not related* that the two gods came there, but their coming is communicated in *conversation*, and they then immediately appear speaking.

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Śakra spake :

"The reward of their *deeds*, these evil ones receive in hell;
Thou, prince, must for thy *good* deed ascend to heaven."

But for the king the dwellers in hell are not sinners, only *sufferers*. And as, in answer to his question how great his good works are, Dharma himself replies that they are as numerous "as the drops of water in the sea, the stars in the heavens,... the grains of sand in the Ganges," he has only the *one* desire, that, through these good works of his, the dwellers in hell may be delivered from their torments. The king of gods grants him this wish, and as he ascends to heaven, all the inmates of hell are released from their pain.[1]

In language and style this splendid dialogue reminds one very much of the Sāvitrī poem of the Mahābhārata. But just as in the great epic the most absurd productions of priestly literature stand by the side of the most beautiful poems, so also in our Purāṇa. Immediately after the above-told legend follows that of *Anasūyā*, which appears like a caricature of the Sāvitrī legend:

Anasūyā[2] is the extremely faithful wife of a loathsome, leprous, rough and vulgar Brahman. In accordance with the brahmanical principle: "The husband is the deity of the wife," his wife tends him with the greatest love and care, and bears his coarseness with patience. One day the good man, who is also a libertine, expresses the urgent desire of visiting a courtesan who has excited his admiration. As he himself is too

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[1]) The story of Yudhiṣṭhira's visit to hell and ascent to heaven in Book 18 of the Mahābhārata (see above, p. 374 f.) seems to me but a poor imitation of the Vipaścit legend. The very fact that Yudhiṣṭhira only has a vision (māyā) of hell, shows a considerable falling-off. In the Pātāla-Khaṇḍa of the Padma-Purāṇa (s. *Wilson*, Works, III, p. 49 f., not in the ĀnSS edition) King Janaka goes to hell as a matter of form, because he has struck a cow, and he releases the damned souls in a similar fashion. A Jewish fairy-tale tells of a selfless man who spent his whole life in succouring the distressed, and after his death refused to go to Paradise because there was nobody there in need of aid; he prefers to go to hell, where there are creatures with whom he can feel sympathy and whom he can help. (I. L. *Perez*, Volkstümliche Erzählungen, p. 24 ff.). The original source of all these legends is probably to be found in a Buddhist Mahāyāna legend of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara.

[2]) The name signifies the "not jealous one."

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ill to go, his faithful wife takes him on her back, in order to carry him there. He then accidentally touches a saint with his foot, and the latter curses him that he shall die ere the sun rises. Then Anasūyā says: "The sun shall not rise." In consequence of her devotion the sun actually does not rise, which causes the gods great embarrassment, as they receive no sacrifices. There remains nothing but for them to arrange that the charming husband of Anasūyā remains alive.

Just as in the Mahābhārata, so here too, there are besides legends purely didactic dialogues upon the duties of the householder, upon Śrāddhas, upon conduct in the daily life, upon the regular sacrifices, feasts and ceremonies,[1] and also (Chapts. 36-43) a treatise upon Yoga.

A work complete in itself, which doubtless was only later inserted into the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa, though not later than the 6th century A. D., is the *Devīmāhātmya*,[2] a glorification of the goddess Durgā, who, till the most recent times, has been worshipped with human sacrifices. In the temples of this terrible goddess the Devīmāhātmya is read daily, and at the great feast of Durgā (Durgāpūja)[3] in Bengal it is recited with the greatest of solemnity.

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[1]) Chapters 29-35. The chapter on Śrāddhas partly agrees literally with the *Gautamasmṛti*, according to W. *Caland*, Altindischer Ahnenkult, Leyden 1893, p. 112.

[2]) Chapts. 81-93. Edited and translated into Latin by L. *Poley*, Berolini 1831. Translated into English by *Pargiter*, Mārkaṇḍeya-P. Transl., pp. 465-523; Extracts rendered in French by *Burnouf* (JA 4, 1824, p. 24 ff.). As an independent work, also with the titles Caṇḍī, Caṇḍīmāhātmya, Durgāmāhātmya and Saptaśatī, it occurs in innumerable MSS., and has often been printed in India, sometimes with a Bengali translation. On the numerous translations in Bengali, s. D. Ch. *Sen*, Bengali Language and Literature, p. 225 ff. There are also many commentaries on the text, s. *Aufrecht*, CC. I, p. 261. One MS. of the Devīmāhātmya is dated 998 A.D., and the work probably originated even earlier than the 7th century, for a verse from the Devīmāhātmya seems to have been quoted in an inscription of the year 608 A.D. (D. R. *Bhandarkar*, JBRAS 23, 1909, p. 73 f.); and Bāṇa's poem "Caṇḍīśataka" is perhaps based on the Devīmāhātmya; Cf. G. P. *Quackenbos*, The Sanskrit Poems of Mayūra... together with the Text and Translation of Bāṇa's Caṇḍiśataka, New York 1917, pp. 249 ff., 297; *Farquhar*, Outline, p. 150; *Pargiter*, Mārkaṇḍeya-P., Transl., pp. xii, xx.

[3]) On this most popular of all religious festivals in Bengal cf. Shib Chunder *Bose*, The Hindoos as they are, p. 92 ff.

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VIII. The *Āgneya-* or *Agni-Purāṇa*,[1] so called because it is supposed to have been communicated to Vasiṣṭha by Agni. It describes the incarnations (Avatāras) of Viṣṇu, among them also those as Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, where it confessedly follows the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata and Harivaṃśa. Although it commences with Viṣṇu, gives directions for the ritual of the Viṣṇu-cult and contains a Dvādaśasahasrī-Stotra to Viṣṇu (Chapt. 48), it is yet essentially a Śivaite work and deals in detail with the mystic cult of the Liṅga and of Durgā. It also mentions Tantric rites, gives instructions for the production of images of gods and their consecration, and refers to the cult of Gaṇeśa (Chapt. 71) and the sun-cult (Chapt. 73). A few chapters (368-370) treat of death and transmigration and Yoga (371-379), Chapt. 380 contains a summary of the doctrines of the Bhagavadgītā, and Chapt. 381 a Yamagītā. But the cosmological, genealogical and geographical sections peculiar to the Purāṇas are not missing. The especially distinctive feature of this Purāṇa is, however, its encyclopædic character. It actually deals with anything and everything. We find sections on geography, astronomy and astrology, on marriage and death customs, on omina and portenta, house building and other usages of daily life, and also on politics (nīti) and the art of war, on law (in which it is closely connected with the law-book of Yājñavalkya), on medicine, metrics, poetry, and even on grammar and lexicography.

To which age this remarkable encyclopædia or its separate parts belong, it is impossible to say. In spite of the fact that the work itself contains so much that is heterogeneous, there are still many Māhātmyas and similar texts which claim to belong to the Agni-Purāṇa, but do not occur in the manuscripts of the work itself.

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[1]) Editions in Bibl. Ind. 1873-1879, and ĀnSS No. 41, translation by M. N. *Dutt*, Calcutta, 1901. It is also called Vahni-Purāṇa. There is, however, also an Upapurāṇa with the same title, s. *Eggeling*, Ind. Off. Cat. VI, p. 1294 ff.

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IX. The *Bhaviṣya* or *Bhaviṣyat-Purāṇa*. The title signifies a work which contains prophecies regarding the future (bhaviṣya). However, the text which has come down to us in manuscript under this title is certainly not the ancient work which is quoted in the Āpastambīya-Dharma-sūtra.[1] The account of the Creation which it contains, is borrowed from the law-book of *Manu*, which is also otherwise frequently used.[2] The greater part of the work deals with the brahmanical ceremonies and feasts, the duties of the castes, and so on. Only a few legends are related. A description of the Nāgapañcamī-feast, dedicated to the worship of snakes, gives an opening for an enumeration of the snake-demons and for the narration of some snake-myths. A considerable section deals with the sun-worship in "Śākadvīpa" (land of the Scythians ?) in which sun-priests named *Bhojaka* and *Maga* are mentioned, and which undoubtedly is related to the Zoroastrian sun and fire cult.[3]

The *Bhaviṣyottara-Purāṇa*, which, though it contains a few ancient myths and legends, is more a handbook of religious rites, is a sort of continuation of this Purāṇa.

Very numerous are the Māhātmyas and other modern texts which claim to be parts of the Bhaviṣya and especially of the Bhaviṣyottara-Purāṇa.

X. The *Brahmavaivarta-* or *Brahmakaivarta-Purāṇa*.[4]

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[1]) See above, p. 519 f. There is still less claim to authenticity for the edition of the Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa which appeared in Bombay in 1897 in the Śrīveṅkata Press, and which Th. *Aufrecht* (ZDMG 57, 1903, p. 276 ff.) has unmasked as a "literary fraud."

[2]) Cf. *Wilson*, Works, VI, p. lxiii; G. *Bühler*, SBE Vol. 25, p. cx f.; 78 n; W. *Jahn*, Ueber die kosmogonischen Grundanschauungen in Mānava-Dharma-Śaśtram, p. 38 ff.

[3]) Cf. *Aufrecht*, Bodl. Cat., p. 31 ff.; *Wilson*, Works, X, p. 381 ff. We learn from an inscription written in 861 A.D., by one Maga Mātṛrava, that the Magas lived in Rājputāna as early as in the 9th century. "Maga" is a name for the Śākadvīpa Brahmins, who at the present day are still living in the district of Jôdhpur, and trace their history back to the Sūrya-Purāṇa and the Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa. See D. R. *Bhandarkar*, Ep. Ind. IX, p. 279.

[4]) Editions published at Calcutta 1887 and 1888. English translation in SBH.

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The latter is the name current in Southern India. This extensive work is divided into four books. The first book, the Brahma-Khaṇḍa, deals with the creation by Brahman, the First Being, who is, however, none other than the god Kṛṣṇa.[1] Many legends, especially about the sage Nārada, are included. One chapter (16) contains a treatise on medicine. The second book, the Prakṛti-Khaṇḍa, deals with Prakṛti, the original matter, which, however, here seems to be conceived quite mythologically, resolving itself, at the command of Kṛṣṇa, into five goddesses (Durgā, Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī, Sāvitrī and Rādhā). The third book, the Gaṇeśa-Khaṇḍa, relates legends of the elephant-headed god Gaṇeśa, who is unknown to the oldest Indian pantheon, but is one of the most popular of the more modern Indian deities.[2] In a very curious way Gaṇeśa is here represented as a kind of incarnation of Kṛṣṇa. The last and most extensive book, the Kṛṣṇajanma-Khaṇḍa, "section of the birth of Kṛṣṇa," deals not only with the birth, but with the whole life of Kṛṣṇa, especially his battles and his love adventures with the cow-herdesses (gopīs). It is the chief part of the whole Purāṇa, which throughout pursues no other object than to glorify the god *Kṛṣṇa* and his favourite wife Rādhā, in myths, legends and hymns. Rādhā is here Kṛṣṇa's Śakti.[3] According to this Purāṇa, Kṛṣṇa is so much the god above all gods, that

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Brahmavaivarta-purani specimen ed. by A. F. *Stenzler*, Berolini, 1829. A detailed analysis of the work by *Wilson*, Works, III, p. 91 ff.

[1]) The title Brahmavaivarta-P., which can be translated "Purāṇa of the transformations of Brahman," probably refers to this. The Southern Indian title is not intelligible to me.

[2]) B. C. *Mazumdar* says that he has proved in the Bengali journal Vangadarśana, "that the worship of Gaṇeśa as an affiliated son of Pārvatī was wholly unknown to the Hindus previous to the 6th century A. D." (JBRAS 23, 1909, p. 82.)

[3]) Nimbārka, probably in the 12th century, regards Rādhā as the eternal consort of Kṛṣṇa, who, in his view, is not merely an incarnation of Viṣṇu, but the eternal Brahman (Cf. *Farquhar*, Outline, p. 237 ff.) It was not until the 16th century that the sect of the Rādhāvallabhis, who attach great importance to the worship of Rādhā as Śakti, arose. s. *Grierson*, ERE X, p. 559 f.; *Farquhar*, l. c. p. 318.

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legends are related in which not only Brahman and Śiva, but even Viṣṇu himself, are humiliated by Kṛṣṇa.

A large number of Māhātmyas claim to belong to this Purāṇa, which is altogether a rather inferior production.

XI. The *Laiṅga-* or *Liṅga-Purāṇa.*[1] The principal theme of the work is the worship of Śiva in his various forms, but especially in the Liṅga symbol.[2] There is a somewhat confused account of the legend of the origin of the Liṅga-cult: on the occasion of Śiva's visit to the Devadāru forest, the hermits' wives fall in love with the god, who is cursed by the Munis.[3] In the account of the creation Śiva occupies the position which is otherwise ascribed to Viṣṇu. Corresponding to the Avatāras of Viṣṇu, legends of twenty-eight incarnations of Śiva are told in the Liṅga-Purāṇa. Some passages show the influence of the Tantras;[4] this fact, and the character of the work as a manual for the use of Śiva-worshippers would seem to indicate that it can scarcely be a very ancient work.

XII. The *Vārāha-* or *Varāha-Purāṇa.*[5] The work owes its title to the fact that it is related to the goddess

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[1]) Editions have been published in Calcutta, Bombay, Poona and Madras, also with a commentary.

[2]) The Liṅga (the phallus), generally in the form of a small stone column, is for the worshippers of Śiva only a symbol of the productive and creative principle of Nature as embodied in Śiva; and it is worshipped by simple offerings of leaves and flowers and the pouring of water. The Liṅga cult certainly bears no trace of any phallic cult of an obscene nature. Cf. H. H. *Wilson*, Works, Vol. VI, p. lxix; *Monier-Williams*, Brāhmanism and Hinduism, 4th Ed., London 1891, pp. 83, 90 f.; *Eliot*, Hinduism and Buddhism, II, 142 ff. The Liṅga cult can be traced in Cambodia and Champa as early as about 550 A. D.; s. *Eliot*, l. c. p. 143 note 3.

[3]) I, 28-33, translated into German by W. *Jahn*, ZDMG 69, 1915, pp. 539 ff. The same legend also occurs in other Purāṇas, s. Jahn, l. c. pp. 529 ff.; 70, 1916, p. 301 ff. and 71, 1917, 167 ff.

[4]) Cf. *Farquhar*, Outline, p. 195 f.

[5]) Ed. by *Hṛishīkeśa Śāstrī*, Bibl. Ind. 1893. According to 218, 1 the Purāṇa was "written" by Mādhava Bhaṭṭa and Vīreśvara in Benares in the year 1621 of the Vikrama era (1564 A. D.). However, this cannot be the date of the work itself, but only of a copy of it.

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Earth (Pṛthivī) by Viṣṇu in his incarnation as a wild boar (varāha). Though it contains brief allusions to the creation, the genealogies, etc., it is not a Purāṇa in the ancient sense of the word, but rather a manual of prayers and rules for the Viṣṇu-worshippers. In spite of the Viṣṇuite character of the work, it yet contains a few legends relating to Śiva and Durgā. Several chapters are devoted to the Mothers and the female deities (Chapts. 90-95). We find the story of the birth of Gaṇeśa, followed by a Gaṇeśa-stotra. Furthermore, it deals with Śrāddhas (Chapt. 13 ff.), Prāyaścittas (Chapt. 119 ff.), the erection of images of the gods (Chapt. 181 ff.), etc. A considerable section (Chapts. 152-168) is nothing but a Mathurā-Māhātmya, a glorification of the sacred city which is Kṛṣṇa's birthplace. Another considerable section (Chapts. 193-212) tells the legend of Naciketas, but the narrator is more concerned with the description of heaven and hell than with the philosophical ideas contained in the ancient poem in the Kaṭha-Upaniṣad.[1]

XIII. The *Skānda-* or *Skanda-Purāṇa.* This Purāṇa is named after Skanda, son of Śiva and commander of the celestial armies, who is said to have related it and proclaimed Śivaite doctrines in it.[2] The ancient Purāṇa of this name, however, is probably entirely lost; for though there is a considerable number of more or less extensive works claiming to be Saṃhitās and Khaṇḍas of the Skanda-Purāṇa, and an almost overwhelming mass of Māhātmyas which give themselves out as portions of this Purāṇa,[3] only one, very ancient, manuscript contains a text which calls itself simply "Skanda-

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[1]) See above, p. 261 f. Cf. L. *Scherman*, Visionslitteratur, p. 11 f. The name is Nāciketa here, as in the Mahābhārata XIII, 71.

[2]) Matsya-P. 53, 42 f. The length of the Skanda-P. is here, as elsewhere, stated as 81,100 ślokas. In Padma-P., VI, 263, 81 f., too, the Skanda-P. is counted as among the "tāmasa," i.e. the Śivaite Purāṇas.

[3]) Cf. *Eggeling*, Ind. Off. Cat. VI, pp. 1319-1389.

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Purāṇa." [1] Even this text, however, is scarcely identical with the ancient Purāṇa : for, though it contains all manner of legends of Śiva, especially of his battles with Andhaka and other demons, a few chapters on the hells and Saṃsāra, and a section on Yoga, there is hardly anything in it that corresponds to the "five characteristics" of a Purāṇa.[2] Texts which are considered as belonging to the Skanda-Purāṇa inform us [3] that there are six Saṃhitās, namely Sanatkumarīyā, Sūta, Brāhmī, Vaiṣṇavī, Śāṅkarī and Saurī Saṃhitā, and fifty Khaṇḍas of the Skanda-Purāṇa. The Sūta-Saṃhitā is a work of some bulk.[4] It consists of four Khaṇḍas, the first of which is devoted wholly to the worship of Śiva. The second section (jñānayogakhaṇḍa) deals not only with Yoga, but also with the duties of the castes and Āśramas. The third section teaches ways and means of attaining salvation ; and the fourth section begins with rules about Vedic-brahmanical ceremonies, and then deals with "the sacrifice of meditation" and "the sacrifice of knowledge," as well as with devotion to Śiva (Śiva-bhakti). A second part contains a Śivaite Brahmagītā and a Vedāntist Sūtagītā. The Sanatkumāra-Saṃhitā, too, contains Śivaite legends, more especially relating to the sacred places of Benares.[5] The Saura-Saṃhitā, which is supposed to have been revealed to Yājñavalkya

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[1]) This is the old manuscript in Gupta script, which was discovered in Nepal by *Haraprasād Śāstrī*, and has been assigned to the 7th century A. D. by him and C. *Bendall* on palaeographical grounds. See Haraprasād Śāstrī, Catalogue of Palm Leaf and Selected Paper MSS. belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal, Calcutta 1905, pp. lii, 141 ff.

[2]) According to the short table of contents given by *Haraprasād*, l. c. As no khaṇḍa is named in the colophons of the MS., Haraprasād considers the text to be the original Skanda-P. The supposition that it might be the Ambikā-Khaṇḍa (Haraprasād, Report I, p. 4), turned out to be erroneous. The Ambikā-khaṇḍa (*Eggeling*, l. c. p. 1321 ff.) contains a collection of legends about Śiva and Durgā, told by Sanatkumāra to Vyāsa.

[3]) *Eggeling*, l. c., pp. 1321, 1362.

[4]) Ed. with the commentary of Mādhavācārya in ĀnSS No. 25, 1893 in 3 vols.

[5]) The Sahyādri-khaṇḍa (publ. by J. G. da *Cunha*, Bombay 1877) belongs to the Sanatkumāra-saṃhitā. Cf. *Eggeling*, l. c., p. 1369 ff. The Veṅkaṭeśa-Māhātmya of the

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by the sun-god, contains chiefly cosmogonic theories. The Śaṅkara-Saṃhitā is also called Agastya-Saṃhitā, because Skanda is supposed to have communicated it to Agastya. It is doubtful, however, whether this is the Agastya-Saṃhitā which teaches the cult of Viṣṇu especially in his incarnation as Rāma.[1] There is a Kāśī-Khaṇḍa,[2] dealing with the Śiva-temples in the neighbourhood of Benares and with the sanctity of this city itself. A Gaṅgāsahasranāman, a litany of the "thousand names of the Ganges" belongs to the same section. The above-mentioned are only a few of the many texts which are said to belong to this Purāṇa.

XIV. The *Vāmana-Purāṇa.*[3] This Purāṇa, too, has not come down to us in its original form, for the five themes of the Purāṇas, *i.e.* Creation, etc., are scarcely mentioned, and the information given in the Matsya-Purāṇa[4] as to the contents and length of the work does not tally with our text. The text begins with an account of the incarnation of Viṣṇu as a dwarf (vāmana), whence it takes its name. Several chapters deal with the Avatāras of Viṣṇu in general.[5] On the other hand, a considerable section

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Sahyādri-khaṇḍa, a glorification of the temple of Mañjgunī, is translated by G. K. *Betham*, Ind. Ant. 24, 1895, pp. 231 ff. The same khaṇḍa probably also includes the Ṛṣyaśṛṅga-legend, which was transformed into a local legend, and which has been translated by V. N. *Narasimmiyengar* (Ind. Ant. 2, 1873, pp. 140 ff.).

[1]) Cf. *Eggeling*, l. c., p. 1319 ff.; 1321. In the Śivarahasya-khaṇḍa of the Śaṅkara-saṃhitā (Eggeling l. c., p. 1363 f.) the 18 Purāṇas are enumerated, of which ten (Śaiva, Bhaviṣya, Mārkaṇḍeya, Laiṅga, Vārāha, Skānda, Mātsya, Kaurma, Vāmana, Brahmāṇḍa) are declared to be Śivaite, four (Vaiṣṇava, Bhāgavata, Nāradīya, Gāruḍa) Viṣṇuite, whilst Brāhma and Pādma are said to be dedicated to Brahman, Âgneya to Agni, Brahmavaivarta to Savitṛ. It is added, however, that the Viṣṇuite Purāṇas teach the identity of Śiva and Viṣṇu, and the Brahma-P., the identity of Brahman, Viṣṇu and Śiva.

[2]) Published (with commentaries) in Benares, 1868, Calcutta 1873-80 and Bombay 1881.

[3]) Published, with Bengali translation, Calcutta, 1885.

[4]) 53, 45 f. Cf. *Wilson*, Works, Vol. VI, p. lxxiv f.

[5]) According to *Aufrecht* (Bodl. Cat. p. 46) these chapters (24-32) are mainly taken from the Matsya-P.

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deals with Liṅga-worship, and in connection with the glorification of sacred places, the Śivaite legends of the marriage of Śiva and Umā, the origin of Gaṇeśa and the birth of Kārttikeya are related.

XV. The *Kaurma-* or *Kūrma-Purāṇa.* In the work itself we read that it consists of four Saṃhitās, namely Brāhmī, Bhāgavatī, Saurī and Vaiṣṇavī; but the Brāhmī-Saṃhitā is the only one which has come down under the title "Kūrma-Purāṇa." [1] This work begins with a hymn to the incarnation of Viṣṇu as a tortoise (kūrma) on which the mountain Mandara rested when the ocean was twirled. At that time Lakṣmī arose from the ocean and became Viṣṇu's consort. When the Ṛṣis ask him who this goddess is, Viṣṇu replies that she is his highest Śakti. The Introduction then relates further how Indradyumna, who in a former birth had been a king, but was born again as a Brahman by reason of his devotion to Viṣṇu, desired to gain knowledge of the glory of Śiva. Lakṣmī refers him to Viṣṇu. Then he worships Viṣṇu as the Universal God, the Creator and Preserver of the universe, but also as "Mahādeva," "Śiva" and as "father and mother of all beings." At length Viṣṇu, in his incarnation as the tortoise, imparts the Purāṇa to him. As in this Introduction, Śiva is the Highest Being throughout the work, but it is emphasized over and over again that in reality Brahman, Viṣṇu and Śiva are one.[2] The worship of *Śakti, i.e.* "Energy" or "Creative force" conceived as a female deity, is also emphasized. Devī, the "Highest Goddess" (Parameśvarī), the consort and Śakti of Śiva, is praised under 8,000 names.[3] In like manner as Viṣṇu is none other than

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[1]) Published by Nīlmaṇi *Mukhopādhyāya* in Bibl. Ind. 1890. It contains 6,000 ślokas. According to the statements made in the Bhāgavata- ., Vāyu-P. and Matsya-P., the Kūrma-P. contains 17,000 or 18,000 ślokas.

[2]) In I, 6 (p. 56) Brahman is worshipped as Trimūrti. I, 9 especially inculcates the unity of the three gods. Cf. also I, 26.

[3]) I, 11 and 12. Śiva divides himself into two parts, a male and a female, the

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Śiva, Lakṣmī, Viṣṇu's śakti, is in reality not apart from the Devī.[1] When the sons of Kārttavīrya, some of whom worshipped Viṣṇu and the others Śiva, could not agree as to which god was the more worthy of worship, the seven Ṛṣis decided the dispute by declaring that the deity worshipped by any man is that man's deity, and that all the gods deserve the worship of at least some beings.[2] Notwithstanding, Śiva is the god above all gods to such a degree that, though Kṛṣṇa is praised as Viṣṇu Nārāyaṇa, he obtains a son for his wife Jāmbavatī only after strenuous asceticism and by the mercy of Śiva.[3] Moreover, in spite of the tolerance as regards the recognition of all the gods, there are allusions in several places to the false doctrines which have been sent into the world to deceive mankind, and to false manuals which will come into existence during the Kaliyuga.[4]

The five themes of the Purāṇas, namely the Creation, the genealogies, etc., are also treated in the Kūrma-Purāṇa, and in this connection a few of Viṣṇu's Avatāras are touched upon. However, an entire chapter (I. 53) is devoted to the incarnations of Śiva. A considerable section of the first part consists of a description and glorification of the holy places of Benares (Kāśīmāhātmya) and Allahabad (Prayāgamāhātmya). The second part begins with an *Īśvaragītā* (a counterpart to the Bhagavadgītā), teaching the knowledge of God,

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former gives rise to the Rudras, and the latter to the Śaktis. Cf. *Farquhar*, Outline, p. 195 f.

[1]) I, 17 (p. 206 f.) Prahlāda praises Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī as Viṣṇu's Śakti.

[2]) I, 22 (p. 239 ff.).

[3]) I, 25-27. Here (p. 269) there is also a reference to a Yogaśāstra written by the great Yogin Yājñavalkya, which is perhaps an allusion to the Yājñavalkyagītā, where Yoga is taught. Cf. F. E. *Hall*, A Contribution towards an Index to the Bibliography of the Indian Philosophical Systems, Calcutta 1859, p. 14. In I, 26 Kṛṣṇa recommends the Liṅga cult and explains its origin.

[4]) This appellation is given to the Śivaite sects and Śāstras of the Kāpālas, Bhairavas, Yāmalas, Vāmas, Ārhatas, Nākulas (*i.e.* Lākulīśa-Pāśupata, cf. *Bhandarkar*, Vaiṣṇavism etc., p. 116 f.), Pāśupatas and the Viṣṇuite Pāñcarātra: I, 12; 16; 30 (pp. 137, 184, 305). The Vāmas or "left-hand ones," are those Śakti worshippers whose cult is connected with orgiastic rites. See below in the chapter on the Tantras.

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i.e. Śiva, through meditation. This piece is followed by a Vyāsagītā, a larger section in which Vyāsa teaches the attainment of the highest knowledge through pious works and ceremonies, and therefore delivers a lecture on the duties of the householder, the forest-hermit and the ascetic. A few chapters deal with expiatory ceremonies for all sorts of crimes, where there is also mention of chastity. This gives rise to the narration of a story of Sītā (not occurring in the Rāmāyaṇa), how she is rescued from the hands of Rāvaṇa by the fire-god.

XVI. The *Mātsya* or *Matsya-Purāṇa*.[1] This, again, is one of the older works of the Purāṇa literature, or at least one of those which have preserved most of the ancient text, and do fair justice to the definition of a "Purāṇa." It commences with the story of the great *flood* out of which Viṣṇu, in the form of a fish (matsya) saves only Manu alone. While the ship in which Manu is sailing along is being drawn through the flood by the fish, there takes place between him and Viṣṇu, incarnated as a fish, the conversation which forms the substance of the Purāṇa. Creation is treated in detail, then follow the genealogies, into which is inserted a section about the Fathers and their cult (Chapts. 14-22). Neither are the usual geographical, astronomical and chronological sections, absent, and, according to V. A. *Smith* (see above, p. 524) the lists of kings in this Purāṇa are particularly reliable for the Andhra dynasty. It has very much in common with the Mahābhārata and the Harivaṃśa; thus the legends of Yayāti (Chapts. 24-43), Sāvitrī (Chapts. 208-214), the incarnations of Viṣṇu (Chapts. 161-179, 244-248); and there is often literal agreement. There are, however, very numerous later additions and interpolations. For instance we find a considerable

[1]) Published in ĀnSS No. 54. (The quotations are given according to this edition.) Translated into English in SBH. Vol. 17. The edition has 291 adhyāyas, but the MS. described by *Aufrecht*, Bodl. Cat., p. 38 ff., has only 278.

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section about all manner of festivals and rites (Vratas, Chapts. 54-102), a glorification of the sacred places of Allahabad (Prayāgamāhātmya, Chapts. 103-112), Benares (Vārāṇasi= and Avimuktamāhātmya, Chapts. 180-185), and of the river Narmadā (Chapts. 186-194); then sections on the duties of a king (Chapts. 215-227), on omina and portenta (Chapts. 228-238), ceremonies at the building of a house (Chapts. 252-257), the erection and dedication of statues of deities, temples and palaces (Chapts. 258-270), the sixteen kinds of pious donations (Chapts. 274-289), etc. As far as the religious content is concerned, the Matsya-Purāṇa might be called Śivaite with just as much reason as it is classed as Viṣṇuite. Religious festivals of the Vaiṣṇavas are described side by side with those of the Śaivas, and both Viṣṇu and Śiva-legends are related. In Chapter 13 Devī ("the Goddess," Śiva's wife Gaurī) enumerates to Dakṣa the one hundred and eight names by which she wishes to be glorified. It is obvious that both sects used the work as a sacred book.

XVII. The *Gāruḍa-* or *Garuḍa-Purāṇa.*[1] This is a Viṣṇuite Purāṇa. It takes its name from the mythical bird Garuḍa, to whom it was revealed by Viṣṇu himself, and who then imparted it to Kaśyapa. It treats some of the five themes, *viz.* Creation, the ages of the world, the genealogies of the solar and lunar dynasties; but far more attention is given to the worship of Viṣṇu, to descriptions of Viṣṇuite rites and festivals (Vratas), to expiatory ceremonies (Prāyaścittas) and glorifications of sacred places. It is also cognisant of Śakti-worship, and gives rules for the worship of the "five gods" (Viṣṇu, Śiva, Durgā, Sūrya and Gaṇeśa).[2] Moreover, like the Agni-Purāṇa, it is a kind of encyclopaedia, in which the most diversified subjects are dealt with: thus,

[1]) Published by Jibānanda *Vidyāsāgara*, Calcutta 1890. English translation by Manmatha Nāth *Dutt*, Calcutta 1908 (Wealth of India, Vol. VIII).

[2]) Cf. *Farquhar*, Outline, p. 178 f.

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the contents of the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the Harivaṃśa are retold, and there are sections on cosmography, astronomy and astrology, omina and portenta, chiromancy, medicine, metrics, grammar, knowledge of precious stones (ratnaparīkṣā) and politics (nīti). A considerable portion of the Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra has been included in the Garuḍa-Purāṇa.

What is counted as the Uttarakhaṇḍa or "second part" of the Garuḍa-Purāṇa is the *Pretakalpa*, a voluminous though entirely unsystematic work, which treats of everything connected with death, the dead and the beyond. In motley confusion and with many repetitions, we find doctrines on the fate of the soul after death, Karman, rebirth and release from rebirth, on desire as the cause of Saṃsāra, on omens of death, the path to Yama, the fate of the Pretas (*i.e.*, the departed who still hover about the earth as spirits, and have not as yet found the way to the world beyond), the torments of the hells, and the Pretas as causing evil omens and dreams. Interspersed we find rules of all kinds about rites to be performed at the approach of death, the treatment of the dying and of the corpse, funeral rites and ancestor-worship, the especial funeral sacrifices for a Satī, *i.e.*, a woman who enters the funeral pyre with her husband. Here and there we also find legends recalling the Buddhist Petavatthu, telling of encounters with Pretas who relate the cause of their wretched existence (sins which they committed during their lifetime).[1] An "extract" (*Sāroddhāra*) of this work was made by *Naunidhirāma*.[2] In spite of its title, this work

[1]) A detailed analysis of the contents of the Pretakalpa is given by E. *Abegg*, Der Pretakalpa des Garuḍa-Purāṇa (Naunidhirāma's Sāroddhāra). Eine Darstellung des hinduistischen Totenkultes und Jenseitsglaubens ..... übersetzt... Berlin und Leipzig 1921, p. 8 ff.; chapters X-XII translated p. 229 ff.

[2]) This Sāroddhāra was published under the title "Garuḍa-Purāṇa" in Bombay NSP in 1903 and with an English translation by E. *Wood* and S. V. *Subrahmaṇyam* in SBH, Vol. IX, 1911. There is a good German translation by *Abegg*, Pretakalpa etc. (s. the preceding Note).

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is not a mere extract from the Pretakalpa, for the author also utilised material from other Purāṇas, and treated the subject more systematically. Among other works he drew on the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, whence it follows that he was later than this Purāṇa.

Among the Māhātmyas which claim to be parts of the Garuḍa-Purāṇa, especial mention should be made of a Gayā-māhātmya in praise of Gayā, the place of pilgrimage, where it is particularly meritorious to perform Srāddhas.

XVIII. The *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa*.[1] In the list in the Kūrma-Purāṇa the eighteenth Purāṇa is called "Vāyavīya Brahmāṇḍa," the "Purāṇa of the Brahman-egg proclaimed by Vāyu," and it is possible that the original Brahmāṇḍa was but an earlier version of the Vāyu-Purāṇa.[2] According to the Matsya-Purāṇa (53, 55f.) it is said to have been proclaimed by Brahman, and to contain a glorification of the Brahman-egg[3] as well as a detailed account of the future kalpas in 12,200 ślokas. It appears, however, that the original work of this name is lost, for our manuscripts for the most part contain only Māhātmyas, Stotras and Upākhyānas which claim to be parts of the Brahmāṇḍa.

The *Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa*,[4] *i.e.*, "the Rāmāyaṇa in

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[1]) Published in Bombay, Śrī-Veṅkateśvara Press, 1906.

[2]) Cf. *Pargiter*, Anc. Ind. Hist. Trad., p. 77 f. H. H. *Wilson* (Works, Vol. VI, p. lxxxv f.) mentions a MS. of the Brahmāṇḍa-P. the first part of which agrees almost entirely with the Vāyu-P., whilst the second part is dedicated to Lalitā Devī, a form of Durgā, and teaches her worship by Tantric rites. On the island of Bali a Brahmāṇḍa-P. is the only sacred book of the local Śiva-worshippers. Cf. R. *Friederich*, JRAS 1876, p. 170 f.; *Weber*, Ind. Stud. II, p. 131 f.

[3]) Even the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads already tell of the golden egg out of which the universe was created. Cf. Satapatha-Br. XI, 1, 6 (above p. 223) and Chāndogya-Upaniṣad III, 9, 1. According to the cosmogony of the Purāṇas Brahman (or Viṣṇu in the form of Brahman) dwells in the egg in which the whole of the universe is locked up, and out of which it unfolds itself by the will of the Creator. Cf. Viṣṇu-P. I, 2; Vāyu-P. 4, 76 ff.; Manu I, 9 ff.

[4]) There are numerous Indian editions (the Bombay NSP 1891 edition is recommended) and several commentaries, among them one by Śaṅkara. English translation by Lāla Baij *Nath* in SBH 1913.

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which Rāma is the Supreme Ātman," in which Advaita (the monism of the Vedānta) and Rāma-bhakti are taught as paths to salvation, is a very well known book, which is considered as a part of the Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa. As in the case of Vālmīki's poem, the work is divided into seven books, bearing the same titles as in the ancient epic; but it is only an epic in its external form—in reality it is a manual of devotion, Tantric in character. Like the Tantras it is in the form of a dialogue between Śiva and his wife Umā. Throughout the work Rāma is essentially the god Viṣṇu, and the Sītā who is abducted by Rāvaṇa is only an illusion, whilst the real Sītā, who is identical with Lakṣmī and Prakṛti, does not appear until after the fire ordeal at the end of the book. The Rāmahṛdaya (I, 1) and the Rāmagītā (VII, 5) are texts which are memorised by the devotees of Rāma. The fact that the Marathi poet-saint Eknātha, who lived in the 16th century, calls it a modern work, proves that the work cannot be very ancient.[1]

The *Nāsiketopākhyāna*, which also claims to be a part of the Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa, is nothing but a most insipid, amplified and corrupted version of the beautiful old legend of Naciketas.[2]

As regards the *Upapurāṇas*, they do not in general differ essentially from the Purāṇas, except inasmuch as they are even more exclusively adapted to suit the purposes of local cult and the religious needs of separate sects. Those of the Upapurāṇas which claim to be supplements to one or other of the "great Purāṇas" have already received mention. We shall now only refer to a few of the more important among the other Upapurāṇas.

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[1]) Cf. *Bhandarkar*, Vaiṣṇavism etc., p. 48; *Farquhar*, Outline, p. 250 f.

[2]) Cf. F. *Belloni-Filippi* in GSAI 16, 1903 and 17, 1904: *Eggeling*, Ind. Off. Cat. VI, p. 1252 ff.

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The *Viṣṇudharmottara* is occasionally given out as a part of a Purāṇa, namely the Garuḍa-Purāṇa, but generally it is counted as an independent Upapurāṇa. It is repeatedly quoted by Albērūnī as the "Viṣṇudharma."[1] It is a Kashmiri Vaiṣṇava book of encyclopædic character in three sections. Section I deals with the usual themes of the Purāṇas: the Creation of the world, cosmology, geography, astronomy, division of time, genealogies, Stotras, rules about Vratas and Śrāddhas.[2] Among the genealogical legends, that of Purūravas and Urvaśī is also related—more or less in agreement with Kālidāsa's drama. Section II deals with law and politics, but also with medicine, the science of war, astronomy and astrology. There is here a prose section with the special title "Paitāmaha-Siddhānta." If, as is probable, this is an extract from the Brahma-Sphuṭa-Siddhānta written by Brahmagupta in 628 A.D., the Viṣṇudharmottara must have been compiled between 628 and 1000 A.D.[3] Section III, too, is of a very miscellaneous character, treating of grammar, lexicography, metrics and poetics, dancing, singing and music, sculpture and painting (the making of images of gods)[4] and architecture (construction of temples).

The *Bṛhad-Dharma-Purāṇa*,[5] "the Great Purāṇa of

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[1]) Edition of the text in Bombay, Śrī-Veṅkateśvara Press 1912. Analysis of the contents according to Kashmiri MSS. and a comparison with the quotations of Albērūnī by G. *Bühler*, Ind. Ant. 19, 1890, p. 382 ff. According to Bühler, Albērūnī used two separate works with the same title, and mixed the two together. *Eggeling*, Ind. Off. Cat. VI, p. 1308 f., describes a MS. which contains six chapters more than the edition. In the MS. the title of the work is "Viṣṇudharmāḥ."

[2]) As regards the Śrāddhas, W. *Caland*, Altindischer Ahnenkult, Leyden 1893, pp. 68, 112, has traced connections with the Viṣṇu-Smṛti. Cf. *Abegg*, Der Pretakalpa, p. 5 f.

[3]) Cf. G. *Thibaut*, Astronomie etc. (Grundriss III, 9), p. 58. The commentators of Brahmagupta's work maintain that this author drew upon the Viṣṇudharmottara. MSS. of the "Viṣṇudharma" are dated 1047 and 1090; see *Haraprasad*, Report I, p. 5.

[4]) On this extremely interesting section s. Dr. Stella *Kramrisch*, Calcutta Review, Feb. 1924, p. 331 ff. and Journal of Letters, Calcutta University, Vol. XI, 1924.

[5]) Edited by *Haraprasād Śāstrī* in Bibl. Ind. 1897. The work consists of a "first," "middle" and "last" khaṇḍa.

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the Duties," which appears as the eighteenth in a list of the Upapurāṇas,[1] only devotes the beginning of its first section, and its last section to Dharma, with the glorification of which it begins. The greater portion of the first section is in the form of a conversation between the Devī and her two friends Jayā and Vijayā, which gives it a Tantric stamp. In the second section, too, the Devī appears as the Great Goddess, to whom Brahman, Viṣṇu and Śiva come singing her praises, and II, 60 teaches that the universe and all the gods have their existence in Śiva and Śakti. The fact that it is not a Tantra is, however, shown by the contents of the work, which, by reason of its relations with the epic and the legal literature, is deserving of some interest, though the work cannot be a very ancient one.

In the opening chapters the duties towards one's parents, especially the mother, and the Gurus in general, are inculcated in great detail. By way of illustrating the importance of these duties, a legend of a "hunter Tulādhāra" is told, which, though having some reference to the Mahābhārata stories [2] of Dharmavyādha and Tulādhāra, has little in common with them except the name. Then come sections on the Tīrthas, the incarnation of Viṣṇu as Rāma, the story of Sītā and the origin of the Rāmāyaṇa. The latter work is called the root of all Kāvyas, Itihāsas, Purāṇas and Saṃhitās. It was only after Vālmīki had completed this poem at the command of the god Brahman, and had declined to write the Mahābhārata also, that Vyāsa set to work to compile both the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas.[3] Vālmīki in his hermitage converses with Vyāsa on the composition of the Mahābhārata, which is then praised extravagantly. A prayer, which also contains the titles of the most important Parvans of the Mahābhārata, is recommended as an amulet (I, 30, 41 ff.). The second section consists mainly of legends of the origin of Gaṅgā, but all manner of other myths and legends are interwoven with

[1]) In the Bṛhad-Dharma-P. itself (I, 25, 26).

[2]) See above p. 415 ff.

[3]) There is here a list of the 18 Purāṇas and the 18 Upapurāṇas (I, 25, 18 ff.) and also an enumeration of the Dharmaśāstras (I, 29, 24 f.).

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them. Among the Avatāras of Viṣṇu, mention is made of those as Kapila, Vāḷmīki, Vyāsa and Buddha. Śiva sings a song in praise of Viṣṇu.[1] A section of considerable length (II, 54-58) contains rules for the cult of the Ganges (gaṅgādharmāḥ). The legend of the miraculous origin of Gaṇeśa is told in the last chapter (II, 60). The last section deals with the duties of the castes and Āśramas, the duties of women, the adoration of various gods, the festivals of the year, the worship of the sun, the moon and planets, with the Yugas, the origin of evil and wickedness in the world (III, 12) and with the intermixture of castes (III, 13-14).

The *Śiva-Purāṇa*, which is said to consist of no less than twelve Saṃhitās, is one of the most voluminous Upapurāṇas.[2] The *Gaṇeśa-Purāṇa*[3] and the *Caṇḍī-* or *Caṇḍikā-Purāṇa*[4] are also Śivaite Upapurāṇas. The *Śāmba-Purāṇa*[5] is dedicated to the cult of the sun. The deeds of Viṣṇu in the future age at the close of the Kali-Yuga are described in the *Kalki-Purāṇa*.[6] The *Kālikā-Purāṇa*[7] treats of the deeds of the goddess Kālī in her numerous forms, and of the worship dedicated to her. One chapter[8] deals in detail with the animal and human sacrifices which should be offered to her. Curiously enough it also contains a chapter on politics.

The majority of the Māhātmyas which are connected with or included in the Purāṇas and the Upapurāṇas, is, on

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[1]) Śivagānam (II, 44). Previously Nārada delivers a lecture to Viṣṇu on the significance of the Rāgas and Rāgiṇīs in the art of singing.

[2]) *Eggeling*, Ind. Off. Cat. VI, p. 1311 ff. Editions of a Śiva-Purāṇa appeared in Bombay (1878, 1880, 1884).

[3]) *Aufrecht*, Bodl. Cat., p. 78 f.; *Eggeling* l. c., p. 1199. An edition appeared in Poona in 1876. In the *Maudgala*-P., too (Eggeling, l. c., 1289 ff.), Gaṇeśa is worshipped as the highest deity.

[4]) *Eggeling* l. c., p. 1202 ff.

[5]) *Eggeling* l. c., p. 1316 ff. A Sāmba-Purāṇa was published in Bombay in 1885.

[6]) *Eggeling* l. c., p. 1188 f. Editions have appeared in Calcutta.

[7]) *Eggeling* l. c., p. 1189 ff. Edition Bombay, 1891.

[8]) The "chapter of blood" (rudhirādhyāya) translated into English by *W. C. Blaquiere* in Asiatick Researches, Vol. 5 (4th ed., London 1807), p. 371 ff.

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the whole, inferior literature. They arose as hand-books for the Purohitas of the Tirthas praised in them, and tell legends which in part belong to tradition, and in part are inventions, with the purpose of proving the holiness of these places of pilgrimage. They describe, too, the ceremonies which the pilgrims are to perform and the route they are to follow. For this reason they are not unimportant from the point of view of the topography of India. Thus in particular, the *Nīlamata*,[1] the Kāśmīra-māhātmya, is an important work from the point of view of the history, legendary lore and topography of Kashmir.[2] The Nāga king Nīla is a kind of cultural hero of Kashmir, and the work contains "the doctrines of Nīla" which he imparted to the Brahman Candradeva.[3] It tells the legends of the primeval history of Kashmir (verses 1-481), whereupon there is a description of the ceremonies and festivals prescribed by Nīla. Many of these are the usual Brahmanical and Puranic rites, but we find some which are peculiar to Kashmir. Thus joyous festivals are celebrated with singing, music and drinking bouts at the New Year, on the first of the month Kārtika, on which Kashmir is said to have arisen (v. 561 ff.), and then again on the occasion of the first fall of snow (v. 579 ff.). On the fifteenth day of the bright half of the month Vaiśākha, the birthday of Buddha as an incarnation of Viṣṇu is solemnly celebrated by the Brahmans; a statue of Buddha is erected, Buddhist speeches are made and Buddhist monks are honoured (v. 809 ff.). The historian Kalhaṇa (about 1148 A.D.) drew on the Nīlamata in his Rājataraṅgiṇī for the ancient history of Kashmir; and he regarded it as a venerable

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[1]) Nīlamatapurāṇam (Sanskrit Text) edited with Introduction etc. by Ram Lal *Kanjilal* and Pandit Jagad-dhar *Zadoo*, Lahore 1924 (Punjab Sanskrit Series).

[2]) Cf. *Bühler*, Report, p. 37 ff., LV ff.; M. A. *Stein*, Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī, Translated, I, p. 76 f.; II, p. 376 ff.; Pandit Ānand *Koul*, JASB 6, 1910, p. 195 ff.

[3]) Cf. Nīlamata, vss. 424 ff.; Rājataraṅgiṇī I, 182-184.

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"Purāṇa."[1] It must, therefore, be several centuries earlier than Kalhaṇa's work.

Among the offshoots of the Purāṇa literature mention should also be made of the Nepalese Vaṃśāvalis ("Genealogies"), which are partly Brahmanical and partly Buddhist, the Nepāla-Māhātmya and the Vāgvatī-Māhātmya, which claims to be part of a Paśupati-Purāṇa.[2]

Finally we here mention another work, which, though an epic and not a Purāṇa, nevertheless has the sectarian character of the Purāṇas: this is the Āśvamedhikaparvan of the Jaimini-Bhārata,[3] *i.e.*, of the Mahābhārata-Saṃhitā ascribed to Jaimini.[4] This poem, written in the ornate style, describes the combats and adventures of the heroes Arjuna, Kṛṣṇa etc., who accompanied the sacrificial steed destined for Yudhiṣṭhira's horse-sacrifice, but it diverges greatly from the Mahābhārata story. Besides, the narrative of the horse-sacrifice merely provides a welcome opportunity to insert numerous legends and tales of which there is not the slightest trace in the Mahābhārata. A considerable section (Kuśalavopākhyāna, "the episode of Kuśa and Lava") contains a brief reproduction of the entire Rāmāyaṇa. Among other lands the heroes go the realm of the Amazons

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[1]) Kalhaṇa calls the work "Nīlamata" (Rājataraṅgiṇī I, 14; 16) or "Nīlapurāṇa" (l. c. I, 178). *Bhandarkar*, Report 1883-84, p. 44, mentions a MS. in which the work is described as a Kāśmīramāhātmya with the title Nīlamata. The pandits of Kashmir usually call it "Nīlamata-purāṇa."

[2]) See S. *Lévi*, Le Népal, AMG, Paris 1905, I, 193 ff., 201 ff., 205 ff.

[3]) Editions published in Bombay, Poona and Calcutta. There are numerous MSS. Cf. *Holtzmann*, Das Mahābhārata, III, p. 37 ff.; *Weber*, HSS. Verz. I, p. 111 ff.; *Aufrecht*, Bodl. Cat., I, p. 4; *Eggeling*, Ind. Off. Cat. VI, p. 1159.

[4]) In the Mahābhārata (I, 63, 89 f.) it is related that Vyāsa taught the Mahābhārata to his five pupils Sumantu, Jaimini, Paila, Śuka and Vaiśampāyana, and that each one of these published a Saṃhitā of it. It is open to doubt, however, whether there was actually a complete Mahābhārata-Saṃhitā by Jaimini and whether this Āśvamedhikaparvan is the sole remnant of it. Talboys *Wheeler*, The History of India, London 1867, I, 377, has unwittingly reproduced the contents of the Jaimini-Āśvamedhikaparvan in the chapter on "The Horse Sacrifice of Raja Yudhishthira."

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(strīrājya) and we hear of the adventures which happened to them there. The story of Candrahāsa and Viṣayā (Candrahāsopākhyāna) [1] is of importance in the literature of the world. It is a version of the story recurring so frequently in Indian (Buddhist and Jain) and in Western narrative literature, of a youth who has been born under a lucky star and always escapes the infamous machinations of the wicked adversary who seeks his destruction. Finally the persecuted young man is made to deliver a letter ordering his own death; when a maiden alters or exchanges the fatal letter, and becomes the bride of the youth, who attains to wealth or power, whilst the fate which had been destined for him befalls the adversary or the adversary's son. Now the youth Candrahāsa, in the Jaimini-Bhārata was immune from all dangers solely because, from his childhood onwards, he was a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu and always carried a Śālagrāma stone (the sacred symbol of Viṣṇu) about with him.[2] The

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[1]) Told by T. *Wheeler* l. c., p. 522 ff. Text and German translation by A. *Weber* (Monatsberichte der preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften 1869, pp. 10 ff., 377 ff.), who was the first to call attention to the Western parallels, and more recently by J. *Schick*, Corpus Hamleticum I, 1, Das Glückskind mit dem Todesbrief, Orientalische Fassungen, Berlin 1912, p. 167 ff. In this book *Schick* deals in detail with the Buddhist and Jain versions of this story (which will be dealt with in Vol. II), the popular modern Indian versions and the Western Asiatic adaptations through the medium of which the story reached Europe. In Europe we find the story, among other places, in Chapter XX of the Latin "Gesta Romanorum" (cf. M. *Gaster*, JRAS 1910, p. 449 ff.), in *Dasent's* Norse Tales (cf. C. H. *Tawney* in Ind. Ant. 10, 1881, p. 190 f.), in the French romance of the Emperor Constantine after whom Constantinople is named (cf. Joseph *Jacobs* in his Introduction to Old French Romances done into English by William Morris, London 1896, p. viii ff.) and in the story of Amleth by Saxo Grammaticus. Only the motif of the altered fatal letter has been adopted in Shakespeare's "Hamlet." In German the narrative is best known through *Schiller's* poem "Der Gang nach dem Eisenhammer." Cf. Th. *Benfey*, Pantschatantra, I, 321, 340; E. *Kuhn*, in Byzantinische Zeitschrift IV, 242 ff.; E. *Cosquin*, La légende du page de sainte Elisabeth de Portugal, Paris 1912 (Extrait de la Revue des questions historiques). The earliest of all versions hitherto known is that in the Chinese Tripiṭaka (Ed. *Chavannes*, cinq cents contes et apologues extraits du Tripiṭaka Chinois I, No. 45), which was translated into Chinese by Seng-houei who died in 280 A. D.

[2]) Among the Bhāgavatas Candrahāsa became a Vaiṣṇava saint, and in Nābhādāsa's Bhakt-Māla his story is narrated, as in the Jaimini-Bhārata, as that of the thirty-first

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conclusion of the legend takes the form of a glorification of the sacred stone and the tulasī plant, which is also sacred to Viṣṇu, in the extravagant style of the later Purāṇas. In the whole poem Kṛṣṇa is not only a hero, but is honoured as the god Viṣṇu. He appears, as a helper, to all who appeal to him with love (bhakti). He works all manner of miracles, he restores a dead child to life, he feeds multitudes of munis with a single leaf of a vegetable, and so on, and whosoever beholds Kṛṣṇa's countenance, is freed from all his sins. Nothing definite can be said regarding the date of the Jaimini-Bhārata, resp. its Āśvamedhikaparvan. Judging by the nature of the Viṣṇu-worship appearing in the work, it is probably not earlier than the later works and sections of of the Purāṇa literature. At any rate it is later than the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa quoted at the end of the Candrahāsa legend.[1]

THE TANTRA-LITERATURE.

Saṃhitās, Āgamas, Tantras.

"Tantric" influences have already been noticed in several of the later Purāṇas, namely isolated allusions to the cult of the Śaktis, the female deities, considerable sections in the form of dialogues between Śiva and Pārvatī and the occasional use of mystic syllables and formulas (mantras) and

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of the "forty-two beloved ones of the Lord"; s. *Grierson*, JRAS 1910, p. 292 ff. Cf. N. B. *Godabole*, Ind. Ant. 11, 1882, p. 84 ff. The story also occurs in Kāśīrām's Bengali version of the Mahābhārata (see Calcutta Review, December 1924, p. 480 ff.). The motif of the changed "letter of death" alone occurs in folk-tales from Bengal, the Punjab, and Kashmir. Cf. Hatim's Tales Kashmiri Stories and Songs by Sir Aurel *Stein* and Sir G. A. *Grierson*. London 1923, p. 97, with Notes by W. *Crooke*, ib. p. xliv ff.

[1]) The astrologer Varāhamihira (6th century A. D.) is mentioned in 55, 8. The scene of the story of Candrahāsa is laid in the South in the land of the Keralas. A Canarese version of the Jaimini-Aśvamedhikaparvan by the Brahmin Lakṣmīśa is the most popular work in Canarese literature. Lakṣmīśa lived after 1585 and before 1724. Cf. E. P. *Rice*, Kanarese Literature (Heritage of India Series), 1921, p. 85 ff. and H. F. *Mögling*, ZDMG 24, 1870, 309 ff.; 25, 22 ff.; 27, 1873, 364 ff.

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diagrams (yantras). Whereas, however, the Purāṇas always maintain a certain connection with epic poetry, and are, as it were, a repertory of Indian legend poetry, the Tantras, and the Saṃhitās and Āgamas, which differ from them but slightly, rather bear the stamp of purely theological works teaching the technicalities of the cult of certain sects together with their metaphysical and mystical principles. Strictly speaking, the "Saṃhitās" are the sacred books of the Vaiṣṇavas, the "Āgamas" those of the Śaivas and the "Tantras" those of the Śāktas. However, there is no clear line of demarcation between the terms, and the expression "Tantra" is frequently used as a general term for this class of works.[1]

As a matter of fact all these works really have characteristic features in common. Though they are not positively hostile to the Veda, they propound that the precepts of the Veda are too difficult for our age, and that, for this reason, an easier cult and an easier doctrine have been revealed in them. Moreover these sacred books are accessible not only to the higher castes, but to Śūdras and women too. On the other hand, it is true that they contain Secret Doctrines which can only be obtained from a teacher (guru) after a ceremonial initiation (dīkṣā), and which must not be communicated to any uninitiated person.[2] A complete Tantra (Saṃhitā, Āgama) should consist of four parts according to the four main themes treated, *viz.*, (1) Jñāna, "knowledge,"

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[1]) Thus the Viṣṇuite Pādma-Saṃhitā is also called Pādma-Tantra. The "sāttvataṃ tantram" mentioned in the Bhāgavata-P. 1, 3, 8 is probably the Sāttvata-Saṃhitā. Lakṣmī-Tantra is a Viṣṇuite work, and Pāñcarātra-Āgama is spoken of as well as Pāñcarātra-Saṃhitās. Cf. *Eliot*, Hinduism and Buddhism, II, p. 188 f. *Tantra* means "a system of doctrines," "a book," *i.e.* "Bible;" *Āgama* means "tradition" and *Saṃhitā* a "collection of sacred texts."

[2]) "The Vedas, Śāstras and Purānas are like harlots accessible to all, but the Śivaite science is well concealed like a woman of good family." (*Avalon*, Principles of Tantra, I, p. ix.) In the Kulacūḍāmaṇi-Tantra, Chapt. I, we read that the doctrine is not to be communicated to any uninitiated person, not even to Viṣṇu or to Brahman. The Kulārṇava-Tantra III, 4 says: Vedas, Purāṇas and Śāstras may be propagated, but the Śaiva and Śākta Āgamas are declared to be secret doctrines.

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comprising actual philosophical doctrines, sometimes with a monotheistic bias, and sometimes leaning towards monism, but also a confused occultism including the "knowing" of the secret powers of the letters, syllables, formulas and figures (mantraśāstra, yantraśāstra); (2) Yoga, *i.e.*, "meditation, concentration," also more especially with a view to acquiring magic powers, hence also "magic" (māyāyoga); (3) Kriyā, "action," *i.e.*, instructions for the making of idols and the construction and consecration of temples; (4) Caryā, "conduct," *i.e.*, rules regarding rites and festivals, and social duties. Though in reality all these four branches are not treated in every single one of these works, they all contain a medley of philosophy and occultism, mysticism and magic, and ritual and ethics.

Hitherto little is known about the Śaiva-Āgamas.[1] There are 28 Āgamas, which are said to have been proclaimed by Śiva himself after the creation of the world, and each Āgama has a number of Upāgamas. As we know scarcely anything of the contents of these works, we are not in a position to determine their date.[2]

We have a little more information about the Saṃhitās of the Viṣṇuite Pāñcarātra sect.[3] Though the traditional

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[1]) Cf. H. W. *Schomerus*, Der Çaiva-Siddhānta, Leipzig, 1912, p. 7 ff., a list of the 28 Āgamas ib. p. 14. Only fragments of 20 Āgamas have been preserved. Portions of two Upāgamas, Mṛgendra and Pauṣkara, are printed. Cf. *Eliot*, Hinduism and Buddhism, II, p. 204 f.

[2]) According to *Schomerus* (l. c., p. 11 f.) the Āgamas were used by Tirumūlār and other Tamil poets as far back as the first or second century A.D., and would therefore originate in pre-Christian times. However, it is more likely that these poets should be assigned to the 9th century and the Āgamas to the 7th or 8th century A.D. Cf. *Farquhar*, Outline, p. 193 ff.

[3]) Especially by the researches of F. O. *Schrader*, Introduction to the Pāñcarātra and the Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā, Adyar, Madras, S. 1916. Cf. A. *Govindacarya Svamin*, JRAS 1911, p. 935 ff.; *Bhandarkar*, Vaiṣṇavism, etc., p. 39 ff.; *Eliot*, Hinduism and Buddhism, II, p. 194 ff.; *Farquhar*, Outline, p. 182 ff. There are various explanations of the name "Pañcarātra," it is probably connected with the Pañcarātra-Sattra, a sacrifice lasting five days, which is taught in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa. Cf. *Schrader*, l.c., p. 23 ff.; *Govindacarya* l. c., p. 940 f.

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list enumerates 108 Pāñcarātra-Saṃhitās, there is actually mention of more than 215, of which, however, only twelve have been published.[1] One of the earlier Saṃhitās is the Ahirbudhnya-Saṃhitā,[2] a Kashmiri work which probably originated not long after the fourth century A. D.[3]

The work takes the form of a conversation between Ahirbudhnya, *i.e.*, Śiva and Nārada. The smaller portion of the work is philosophical in content, and the greater portion occult.[4] Several chapters deal with the Creation.[5] When Nārada asks how it is that men hold such varied opinions regarding the Creation, Ahirbudhnya replies (Chap. 8) that it is due to various causes, (1) it is impossible to express the truth about the Absolute in the language of human beings, (2) human beings often take various names to be various objects, (3) human beings vary in intelligence, and (4) the deity has an endless number of forms, of which the philosophers usually comprehend only one or another. In connection with the Creation Chapts. 12 and 13 give a very interesting survey of the "sciences," *i.e.*, the various systems of religion and philosophy. Then come the rules for the castes and Āśramas. The paterfamilias and the forest hermit attain to the heaven of Brahman, but the ascetic (sannyāsin) "is extinguished like a lamp" (15, 26 ff.). Chapt.

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[1]) See the lists in *Schrader* l.c., pp. 4-13. A list of 25 Pāñcarātra "Tantras" is enumerated in the Agni-Purāna, Chapt. 39. Most of the published texts are difficult of access. A few extracts from the Sāttvata-Saṃhitā are given by *Schrader* l.c., p. 149 ff. in translation. On the Pādma-Saṃhitā cf. *Eggeling*, Ind. Off. Cat. IV, p. 847 ff.; on the Lakṣmī-Tantra, in which Lakṣmī is worshipped as the Śakti of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa and the final cause of the world, cf. *Eggeling* ib., p. 850 f.

[2]) Edited for the Adyar Library by M.D. *Rāmānujācārya*, under the supervision of F. Otto *Schrader*, Adyar, Madras, S., 1916. This is the only critical edition of a Saṃhitā.

[3]) As it is acquainted with the three great schools of Buddhism, and as the astrological term *horā* occurs (XI, 28), it cannot possibly have originated before the 4th century A.D. From its presentation of the Sāṃkhya system as a Ṣaṣṭitantra (XII, 18 ff.) *Schrader* (ZDMG 68, 1914, 102 ff.; Introduction, p. 98 f.) concludes that it is earlier than Īśvarakṛṣṇa's Sāṃkhyakārikā. As Īśvarakṛṣṇa himself describes the Sāṃkhya as a Ṣaṣṭitantra, we might be justified in assuming that the Ahirbudhnya-Saṃhitā and the Sāṃkhyakārikā belong to about the same period.

[4]) Cf. the table of contents in *Schrader*, Introduction, p. 94 ff.

[5]) On the philosophy of the Pāñcarātras as connected with the theory of the Creation, s. *Schrader*, l.c., p. 26 ff.

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16-19 deal with the mysterious significance of the letters of the alphabet. Chapt. 20 on Dīkṣā begins with a fine description of the ideal Vaiṣṇava teacher: He is not only to know the truth of the Veda and the Vedānta and be ever mindful of the ceremonies due to the gods and the fathers, but also he should be "a non-speaker of evil speech, a non-doer of evil deeds, free from envy of the good fortune of others, full of sympathy for the misfortune of others, pitying all creatures, rejoicing at the joy of his neighbour, full of admiration of the good man, forbearing towards the wicked, rich in asceticism, contentment and uprightness, devoted to Yoga and study," and he is not only to possess a detailed knowledge of the Pāñcarātra, the Tantras, Mantras and Yantras, but also the knowledge of the Highest Soul, and must be calm, passionless, having control over his senses, and born of a good family. Chapts. 21-27 then describe diagrams which are also to be used as amulets. Further chapters deal with the cult, the theory and practice of Yoga, "the hundred and two magic weapons," *i.e.*, secret powers by which might can be attained. A few chapters deal with ceremonies to be performed by a king when in danger during time of war, in order to ensure victory. Sorcery forms the subject-matter of several chapters. An Appendix (Pariśiṣṭa) contains a hymn of the thousand names of the divine Sudarśana.

Though the Pāñcarātra-Saṃhitās probably originated in the North, the earliest of them perhaps dating from the 5th-9th century A.D.,[1] it is mainly in the South that they circulated. One of the earlier of these Southern Saṃhitās is the Īśvara-saṃhitā, quoted by Rāmānuja's teacher Yāmuna, who died in about 1040 A.D. Rāmānuja himself quotes the Pauṣkara[2] Parama and Sāttvata-saṃhitās. On the other hand, the Bṛhadbrahma-saṃhitā,[3] which is supposed to belong to the Nārada-Pāñcarātra, already contains prophecies regarding Rāmānuja, and cannot, therefore,

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[1]) The Viṣṇuite Upaniṣads of those sects which worship Viṣṇu as Nṛsiṃha or Rāma in Mantras and Yantras, such as the Nṛsiṃhatāpanīya-Upaniṣad (already commentated by Gauḍapāda) and the Rāmatāpanīya-Upaniṣad, possibly belong to the same period. Cf. *Farquhar*, Outline, p. 188 ff.

[2]) On the Pauṣkara-Saṃhitā cf. *Eggeling*, Ind. Off. Cat. IV, p. 864 f.

[3]) Published in ĀnSS No. 68.

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be earlier than the 12th century. The Jñānāmṛtasārasaṃhitā, which is published with the title "Nārada-Pāñcarātra,"[1] and is entirely devoted to the glorification of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, is quite a modern and apocryphal work. As the cult taught in this book agrees most with that of the Vallabhācārya sect, it appears to have been written a little before Vallabha at the beginning of the 16th century.[2]

However, when we speak of "Tantras," we think primarily of the sacred books of the Śāktas, *i.e.*, the worshippers of the Śaktis or "energies" conceived as female deities, or of the "Great Śakti," the "Great Mother," the "Goddess" (Devī), who, in spite of her countless names (Durgā, Kālī, Caṇḍā etc.), is only *one*, the one "Highest Queen" (Parameśvarī). To an even greater degree than is the case with other forms of Hinduism, Śāktism, the religion of the Śāktas, presents a curious medley of the highest and lowest, the sublimest and the basest conceptions ever thought out by the mind of man. In Śāktism and its sacred books, the Tantras, we find the loftiest ideas on the Deity and profound philosophical speculations side by side with the wildest superstition and the most confused occultism; and side by side with a faultless social code of morality and rigid asceticism, we see a cult disfigured by wild orgies inculcating extremely reprehensible morals. In former years people laid stress only on the worst aspects of this religion or else deemed it best to enshroud this episode in the development of Indian religion in the charitable veil of oblivion.[3] It is Sir John Woodroffe (under the

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[1]) Ed. by K. M. *Banerjea*, Bibl. Ind. 1865. Translated in SBH, Vol. 23, 1921. Cf. A. *Roussel*, Étude du Pāñcarātra in Mélanges Charles de Harlez, Leyde, 1896, p. 251 ff.

[2]) See *Bhandarkar*, Vaiṣṇavism etc., p. 40 f.

[3]) Cf. H. H. *Wilson*, Works, Vol. I, pp. 240-265; M. *Monier-Williams*, Brāhmanism and Hindūism, 4th Ed., London 1891, p. 180 ff.; A. *Barth*, The Religions of India, 2nd Ed., London 1889, p. 199 ff.; *Bhandarkar*, Vaiṣṇavism etc., p. 142 ff.

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pseudonym of Arthur Avalon) who, by a series of essays and the publication of the most important Tantra texts, has enabled us to form a just judgment and an objective historical idea of this religion and its literature.[1]

A few of the Tantras themselves say that there are 64 Tantras, or 64 Tantras *each*, in three different parts of the world.[2] However, the number of Tantras existing in manuscripts is far larger.[3] Their original home seems to have been Bengal, whence they spread throughout Assam and Nepal, and even beyond India to Tibet and China through the agency of Buddhism. In reality they are known throughout the length and breadth of India, even in Kashmir and the South. As a rule the Tantras take the form of dialogues between Śiva and Pārvatī; when the goddess asks the questions like a pupil and Śiva replies like a teacher, they are called "Āgamas": when the goddess is the teacher and answers Śiva's questions, they are called "Nigamas."

The class of Āgamas includes the very popular and widely known Mahānirvāṇa-tantra,[4] in which we see

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[1]) A. *Avalon*, Principles of Tantra, Part I, London 1914, Part II, 1916; Sir John *Woodroffe*, Shakti and Shâkta, 2nd Ed., Madras and London 1920, and the Introductions to the translation of the Mahānirvāṇa-Tantra and to the "Tantrik Texts" edited by him. Cf. also N. *Macnicol*, Indian Theism, 1915, p. 180 ff.; *Eliot*, Hinduism and Buddhism, II, p. 274 ff., and *Farquhar*, Outline, pp. 199 ff., 265 ff.

[2]) *Avalon*, Tantrik Texts, Vol. I, Introduction.

[3]) Numerous Tantras have been catalogued and described by *Haraprasād Śāstrī*, Notices of Sanskrit MSS., Second Series I, Calcutta 1900, pp. xxiv-xxxvii; Catalogue of Palm-Leaf and Selected Paper MSS. belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal, Calcutta, 1905, pp. lvii-lxxxi; Report II, 7 ff., 11 f.; M. *Rangacharya*, Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. in the Government Oriental MSS. Library, Madras, Vols. XII and XIII. On the Tantras in Malabar s. K. *Ramavarma Raja*, JRAS 1910, p. 636. Cf. also *Wilson*, Works, II, 77 ff.; *Aufrecht*, Bodl-Cat. I, p. 88 ff.; *Eggeling*, Ind. Off. Cat. IV, p. 844 ff.; *Bhandarkar*, Report 1883-84, p. 87 ff.

[4]) "The great work which enjoys a popularity next perhaps to the Bhagavadgītā," says *Haraprasād*, Notices I, p. xxxiv. Several editions have appeared in Calcutta, the first being in 1876 by the Ādi Brāhma Samāj. A Prose English Translation by M. N. *Dutt*, Calcutta 1900. Tantra of the Great Liberation (Mahānirvāṇa Tantra), a Translation from the Sanskrit, with Introduction and Commentary by A. *Avalon*, London 1913. The work seems to have been written in Bengal, because in VI, 7,3, it recommends three species of

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the best aspect of Śāktism. Though it is not an ancient work, it is an example of the superior Tantras, and as such we may accord somewhat more detailed treatment to it, because the same thoughts also occur in the earlier works of this nature, and much has been taken literally from earlier Tantras.

This Tantra speaks of the Brahman, the highest divine principle, in the same expressions as the Upaniṣads. Now according to the doctrines of the Śākta philosophers the Brahman is nothing but the eternal and primeval force (Śakti), out of which all things have been created. Śakti, "Energy," is not only feminine as far as grammar is concerned, for all human experience teaches that all life is born from the womb of woman, from the mother. Hence these Indian thinkers believed that the conception of the Highest Deity, the loftiest creative principle, must be made comprehensible to the human mind, not by the word "Father" but by the word "Mother." Just as every human being calls upon his mother in his sorest distress, the great mother of the universe is the sole being who can remove the great misery of existence.[1] All the philosophical conceptions to which language has assigned the feminine gender—first and foremost prakṛti, primeval matter, which is identical with Śakti—as well as all the mythological figures which popular belief imagined as being female—Pārvatī, Siva's consort, also called Umā, Durgā, Kālī, etc., and Lakṣmī, Viṣṇu's consort, or Rādhā, the beloved of Kṛṣṇa—become divine mothers. In reality all these are but different names for the *one* great universal mother, Jaganmātā, "the mother of all living creatures." The Indian mind had long been accustomed to recognise the unity of what appears in manifold forms. Just as *one* moon is reflected in innumerable waters, thus Devī, "the Goddess," by whatever other name she may be described, is the embodiment of all the gods and all the "energies" (śaktis) of the gods. In her are Brahman, the Creator, and his Śakti, in her are Viṣṇu, the Preserver, and his Śakti, in her too, is Śiva as Mahākāla, "the great Father Time," the great Destroyer; as she herself

fish for the sacrifice, which are found especially in Bengal (s. *Eliot*, Hinduism and Buddhism, II, 278 note 4). *Farquhar* (Outline, p. 354 f.) regards it as quite a modern work, not earlier than the eighteenth century (?). The Nirvāṇa-Tantra, in which Rādhā is glorified as the wife of Viṣṇu, is an entirely different work, s. *Haraprasād* l.c.

[1]) *Avalon*, Principles of Tantra I, p. 8.

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devours the latter, she is also Ādyā Kālikā, "the primeval Kālī," and as a "great sorceress," Mahāyoginī, she is at the same time the female Creator, Preserver and Destroyer of the world. She is also the mother of Mahākāla, who, drunk with wine pressed from the Madhūka blossoms, dances before her.[1] Since the Highest Deity is a woman, every woman is regarded as an incarnation of this Deity. Devī, "the Goddess," is in every female creature. This conception it was which led to a cult of women, which, though in some circles it assumed the form of wild orgies, could, and no doubt did appear also in a purer and ennobled form.

The cult of Devī, the Goddess, who is the joyous creative principle of nature, includes the "Five Essentials" (Pañcatattva) by which man enjoys his existence, preserves his life and obtains issue: Intoxicating drink (*madya*) which is "the great medicine for humanity, helping it to forget deep sorrows, and is the cause of joy"; meat (*māṃsa*) of the beasts bred in villages, in the air, or forest, which is nourishing, and increases intelligence, energy and strength; fish (*matsya*) which is "pleasing and of good taste, and increases the generative power of man"; delicacies of parched food (*mudrā*) which is "easily obtainable, grown in the earth, and is the root of the life of the three worlds"; and fifthly sexual union (*maithuna*)[2] which is "the cause of intense pleasure to all living things, is the origin of all creatures, and the root of the world which is without either beginning or end."[3] However, these "five essentials" may only be used in the circle (*cakra*) of the initiated, and even then only after they have been "purified" by sacred formulas and ceremonies. In these "circles" of initiated men and women, in which each man has his "Śakti" on his left hand,[4] there are no distinctions of caste, but evil and unbelieving persons cannot be admitted into the "circle." Neither is there to be any abuse of the "five essentials." He who drinks immoderately, is no true devotee of the Devī. In the sinful Kali age a man is to enjoy only his own wife as a "Śakti." If a householder is unable to control his senses, sweet things (milk, sugar, honey) shall be used instead of intoxicating drink, and the worship of the

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[1]) Mahānirvāṇa-T. IV, 29-31; V. 141.

[2]) As all the "five essentials" begin with an "m," they are also called "the five m's."

[3]) Mahānirvāṇa-T. VII, 103 ff. (Avalon's Transl., p. 156). Detailed description of the "five essentials," VI, 1 ff.

[4]) Even in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (VIII, 4, 4, 11) we already read that "the woman's place is on the *left*" of the man. Hence most probably comes the term *vāmācāra*, "left-hand ritual," for this kind of "cult in the circle" (cakrapūjā).

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lotus feet of the goddess shall take the place of sexual union.[1] It is true that the "hero" (*vīra*), *i.e.*, he who has secret powers and is suited to be a Sādhaka or "sorcerer" is entitled to unite himself in the "circle" to a "Śakti" who is not his wife. He has only to make her his "wife" by a ceremony prescribed especially for this purpose. It is only in the highest "heavenly state" (*divyabhāva*), *i.e.*, in the case of the saint who has completely overcome earthly things, that purely symbolical acts take the place of the "five essentials."[2]

The cult of the Devī attaches especial importance to Mantras, *i.e.*, prayers and formulas, and Bījas, *i.e.*, syllables of mysterious significance, such as "aiṃ," "kliṃ," "briṃ," etc.; as well as Yantras, *i.e.*, diagrams of mysterious significance, drawn on metal, paper or other material, Mudrās, *i.e.* especial positions of the fingers and movements of the hands, and Nyāsas. The last-named consist of placing the finger-tips and the palm of the right hand on the various parts of the body, whilst reciting certain mantras, in order thus to imbue one's body with the life of the Devī.[3] By using all these means, the worshipper causes the deity to show goodwill towards him, he compels the deity into his service, and becomes a *Sādhaka*, a sorcerer: for *Sādhana*, "sorcery," is one of the principal aims, though not the final goal of the worship of the Devī.

This final goal is that of all Indian sects and systems of religion, namely Mokṣa or salvation, the becoming one with the deity in Mahānirvāṇa, the "great extinction." The perfect saint, the Kaula, who sees everything in the Brahman and the Brahman in everything, whether he fulfil the rites laid down in the Tantras or not, attains this state even in this life, and is "released though living." (*Jīvanmukta*).[4] However, the path of salvation can only be found through the *Tantras*; for the Veda, the Smṛti, the Purāṇas and the Itihāsas,

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[1]) Mahānirvāṇa-T. VI, 14 ff.; 186 ff. VIII, 171 ff., 190 ff.

[2]) The distinction of the three classes of mankind: *paśu*, "the animal," "the brutish man," *vīra*, "the hero" and *divya*, "the heavenly one," occurs very frequently in all the Tantras. It is not quite clear what *paśu* means; for a *paśu* is not necessarily a stupid or bad man. The term appears to be applicable to a person who is not suited to comprehend occult matters. Cf. *Avalon*, Tantra of the Great Liberation, Introduction, p. lxv ff.

[3]) *Eliot*, Hinduism and Buddhism II, p. 275, compares the Nyāsa with the Christian sign of the Cross, and points out further analogies between the Tantric and the Christian ritual.

[4]) Mahānirvāṇa-T. X, 209 ff. *Kaula* or *Kaulika* is "one who belongs to the family (*kula*) of the goddess Kālī." Cf. *Haraprasāda Śāstrī*, Notices of Sanskrit MSS. I, pp.

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all these were the sacred books of bygone periods of the world's existence, whereas the Tantras were revealed by Śiva for the welfare of humanity, for our present evil age, the Kali period (I, 20 ff.). In this way the Tantras describe themselves as comparatively modern works. In this age Vedic and other rites and prayers are of no avail, but only the mantras and ceremonies taught in the Tantras are of value (II, 1 ff.). Just as the cult of the Devī leads to the grossest material issues by means of sorcery, as well as to the loftiest ideal of Nirvāṇa, even so the sensual and spiritual elements are well mixed in the cult itself.

There is a meditation on the Devī, which is characteristic of the above. It is taught in the following manner: The devotee first offers Devī spiritual adoration by bestowing the lotus of his heart as her throne, the nectar which trickles from the petals of this lotus-flower as water wherein to wash her feet, his mind as a gift of honour, the restlessness of his senses and his thoughts as a dance, selflessness, passionlessness, etc., as flowers, but afterwards—sacrifices to the Devī an ocean of intoxicating drink, a mountain of meat and fried fishes, a heap of parched dainties in milk with sugar and butter, the nectar of the "woman flower" (*strīpuspa*) and the water which has been used for washing the Śakti.[1] Besides the "five essentials" and other elements of a most sensual cult and one based upon the intoxication of the senses, from which even bells, incense, flowers, candles and rosaries are not missing, there is also calm meditation on the deity (*dhyāna*). In like manner, beside mantras which are devoid of all meaning and insipid, we find such beautiful lines as for instance V, 156: "O Ādyā Kālī, thou who dwellest in the inmost soul of all, who art the inmost light, O Mother! Accept this the prayer of my heart. I bow down before thee."

Along with the Tantric ritual, the Mahānirvāṇa-Tantra also teaches a philosophy which is little different from the orthodox systems of the Vedānta and Sāṃkhya,[2] and

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xxvi, xxxiii. For a different interpretation s. *Avalon*, Tantrik Texts, Vol. IV, Introduction, where *Kaula* is derived from *Kula* in the sense of "community" or "combination of soul, knowledge and universe." The Tantras speak of the Kaula sometimes as the loftiest sage and sometimes as a person to whom all is permitted as regards the "five essentials." The last verse of Chapt. X of the Jñānatantra teaches that only Brahmins of the fourth Āśrama may fulfil "the left-hand cult," whilst householders may perform only the "right-hand cult." (Haraprasāda Śāstrī l. c., pp. xxxi, 126).

[1]) Mahānirvāṇa-T. V, 139-151.

[2]) On the philosophy of the Tantras see S. *Das Gupta* in Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Vol. III, 1, 1922, p. 253 ff.

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which is at times recognisable even in that chaos of nonsensical incantations. As regards the ethics, the doctrine of the duties in Chapter VIII of the Mahānirvāṇa-Tantra reminds us at every turn of Manu's Law-book, the Bhagavadgītā and the Buddhist sermons. Though there are no caste distinctions in the actual Śākta ritual, all castes and sexes being accounted equal, the castes are nevertheless recognised in agreement with Brahmanism, except that in addition to the usual four castes a fifth one is added, namely that of the Sāmānyas, which arose through the mingling of the four older castes. Whilst Manu has four Āśramas or stages of life, our Tantra teaches that in the Kali epoch there are only two Āśramas, the state of the householder and that of the ascetic. For the rest, all which is taught here about duties to one's parents, to wife and child, to relatives and to one's fellow men in general, might be found exactly the same in any other religious book or even in a secular manual of morality. We quote only a few verses from this Chapter VIII by way of example:

A householder should be devoted to the contemplation of Brahman and possessed of the knowledge of Brahman, and should consign whatever he does to Brahman. (23)

He should not tell an untruth, or practise deceit, and should ever be engaged in the worship of the Devatās and guests. (24)

Regarding his father and mother as two visible incarnate deities, he should ever and by every means in his power serve them. (25)

Even if the vital breath were to reach his throat,[1] the householder should not eat without first feeding his mother, father, son, wife, guest and brother. (33)

The householder should never punish his wife, but should cherish her like a mother. If she is virtuous and devoted to her husband, he should never forsake her even in times of greatest misfortune. (39)

A father should fondle and nurture his sons until their fourth year, and then until their sixteenth they should be taught learning and their

[1] i.e., even if he were about to die of hunger.

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duties. (45) Up to their twentieth year they should be kept engaged in household duties, and thenceforward, considering them as equals, he should ever show affection towards them. (46) In the same manner a daughter should be cherished and educated with great care, and then given away with money and jewels to a wise husband. (47)

The man who has dedicated tanks, planted trees, built rest-houses on the roadside, or bridges, has conquered the three worlds. (63) That man who is the happiness of his mother and father, to whom his friends are devoted, and whose fame is sung by men, he is the conqueror of the three worlds. (64) He whose aim is truth, whose charity is ever for the poor, who has mastered lust and anger, by him are the three worlds conquered. (65)[1]

The duties of the separate castes as well as the duties of the king, as prescribed here, do not greatly differ from those laid down by Manu. The value of family life is put very high. Thus there is a strict injunction that no man who has children, wives or other near relatives to support, shall devote himself to the ascetic life.[2] In complete agreement with the regulations in the brahmanical texts, Chapter IX describes the "sacraments" (*saṃskāras*) from conception till marriage, and Chapter X similarly gives instructions for the burial of the dead and the cult of the departed (*śrāddhas*). A peculiarity of the Śāktas as regards marriage is that, in addition to the *Brāhma*-marriage, for which the brahmanical rules provide, there is also a *Śaiva*-marriage, *i.e.*, a kind of marriage for a certain time, which is only permitted to members of the circle (*cakra*) of the initiated.[3] However, the children of such marriages are not legitimate and cannot inherit. This shows to how great an extent brahmanical law is valid for the Śāktas too. Thus also the section on civil and criminal law in Chapters XI and XII agrees in essentials with Manu.

Nevertheless the Kauladharma which is recited in the Tantra, is declared in extravagant terms to be the best of all religions, and the adoration of the Kula saint is praised as supremely meritorious. In words similar to those of a famous Buddhist text we read in our Tantra: "As

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[1]) Translated by *Avalon*, pp. 161 f., 163, 165 f.

[2]) In the Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra II, 1, 19 (p. 48) a fine is prescribed for him who becomes an ascetic without first having provided for his wife and children.

[3]) See above p. 595.

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the footmarks of all animals disappear in the footmark of the elephant, so do all other Dharmas disappear in the Kula-Dharma." [1]

One of the principal works of the Kaulas, *i.e.*, the most advanced of the Śāktas, is the Kulārṇava-Tantra,[2] which teaches that there are six forms of life (ācāra),[3] which are but an introduction to the Kulācāra, and that release from suffering, and the highest salvation can only be attained through the Kulācāra or Kula-Dharma.

When the Devī asks: "Whereby is release from suffering to be attained?" Śiva replies: Only through the knowledge of the Unity; for the creatures, surrounded by Māyā, are but as sparks emanating from the fire of Brahman. There are people who boast of their knowledge of Brahman, smear their bodies with ashes, and practise asceticism, but are yet only devoted to the pleasures of their senses. "Asses and other animals, go about naked without shame, whether they dwell in the house or in the forest: does this make them Yogins?" (I, 79). In order to become a Kaula a man should avoid all external things and strive only for true knowledge. Ritual and asceticism are of value only as long as a man has not yet recognised the truth. The Kula-Dharma is *Yoga* (meditation) as well as *Bhoga* (enjoyment), but only for the man who has purified his mind and has control over his senses. We can well understand the statement, so often repeated in the Tantras, that it is easier to ride on a drawn sword than to be a true Kaula, when in one and the same book we find, not only doctrines on the true knowledge of the Brahman and Yoga, but also the minutest details concerning the preparation of twelve kinds of intoxicating drinks and everything connected with the "five essentials," which bestow *bhukti* (enjoyment) and *mukti* (salvation) at the same time.[4] "The Brahmin," we read, "should drink at all times, the warrior at the beginning of the battle, the Vaiśya when purchasing cows, the Śūdra when

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[1]) Mahānirv-T. XIV, 180, transl. *Avalon*, p. 356. Cf. Majjhimanikāya 28 (at the beginning).

[2]) Ed. by Tārānāth *Vidyāratna* in Tantrik Texts, Vol. V, 1917.

[3]) These are Vedācāra, Vaiṣṇavācāra, Śaivācāra, Dakṣiṇācāra, Vāmācāra, Siddhāntācāra (or Yogācāra). Cf. *Avalon*, Tantra of the Great Liberation, Introduction, p. lxxviii ff.

[4]) Though the *surā* drink is extolled in the most extravagant fashion (V, 38 f.), the others are also recommended (V, 30). The eating of meat at the *Kulapūjā* is a permissible exception to the rule of non-killing (*ahiṃsā*).

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performing the funeral sacrifices" (V, 84). On the other hand, when these and similar rules have been formulated, we again read that true drinking is the union of Kuṇḍalinī Śakti with Ciccandra ("moon of thought"), others being merely imbibers of intoxicants, that the true "flesh-eater" is he who merges his thought in the highest Being, and a true "fish-eater" is he who curbs his senses and unites them with the Ātman—"others merely kill animals"; and that true *maithuna* is the union of the highest Śakti or Kuṇḍalinī with the Ātman—"others are merely slaves to women." This comes at the close of Chapter V. In Chapter VII, however, the necessity of drink in the cult of Śakti is again emphasized. It is true that one should only drink in moderation, but this moderation is reckoned very liberally: "As long as the eye, the understanding, speech and the body do not become unsteady, a man may continue drinking, but drink taken in excess of this is the drinking of a brute beast" (VII, 97). Though it is true that only the initiated are allowed to drink, it is to them that the oft-quoted maxim is addressed: "He is to drink, drink and drink again, till he falls to the ground, and when he has arisen, he is to drink yet again—then there will be no rebirth" (VII, 100).[1]

Another oft-quoted work of the Kaula School of the Śāktas is the "Head jewel of the Kula," Kulacūḍāmaṇi,[2] an example of a Nigama in which Devī proclaims the doctrine and Śiva listens in the character of a pupil. In reality Śiva and Devī are one, and the latter says at the end of the book:

"Thou appearest now as the father, now in the form of the teacher, then thou becomest the son, then again a pupil.....Everything whatever exists in the world, consists of Śiva and Śakti. Thou, O God of gods, art all, and I, too, am all to all eternity. Thou art the teacher when I

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[1]) The saying occurs frequently in the Tantras. According to *Avalon* these and similar verses do not refer to actual drinking, but to the symbolical "drinking" of the Yoga. This, however, is difficult to believe.

[2]) Ed. by Girīsha Chandra *Vedāntatīrtha*, with an Introduction by A. K. *Maitra* in Tantrik Texts, Vol. IV, 1915. The ritual of the Kaulas is also treated in the *Nityāṣoḍaśī-Tantra*, which is a part of the *Vāmakeśvara-Tantra* (publ. in ĀnSS Vol. 56, 1908) and the *Adīśvaracaritra*, an analysis of which is given by L. *Suali* (SIFI Vol. 7).

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am the pupil, but then there shall be no distinction. Therefore be thou the teacher, O Lord, and I shall be thy Pupil, O Highest Lord!"

The work begins with an enumeration of the Kulasundarīs or Devīs, and then describes the worship of the Śaktis with Yantras as well as meditations on the unity of the Great Mother. Instructions are given for the worship not only of one's own wife but also for that of an outside "Śakti." He who would be admitted to the Cakra rites, must first have walked in the path of the love of God (bhaktimārga) according to Vaiṣṇavism, and he must be good and patient to others. The last three chapters deal solely with magic.

One of the more important texts of the Tantras is the Prapañcasāra-Tantra,[1] which is ascribed to the philosopher Śaṅkara or the god Śiva in his incarnation as Śaṅkara. Though the name Śaṅkara appears not infrequently in the Tantra literature, it is by no means certain that the texts attributed to him were really his work. *Prapañca* means "the expansion," "the expanded universe," hence *Prapañcasāra*, "the Essence of the Universe."

The work begins with an account of the Creation.[2] This is followed by treatises on chronology, embryology, anatomy, physiology and psychology, which are no more "scientific" than the succeeding chapters on the occult doctrines of Kuṇḍalinī and the secret significance of the Sanskrit alphabet and the Bījas. According to the general teaching of the Tantras the human organism is a microcosm, a miniature copy of the universe, and contains countless canals (*nāḍī*) through which some secret power flows through the body. Connected with these canals there are six great centres (cakra) lying one above the other, which are also furnished with occult powers. The lowest and most important of these centres contains the Brahman in the form of a Liṅga, and coiled round this Liṅga like a serpent, lies the Śakti called Kuṇḍalinī.[3] This

[1]) Ed. by Tārānātha *Vidyāratna* in Tantrik Texts, Vol. III, 1914. The author Śaṅkara is supposed to be identical with the commentator of the Nṛsiṃhapūrvatāpanīya-Upaniṣad. Cf. Vidhushekhara *Bhattacharya*, Ind. Hist. Qu. I. 1925, p. 120.

[2]) On the Creation theories of the Tantras s. J. G. *Woodroffe*, Creation as explained in the Tantra (read at the Silver Jubilee of the Chaitanya Library, Calcutta, 1915).

[3]) Kuṇḍalinī, "the coiled one." The theory of the Nāḍīs and Cakras is also to be found in the Varāha-Upaniṣad V, 22 ff. and in the Śāṇḍilya-Upaniṣad (Yoga Upaniṣhads ed. Mahadeva Sastri, pp. 505 f., 518 ff.).

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Kuṇḍalinī is forced up into the highest centre by Sādhana and Yoga, and then salvation is attained. The Bījas and Mantras,[1] that is, the letters and syllables and the formulas composed from them, in all of which, according to an ancient doctrine already foreshadowed in the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads,[2] a potent influence on the human organism and the universe lies concealed, are means to the attainment of the highest perfections (*siddhi*).

The chapters on the ritual for the consecration (dīkṣā), the worship of the mothers and the meditations on the Devī are of considerable significance from the point of view of the history of religion. The very prominent part played in the whole of this cult by the erotic element is exemplified in IX, 23 ff., where it is described how the wives of the gods, demons and demigods, compelled by Mantras, come to the sorcerer "scattering their ornaments in the intoxication of love, letting their silken draperies slip down, enveloping their forms in the net of their flying tresses, their every limb quivering with intolerable torments of love, the drops of sweat falling like pearls over their thighs, bosom and armpits,.....torn by the arrows of the love god, their bodies immersed in the ocean of the passion of love, their lips tossed by the tempest of their deep-drawn breath" etc. Chapter XVIII teaches the Mantras and Dhyānas (meditations) for the worship of the love god and his Śaktis, and the union of man and woman is presented as a mystical union of the ego (*ahaṃkara*) with knowledge (*Buddhi*) and as a holy act of sacrifice. If the man honours his beloved wife in this manner, then, wounded by the arrows of the love god, she will follow him as a shadow even into the other world (XVIII, 33). Chapter XXVIII is dedicated to Ardhanārīśvara, the god who is half female—the right half of his body is in the form of Śiva who is represented as a wild-looking man, and the left half is his Śakti, represented as a voluptuous woman. Chapter XXXIII, with which the work originally seems to have closed, devotes its first part to a description of ceremonies to prevent childlessness,

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[1]) The monosyllabic meaningless sounds such as "hrīṃ," "Śrīṃ," "krīṃ," "phaṭ," *etc.*, are Bīja, "seeds," because they are the seed from which the fruit of magic powers (siddhi) is produced, and because they are the "seed" of the Mantras. Cf. *Avalon*, The Tantra of the Great Liberation, Introd. p. lxxxiii ff.

[2]) There is considerable truth in the contention of B. L. *Mukherji* (in *Woodroffe*, Shakti and Shâktas, p. 441 f.) that the occultism of the Tantras is already foreshadowed in the Brāhmaṇas, and that allusions to sexual intercourse play a prominent part in the symbolism of the Brāhmaṇas as well as in the Tantras.

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which is the result of carelessness in the worship of the gods and of scorning the wife. The second part deals with the relationship between teacher and pupil, which is of paramount importance in the Śakti religion.

The ritual and the Mantras described in this Tantra are not limited to the worship of the various forms of Devī and Śiva, but frequently also Viṣṇu and his avatāras are referred to. Chapter XXXVI contains a reflection on Viṣṇu Trailokyamohana ("the confounder of the triple world"). This description is replete with sensual fire: Viṣṇu shines like millions of suns and is of supreme beauty. Full of kindness his glance rests upon Śrī his consort, who embraces him lovingly. She, too, is incomparably beautiful. All the gods and demons and their wives do honour to the lofty, divine couple; but the divine women press around Viṣṇu full of the fiery longing of love, and exclaim: "Be our consort, our refuge, O highest Lord!" [1]

The first part [2] of the Tantrarāja-Tantra bearing the proud title "king of Tantras" treats of the Śrīyantra, the "famous diagram," which consists of nine triangles and nine circles cleverly drawn one within the other and each one of which has a special mystical significance. By meditation with the aid of this Śrīyantra one attains knowledge of the Unity, *i.e.*, the knowledge that everything in the world is one with the Devī. The Kālīvilāsa-Tantra,[3] which belongs to the "prohibited" Tantras, *i.e.*, those which are valid not for our age but only for a bygone period, is a later text. The attitude adopted towards the Pañcatattva ritual is very ambiguous indeed. All that we can glean clearly from the text is that there were two different schools of Śāktas, one of which condemned this ritual, while the other considered it as compulsory. A few chapters deal with Kṛṣṇa as the lover of Rādhā, who is identical with the

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[1]) XXXVI, 35-47, translated by *Avalon* in the Introduction, p. 61 ff.

[2]) This one alone (Part I, Chapters I-XVIII) has been published by M. *Lakṣmaṇa Shāstrī* in Tantrik Texts, Vol. VIII, 1918.

[3]) Ed. by Pārvatī Charaṇa *Tarkatīrtha* in Tantrik Texts, Vol. VI, 1917. One chapter contains a Mantra in a dialect which is a mixture of Assamese and East Bengali, another contains Mantras with the words written backwards.

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goddess Kālī. The Jñānārṇava-Tantra[1] deals with the various kinds of Tantra ritual and the meditations on the various forms of Devī. The Kumārīpūjana, the worship of young maidens, is described as the highest sacrifice. The Śāradātilaka-Tantra,[2] written by Lakṣmaṇa Deśika in the 11th century, begins with a theory of the Creation and the origin of human speech, but treats chiefly of Mantras, Yantras, and magic.

In addition to the actual "revealed" Tantras there are innumerable manuals on separate branches of Tantric ritual[3] and great collections compiled from the various Tantras.[4]

The earliest Nepalese manuscripts of Tantras date from the seventh to the ninth century,[5] and it is not very likely that this literature originated further back than the fifth or sixth century. Even in the latest portions of the Mahābhārata, with their frequent allusions to Itihāsas and Purāṇas, there is never mention of Tantras, and the Amarakośa, among the meanings of the word "*tantra*" does not give that of a

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[1]) Published in AāSS No. 69, 1912.

[2]) An analysis of its contents by A. H. *Ewing*, JAOS. 23, 1902, p. 65 ff. Cf. *Farquhar*, Outline, p. 267.

[3]) Thus there are glossaries and dictionaries to explain the mysterious significance of the letters, Bījas and Mantras, as well as the Mudrās or positions of the fingers to be observed with the Yoga. A few of these texts (Mantrābhidhāna from the Rudrayāmala, Ekākṣurakoṣa by Puruṣottamadeva, Bījanighaṇṭu by Bhairava, Mātṛkānighaṇṭus by Mahīdhara and by Mādhava, Mudrānighaṇṭu from the Vāmakeśvara-Tantra) are published by A. *Avalon*, Tantrik Texts, Vol. I, 1913. Cf. also Th. *Zachariæ*, Die indischen Wörterbücher (Grundriss I, 3 B, 1897) para. 27, and *Leumann*, OC VI, Leyden, Vol. III, p. 589 ff. The six centres (cakra) and the Kuṇḍalinī are treated in the Saṭcakranirūpaṇa from the Śrītattvacintāmaṇi by Pūrṇānanda Svāmī and the Pādukāpañcaka, both published by Tārānātha *Vidyāratna* in Tantrik Texts, Vol. II, 1913 and translated into English by A. *Avalon*, The Serpent Power, 2nd. ed, Madras 1924.

[4]) Thus the Tantrasamuccaya, very popular in Malabar, written by Nārāyaṇa of the Jayanta-mangala family of N. Travancore about 1426 A.D., published by T. *Gaṇapati Śāstrī* in TSS Nos. 67 and 71.

[5]) A Kubjikāmata-Tantra is said to date from the 7th century, and a Niśvāsatattva-Saṃhitā from the 8th century. A Parameśvaramata-Tantra was written in 858 A.D. Cf. *Haraprasād*, Report I, p. 4.

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religious book.[1] Neither do the Chinese pilgrims as yet mention the Tantras. In the seventh and eighth centuries they began to penetrate into Buddhism, and in the second half of the eighth century Buddhist Tantras were translated into Chinese [2] and in the ninth century into Tibetan also. The fact that the worship of Durgā, which plays so great a part in the Tantras, harks back to the later Vedic period,[3] does not prove that Tantrism and the Tantras are of an equally venerable age. There is no doubt that this goddess and her cult do unite traits of very different deities, Aryan as well as non-Aryan. It is probable, too, that the system of the Tantras adopted many characteristics from non-Aryan and non-brahmanical cults.[4] On the other hand, some essential traits of the Tantras can be found as far back as in the Atharvaveda, as well as in the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads. Śāktism was prevalent from the twelfth to the sixteenth century in Bengal especially among the aristocracy, and even at the present day its adherents are to be found not in

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[1]) Amarakoṣa III, 182 gives for *tantra* the meaning *siddhānta*, which is really "a system of doctrines" in general, and not a particular class of texts. Cf. *Wilson*, Works, I, 250. The other Kośas, too, give all kinds of meanings for *tantra*, but not that of the sacred book of a sect. When *mantra* and *tantra* are mentioned side by side (Ahirbudhnya-Saṃhitā XX, 5; Pañcatantra, text. simpl., ed. F. Kielhorn I, v. 70; Daśakumāracarita II, NSP edition, p. 81; mudrātantramantra-dhyānādibhiḥ), *tantra* means "magic rite," and *mantra* "incantation." The passage in the Daśakum. probably presupposes a knowledge of Tantras. Daṇḍin, however, did not live earlier than the 7th century A.D. The Bhāgavata-Purāṇa (IV, 24, 62; XI, 3, 47 f., 5, 28; 31) is the first work to mention the Tantras as a class of works apart from the Veda.

[2]) According to L. *Wieger*, Histoire des croyances religieuses et des opinions philosophiques en Chine, Paris 1917 (quoted by *Woodroffe*, Shakti and Shâkta, p. 119 ff.), as early as in the 7th century. It is not likely that the *nigamas* mentioned side by side with the *nirghaṇṭu* in Lalitavistara XII (ed. Lefmann, p. 156) are identical with the Tantras known as "nigama," as is the view of *Avalon* (Principles of Tantra I, p. xli). As in Manu IV, 14; IX, 14, texts of Veda-exegesis are no doubt meant.

[3]) *Jacobi* in ERE V, 117 ff.

[4]) In the Jayadrathayāmala it is said that Parameśvarī is to be worshipped in the house of a potter or oil-presser (who belong to the lowest castes). Cf. *Haraprasād*, Report I, p. 16; Catalogue of the Durbar Library, Nepal, p. lxi.

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the lower castes, but among the educated.[1] On the whole the Tantras and the curious excrescences and degenerations of religion described in them, are not drawn from popular belief or from popular traditions either of the aboriginal inhabitants or of the Aryan immigrants, but they are the pseudo-scientific productions of theologians, in which the practice and theory of Yoga and doctrines of the monist (advaita) philosophy are seen mingled with the most extravagant symbolism and occultism.

Neither the Purāṇas nor the Tantras make enjoyable reading, and this is much more applicable to the latter. They are the work of inferior writers, and are often written in barbarous and ungrammatical Sanskrit. On the other hand neither the literary historian nor the student of religion can afford to pass them by in silence; for during centuries and even at the present time these writings are the spiritual food of millions of Indians. "The Purāṇas," says a learned Hindu,[2] "form an important portion of the religious literature of the Hindus, and, together with the Dharmaśāstras and Tantras, govern their conduct and regulate their religious observances at the present day. The Vedas are studied by the antiquarian, the Upaniṣads by the philosopher; but every orthodox Hindu must have some knowledge of the Purāṇas, directly or vicariously, to shape his conduct and to perform the duties essential to his worldly and spiritual welfare." Whatever also may be our opinion of the literary, religious and moral value of the Tantras, the historian of Indian religion and culture cannot afford to neglect them, and from the point of view of comparative religion, too, they contain valuable material.

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[1]) The present-day Śāktas are probably for the most part such as will have none of the Pañcatattva ritual. At any rate I was assured in Kashmir that the Śāktas there all abhor rites of this nature.

[2]) N. *Mukhopādhyāya* in the Introduction to his edition of the Kūrma-Purāṇa (Bibl. Ind.), p. xv.

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CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

P. 5 l. 1 read *more the.*
l. 4 " *But there.*
" 38 " 19 " *seventh* for *tenth.*
" 48 note 1 add: *Haraprasād Śāstrī* (Ind. Hist. Qu. I, 1925, p. 204 f.) thinks that it is not a Sanskritised vernacular, but "the spoken language of N. India."
" 49 note 1, l. 1 read *Apabhraṃśas see H.*
Pp. 53, 55 etc., to 71 the head line should be "*Vedic Literature*" instead of "*Introduction.*"
P. 59 l. 9 read I and X for I to X.
" 60 note 1, l. 3 read ZII for ZIT.
" 62 " 1 " ZII " ZTT.
" 63 " 3 l. 5 " *nadīstuti.*
" 71 l. 14 read *therefore* for *moreover.*
" 76 " 4 " *already* " *soon.*
" 81 note 2, l. 2 read *storm-gods.*
" 95 " 1 should be note 2 on p. 97, l. 21.
" 99 l. 20 read [3] for [∞]
note 1, l. 1 read *Tapas* for *Tapaç.*
" 100 notes, l. 2, after V, p. 356, add: Metrical Translations from Sanskrit Writers, p. 188 f.
" 102 " 4, l. 4 read *Oldenberg* for *Oldenburg.*
" 117 line 7 from below, read *Vāc* for *Vac.*
" 120 " 1, l. 2 read *Cūlikā-Upaniṣad.*
" 2 l. 3 after 1856 add: second edition by Max *Lindenau*, Berlin, 1924.
" 131 l. 5 from below read *spell* for *verse.*
" 1 " " " *apacit* " *apakit.*
" 132 ll. 3, 6 read *apacit* for *apakit.*
" 134 l. 2 read *indicate* " *indicated.*

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P. 138 l. 13 read *conceptions of* for *conception.*
" 152 note 1 the Greek quotation is hopelessly wrong.
" 154 " 1 add at the end of the note: ZB VI, 1924-25, p. 48 ff.
" 160 l. 6 read *gṛhyakarmāṇi.*
" 163 " 18 " *Sāmaveda-Saṃhitā.*
" 167 ll. 13, 15, 16 read *Ūhagāna, Uhyagāna.*
" 179 l. 14 " *Āyu* for *Ayu.*
note 5, l. 1, read *Śatapatha* for *Śatapaṭha.*
" 187 note 3, " *bráhman* for *brāhman.*
" 188 notes, line 1, " *brahmán* for *brahmān.*
" 190 l. 19 " *Śāṅkhāyana.*
" 194 note, l. 6 " *Bhāradvājī* for *Bhāradvājō.*
" 201 " 2 " *174 f.* for *147 f.*
" 215 l. 4 " *Śunaḥśepa* for *Śūṇaḥśepa.*
" 222 l. 12 " *another* for *other.*
" 225 l. 21 " *Śāṇḍilya* for *Śaṇḍilya.*
" 232 l. 16 " *Āśramas* for *Aśram as*
note 1, l. 7 " *Fick* for *Pick.*
l. 12 " *l'Inde* for *l, Inde.*
" 235 ll. 12 and 13 " *Taittirīya-Upaniṣad and Mahā-Nārāyaṇa-Upaniṣad.*
note 1, l. 4 " *Friedlaender* for *Friedlander.*
" 243 l. 13 " *this* for *thus.*
" 247 note 3, l. 3 " *Oldenberg* for *Oldenburg,* and *brahman* for *brāhman.*
" 248 note, l. 3 " *phlegma* for the Greek word.
" 259 note 3 Add.: E. W. *Hopkins,* Ethics of India, New Haven 1924, p. 63ff.
" 271 note 2, l. 5 read *Brāhmaṇas* for *Brahmans.*
" 288 " 1, l. 3 " *Proc. II OC* for *Proc. SOC.*
" 298 " 1, l. 4 " *Proc IOC* for *Proc. FOC.*
" 299 " 1. " *17'* and *8'.*
" 300 " l. 20 put the inverted commas (") after *achievements.*

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P. 302 l. 6 read *Śunaḥśepa.*
" 302 note 4 read *194 f.*
" 308 note 2, l. 1 read *Proc. IOC.* for *Proc. FOC.*
" 312, note 1, l. 2 read *Āpastambīya.*
l. 5 " *Śrautasūtra.*
" 313, " 4, l. 6 " *Itihāsa.*
" 316, " 1, l. 5 from below, read *Winternitz.*
" 317, " l. 5 read *seine* for *scine.*
" 319, " 1, line 1, " *traced in* for *traced. In*
" 320, " 1. " *H. Jacobi.*
" 322, ll. 5 and 3 from below, read *Śāntanu* for *Sāntanu.*
" 322, note 2, l. 2 read *vivyāsa.*
l. 3 " *smṛtaḥ, cf.*
" 324, l. 17 " *spake* for *spaken.*
" 324, note 1, l. 2 from below, read *saechsischen* for *sáchsischen.*
" 325, l. 5 read *men* for *man.*
" 327, l. 6 " *parts* [1].
" 327, note 1, line 1 " *Kısari* for *Kisori.*
l. 4 from below, read *1924* for *192ff.*
" 329, l. 4 read *Śāntanu* for *Sāntanu.*
" 334, l. 2 from below, " *Pañcālas* for *Pāñcālas.*
" 345, l. 12 from below, " *Yudhiṣṭhira.*
" 349, l. 9 from below, " *Nahuṣa* for *Nahusa.*
" 359, l. 13 " *days'* for *day's.*
" 368, l. 8 " *of* for *os.*
" 376, note 1, l. 6 " *Porzig* for *Perzig.*
" 379, l. 19 " *Śarmiṣṭhā* for *Sarmiṣṭha.*
" 385, note 2, l. 5. put inverted commas (") after *Mahābhārata.*
" 386, note 1 read *diospyros* for *diespyros.*
" 389, " 2, l. 3 " *s.* for *S.*
" 393, l. 3 " *Brahman-* for *Brāhman-*
" 397, l. 12 " *Sāvitrī* for *Sāvitri.*
note 4, l. 3 " *Yudhiṣṭhira.*

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P. 410, note 3, l. 6 read *Franke* for *Francke*.
" 413, last line, the reference is to note 1 on page 414.
" 417, note 2, l. 2 read *Jinistic* for *Jainistic*.
" 418, " , line 1 " *Uttarādhyayana*.
" 426, " , l. 2 " *excellence* for *excetlence*.
" 431, " 1, l. 2 from below, read *Garbe* for *Carbe*.
" 439, l. 7 read *disfigured* for *mutilated*.
l. 16 " *Sāṃkhya* for *Saṃkhya*.
note 1, line 1 " *late* for *ten*.
" 440, " 3, last line " *epic* for *epics*.
" 443, " 1, add : *and into English by Manmatha Nath Dutt, Calcutta 1897*.
" 444, note 3 read *Pṛthūpākhyāna*.
" 447, l. 14 " *cowherd* for *cowhard*.
" 449, l. 3 " *Śiśupāla*.
" 450, l. 6 from below " *Naraka* for *Nikumbha*.
" 453, note 1 " *Adhy. 278 : Īśvarastuti. Adhy. 279 and 281 : Viṣṇustotra*.
" 3 " *Haṃsa°* for *Hamsa°*.
" 470, l. 2 from below " *Śāṅkhāyana-Śrautasūtra*.
" 471, lines 10, 13, 16 " *Ṭipiṭaka* for *Tripiṭaka*.
" 471, note 3, l. 2 " *extent* for *extents*.
" 472, l. 4 " *Yudhiṭṭhila*.
l. 5 " *Dhataraṭṭha*.
note 4, l. 6 " *is*.
" 473, l. 4 " *of* for *with*.
l. 8 " *Āśvalāyana* for *Aśvalāyana*.
" 479, note 3, line 1 " *Griffith* for *Criffith*.
" 486, " 1, l. 6 " *below, p. 508f*.
" 487, line 11 " *Śūrpaṇakhā*.
" 489, l. 4 " *monkeys* for *monkey*.
" 492, l. 30 " *14ff*. for *4ff*.
" 507, l. 15 " *Gāndhārī*.
" 511, l. 7 from below " *Jinistic* for *Jainistic*.

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P. 512, l. 8 read *that* for *hat*.
" 512, note 2, l. 9 " *Pāṇini* and *Patañjali*.
" 513, " 5 " *p. 1 f.*
" 518, " 1 After *Urvaśī* read (*cf. T. Michelson, JAOS* 29, 284 *f.*)
" 522, l. 20 read *Vaṃśānucarita*.
l. 21 " *dynasties*," *viz.* "*the*
" 527, note 2 " *to* for *te*.
" 528, " 2 " *the most clearly* for *most clearly*.
" 540, " 1, line 1 " *Haradatta Śarmā*.
" 553, " 2, l. 4 " *Vāyavīya* for *Vaiyavīya*.
" 557, l. 20 " *-Purāṇa* for *-Pūrāṇa*.
" 562, l. 28 " *the racking torture* for *racking torture*.
" 566, l. 7 from below, read *poetics* for *poetry*.
" 576, note 1 " *Jibananda Vidyasagara* for *Jibānanda Vidyāsāgara*.
" *Nath* for *Nāth*.
" 580, l. 1 " *Viṣṇudharmottara*.
" 587, note 2, last line " *Śaiva* for *Saiva*.
" 589, l. 7 read *Śiva, and Nārada* (comma after Śiva).
" 589, note 1, l. 5 read *the* for *t e*.
" 589, " 3, l. 6 read *Ṣaṣṭitantra*.
" 590, l. 4 from below, put *comma* after *Pauskara*.
" 593, l. 20 read *Prakṛti* for *prakṛti*.

Note.—In order not to swell the list of corrections, smaller errors such as s for *ś* or a for *ā*, and the like, have not been mentioned in the above list.

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